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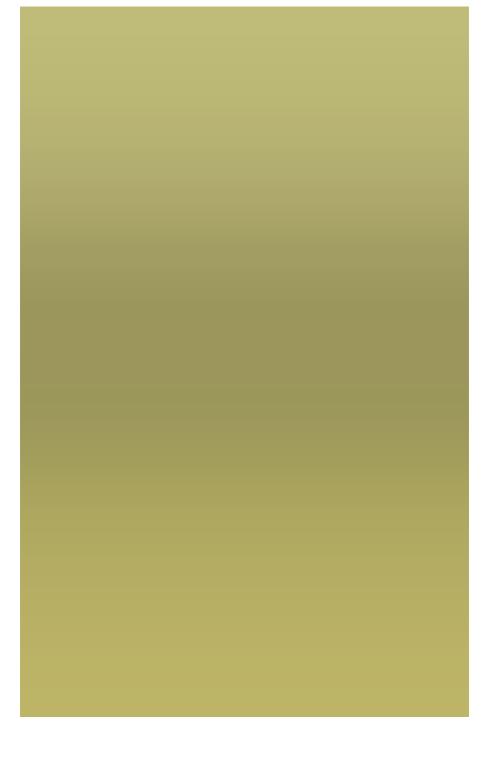
REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE

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UN MOMENT
DU SOCIALISME YOUGOSLAVE

34-1971





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UN MOMENT DU SOCIALISME YOUGOSLAUE*

Lorsque nous avons décidé, l'année dernière, de consacrer un numéro thématique aux questions du socialisme yougoslave, nous songions à l'actualité de ce thème, mais aussi au fait que cinq ans avaient passé depuis le dernier numéro consacré à l'ensemble des problèmes du socialisme (»Sens et perspective du socialisme«). Nous ne savions pas que certaines de ces questions allaient devenir dans l'année en cours particulièrement brûlantes et se poser comme l'appréhension radicale de la structure de notre organisation sociale. La question du socialisme yougoslave, précisément en tant que socialisme, s'imposait non seulement au cercle étroit des travailleurs scientifiques et des marxistes, mais aussi à l'opinion publique élargie. C'est la raison pour laquelle le thème que nous avons choisi a pu ajouter à sa signification théorique une importance socialo-politique concrète. Bien entendu, en traitant un thème remarquable par son actualité, nous n'avons pas l'intention de renoncer à l'angle théorique, primordial dans nos rapports avec notre développement social. Et ceci non seulement parce que nous sommes d'abord une revue théorique, mais aussi parce que c'est du point de vue de la théorie marxiste et du mouvement socialiste en général que nous nous intéressons à ce qui est »passager et durable« dans notre système social, à ce qu'il faut dépasser critiquement dans le plus bref délai, à ce qu'il faut retenir, à ce qui nous pousse en avant, à ce qui nous ramène au passé.

* Les articles sur »Un moment du socialisme yougoslave«, que nous publions ici représentent un choix du numéro 3-4/1971 de l'édition yougoslave de »Praxis« ('a scule exception est l'article de B. Horvat, qui a été publié dans une autre revue yougoslave). Le dit numéro a été interdit en reféré le 10 août 1971 par le procureur général de la ville de Sisak (où l'édition yougoslave de »Praxis« est imprimé), qui a au même temps demandé son interdiction permanente. Le tribunal de la ville de Sisak, par son jugement du 16 août 1971, a reieté la demande pour l'interdiction du numéro 3-4 tout entier, mais a accepté la demande pour l'interdiction du numéro 3-4 tout entier, mais a accepté la demande pour l'interdiction de l'article de M. Kangrga. Contre ce jugement a fait l'appel le procureur général de Sisak ainsi que la rédaction de Praxis. La Cour Suprême de Croatie, par son jugement du 30. août 1971, en rejetant l'appel du procureur général et en acceptant l'appel de la rédaction de »Praxis«, a permis la vente du numéro 3-4/1971 de l'édition yougoslave tout entier, y inclut l'article de M. Kangrga. Ce qui a fait possible de publier les articles les plus intéressants de l'édition yougoslave (y inclut celui de M. Kangrga) aussi dans l'édition internationale. (Réd.)

UNMOMENTDUSOCIALISMEYOUGOSLAVE*

When we decided last year to devote a thematic issue to the questions of Yugoslav socialism, we were thinking of the topicality of this theme, but also of the fact that five years had passed since the last issue, ero devotes to the whole of the problems of socialism (»Meaning and perspective of socialism e«). We did not know that some of these questions were going to become particularly burning issues in our current situation and arise as a radical apprehension of the structure of our social organization. The question of Yugoslav socialism, precisely as socialism, imposed itself not only on the narrow circle of scientific workers and Marxists, but also on broad public opinion. This is the reason why the theme we have chosen has been able to add to its theoretical significance a concrete socialo-political importance. Of course, in tackling a theme re markable for its topicality, we do not intend to renounce the theoretical angle, which is essential in our rela tio ns with our social develo p m e n t . And this not only because we are primarily a theoretical journal, but also because it is from the point of view of Marxist theory and the socialist m o v e m en t in general that we are interested in what is »passenger and du ra b le«

in our social system, to what we must overcome critically in the shortest possible time, to what we must remember, to what pushes us forward, to what brings us back in the past.

* The articles on »A m oment of Yugoslav socialism«, which we publish here represent a selection from number 3-4/1971 of the Yugoslav edition of »Praxis« (the sole exception is P a rticle of B. H o rv a t, who has published in another Yugoslav review). The said number has etc in tc rd referred to it on August 10, 1971 by the public prosecutor of the city of Sisak (where the Yugoslav edition of »Praxis« is printed), who at the same time ps asks for its p crm anent in te rd ictio n. The Trib un al of the City of Sisak, by its Jugment of August 16, 1971. arc ic ted the request for the in terd ic o n of n umber 3-4 entirely, m ais has accepted the request for the interception of Mr. Kangrga's article. Against this judgment, the public prosecutor of Si sak as well as the editorial staff of Praxis appealed. The Supreme Court of C roatia, by its judgment of August 30, 1971, rejecting the appeal of the Attorney General and accepting the appeal of the rćd ac tio n of »Praxis«, enabled the sale of issue 3—4/1971 of the entire Yugoslav edition, including the article by M. K angrga. This has made it possible to publish the most interesting articles of the Yugoslav edition (including that of Mr. K angrga) also in the International edition. (Rćd.) 331

Les réponses au thème proposé ont largement dépassé notre attente. Mais nous sommes conscients, avec ces contributions, de n'avoir pas épuisé le thème ni satisfait ceux de nos collaborateurs qui désirent aussi dire leur mot. Aussi avons-nous décidé de publier dans les numéros qui vont suivre, et sous une rubrique spéciale, toutes les contributions qui nous parviendront en cours d'impression ou après l'impression de ce numéro.

Que dire maintenant des contributions reçues? Bien que la rédaction tienne à ce que, dans cette revue théorique, chaque auteur réponde de ses positions, bien que nous ayions pu nous attendre à des prises de position divergentes, sur une problématique socialo-politique concrète, même de la part d'hommes dont les orientations marxistes et socialistes s'accordent pour l'essentiel – nous avons été surpris de la relative concordance de contributions traitant cependant de questions différentes sous différents aspects. Tout ceci montre que les auteurs (et d'autres avec eux), ayant profondément ressenti le sérieux de ce moment du socialisme en Yougoslavie et son importance décisive pour son développement futur, ont vu très nettement les problèmes et les difficultés essentielles d'une part (et pas seulement dans l'actualité immédiate), et d'autre part les possibilités et perspectives de solutions qui se présentent. Nous pourrions résumer en gros les positions de la façon suivante:

- 1. Sur le plan du socialisme européen (et même hors de l'Europe), l'idée de l'autogestion ouvrière comme d'une vision humaniste du socialisme s'est affirmé au cours de ces dernières années, dans le mouvement ouvrier comme dans les cercles progressistes, et notamment dans l'intelligentsia. Le principe des »voies variées« du socialisme s'est tout naturellement lié à la conception des formes variées du socialisme, et l'autogestion s'est imposée comme la forme de véritable démocratisation du socialisme en général. Les résistances au socialisme étatique se multipient, et sur le plan de la pensée théorique marxiste, on peut dire sans exagérer qu'il n'y a pas aujourd'hui de penseur marxiste de quelque importance qui lui consentirait des concessions théoriques. Ajoutons aussitôt que cette évolution dans le sens du marxisme créateur et du socialisme autogestif nepouvait pas être affectée par les insuccès de la politique économique vougoslave ni par les phénomènes de crise du mouvement ouvrier, sujet sur lequel on a beaucoup discuté ces derniers temps dans les conférences du parti et autogestives. Certes, notre désir profond est que notre pays contribue véritablement au progrès du socialisme en tant que système, mais en même temps nous avons découvert avec satisfaction que la victoire de l'autogestion ouvrière ne dépend plus seulement de nos succès ou insuccès intérieurs, encore que nos insuccès puissent porter préjudice au mouvement ouvrier dans le monde (surtout après le choc avec la Tchécoslovaquie en
- 2. Le socialisme en Yougoslavie est tombé en crise non seulement à cause de l'insuccès d'une politique déterminée (les insuccès de la »réforme économique« n'ont fait que souligner ses manques), mais

B u t we s o m m e s c o n scien t s, w ith c o n tributions, do not want to extend the th e m e n i s a tis fait c e u x t o t h e c o lla b o r a t u r e s w h o c o u n d also mean ur m o t A u s s i a v o n s -nous decides to publish these new -

m ero s q u i v o n t s u iv re, et sous u n e ru b riq u e sp ecia le, to u te s les c o n tr ib u tio n s q u i n o u s p a r v ie n d r o n t e n cours d ' im p re ssio n ou a p re s V im -

p re ssio n d e ce n u m e ro.

Whatmanintenant descontributions requesthat although the redaction has the fact that, in this theoretical review, each author responds to these positions, bienchen ousayions punousatender eadesprises of divergent positions, on top of concrete socio-political problems, even on the part of men who do not readient ations marxistes et so cialists saccordent pour V essentiel - we have noticed this surprise of the relative concordance of contributions strait ant cependant dequestions difference.

re n te s under different aspects. All this shows that these authors (and others also), who are profoundly sensitive to the series of decades of socialism and the life of Yugoslavia, are of such importance ive p o u r s o n d e v e l o p m e m e n t futur e, on t h e r e s n e t e m e n t t h e p r o b l e m s a n d t h e d i f f i c u l t e s s e s s e n t i e s o n e p a r t (and passes u l e m e n t in V a ctu a lite im m e d ia te), and on the other hand possibilities set perspectives of solutions are quite present. N o u s p o u rrio n s r e s u m m e r s t h e following p o s t o f t h e sites:

1. - On the plane of European socialism (and even beyond V Europe), the idea of V autogestio n ou vries recommends a humanist vision of socialism m a u cours d e ces d e r n i e r e s a n n e e s, in the move -

m e n t o u v r i e r c o m m e d a n s the circles pro g ressists, and no t a m e n t in V intelligence. T h e p r i n c i p e d s » v o i e s v a r i e s « d u s o cia lism ' is to u t n a t u r e l e m e n t lie a la c o n c e p t i o n of the forms of variety d u soci alism, et V auto gestio n s'e s t i m p o s e e c o m m e l a t i o n a truly democratic form -

tion of soci alism in general. The resistances to socialism are multiplied, and from the plane of Marxist theoretical thought, one can say without exaggeration that it does not happen today 'what importance does Marxist penser at eof theorich

concessions. A j o u -

to n s a u ssito t q u e c e lle e v o lu tio n d a n s le sen s d u m a r x is m e c rea te u r et d u s o c ia lism e a u to g e s tif n e p o u v a it pa s e tre a ffe c te e p a r les insucces d e la p o litiq u e e c o n o m iq u e y o u g o s la v e n i p a r les p h e n o m e n e s d e crise d u m o u v e m e n t o u v rie r, s u je t sur leq u e l on a b e a u c o u p d isc u te ces d e r -

lower temps than conferences due to partial self-gestures. Certainly, it is not a profound idea that any country contributes significantly to the progress of socialism as a system, but at the same time we have already discovered this fact tio n q u e la v ic to ir e d e V a u t o m e n t i o n o u v r ie re n e d e p e n d p l u s s e u l e m e n t o u r internal successes or insuccesses, en core that our insucces s p u i s s e n t p o r t e r p r e j u d i c e a u m o u v e m e n t o f rier d a n s le m o n d e (su rto after the collision with the Tckekecoslovakia in 1 968).

2. - Y o u g o s s o c i a l s m e e n life is in crisis not only because of the V in succeeds of a politics determined (the in successes of the

» r e fo r m e e c o n o m iq u e« r io n t fa it q u e so u lig n e r ses m a n q u e s), m a is 332

aussi à cause de la crise d'une certaine conception de l'autogestion ouvrière, à cause de la crise du système lui-même tel qu'il est défini dans la constitution et réalisé socialement. Aussi l'une des »fautes« essentielles du système est-elle d'avoir fait que le formalisme de droit a égalisé organisations productrices et organisations médiatrices (financières et commerciales), que le fétichisme capitaliste libéral du marché a rendues à leur contrôle de groupe égoïste et exploiteur. La classe ouvrière a perdu le droit de disposer du surplus de travail (reproduction élargie), et aussi du »travail passé« (accumulation sociale) en même temps que du »travail futur« (planification de la politique de développement).

- 3. De même que l'égalité des citoyens, au nom du droit de l'homme en général, a abouti dans la société bourgeoise à l'inégalité et à l'exploitation de l'homme, de même la négligence des traits fonctionnels des organisations sociales a abouti à l'inégalité parmi les organisations autogestives, à l'»égoïsme de groupe«, à l'exploitation d'organisation à organisation (et d'abord des organisations productrices par les organisations financières et commerciales). Le mécanisme de la concurrence et l'aesprit d'entreprise« ont enseigné à la classe ouvrière cet Ȏgoïsme de groupe«, et l'absence du rôle de défense de classe des syndicats, leur maintien en tant que facteurs »d'éducation et de discipline« (dans l'esprit du socialisme étatique), a laissé la classe ouvrière privée de la solidarité de classe élémentaire et de résistance de classe à l'exploitation du travail. Au lieu de la solidarité de classe, on a enseigné à la classe ouvrière un esprit d'entreprise bourgeois dans le cadre des rapports monnaie-marchandise, et la parole a été prise par les couches moyennes ou bourgeoises, anciennes ou fraîches émoulues. La classe ouvrière est donc restée privée de mécanismes économiques adéquats et de mécanismes politiques et d'idées défensifs. C'est ce que prouvent les »grèves sauvages« (plus de mille au cours des deux dernières années) et l'effort fait pour imposer l'idéologie des couches moyennes (qui veut que les syndicats de classe soient remplacés par des syndicats nationaux et l'internationalisme prolétarien par le nationalisme bourgeois). Il faut dire en outre que les organisations ouvrières culturelles ont péri d'une mort lente et que la bureaucratie politique a veillé à ce que le marxisme en tant qu'idéologie ne soit pas exagérément présent dans notre société. Conformément à l'orientation du marché donnée par les couches movennes qui ont été les seules à s'enrichir au cours des dernières années. les moyens de communications de masse (surtout la presse quotidienne et hebdomadaire) se sont efforcés de propager les »valeurs« de la société de consommation, et non celles du socialisme autogestif.
- 4. Les phénomènes du nationalisme, dont on a tant parlé ces derniers temps, sont des »phénomènes naturels« du fonctionnement actuel du »système autogestif« qui désorganise la classe ouvrière et organise les couches moyennes et médiasantes. A la mentalité des couches moyennes est venue s'ajouter celle de toute une légion de »communistes et

essentials of the system is it to have made that the formalism of law has equalized productive organizations and mediating organizations (financial and commercial), that the liberal capitalist fetishism of the market has returned to their control of selfish and exploitative group. The working class has lost the right to dispose of surplus labor (enlarged reproduction), and also of "past labour" (social accumulation) together with "future labour" (planifica tio n of the develop m en t policy).

3. - De meme que Vegalite des citoyens, au n o m d u d u d roit de Vhom -

even in general, has resulted in bourgeois society in inequality and in the exploitation of man. likewise the negligence of functional traits -

of social organizations has resulted in inequality among self-governing organizations, in "group egoism", in the exploitation of organization by organization (and first of all of the productive organizations by the financial and commercial organizations). The mechanism of competition and the "spirit of enterprise" have taught the working class this "group egoism", and the absence of a class defense role for the trade unions, their maintenance as actors of "education and discipline" (in the spirit of state socialism), has left the working class bereft of elementary class solidarity and class resistance to labor exploitation. Instead of class solidarity, the working class has been taught a bourgeois entrepreneurial spirit within the framework of money-commodity relations, and the voice has been taken by the middle or bourgeois strata. old or fresh boiled.

The working class has thus remained deprived of adequate economic mechanisms and of political mechanisms and of defensive ideas. This is proven by the »wildcat strikes« (more than a thousand over the past two years) and the e ffo rt made to impose Videology on the middle strata (who want the unions to are replaced by national trade unions and proletarian internationalism by bourgeois nationalism). It must also be said that the cultural workers' organizations have perished a slow death and that the political bureaucracy has taken care that Marxism as an ideology is not overly present in our society. In c o n fo rm en t with the market orientation given by the middle strata, who have been the only ones to get richer in recent years. the mass communication media (especially the daily and weekly press) have endeavored to propagate the »values« of the consumer society, and not those of autogestive socialism.

4. - The phenomena of nationalism, of which so much has been

spoken lately, are »natural phenomena« of the current functioning of the »self-gestive system« which disorganizes the working class and organizes the middle and media strata. To the mentality of the middle strata was added that of a whole legion of "com m unists and 333"

soicalistes déçus«, compagnons de la révolution socialiste qui ont cherché dans les valeurs nationales traditionnelles un succédané à la »révolution manquée« et à l'idéologie révolutionnaire.

- 5. La décentralisation du système politique par la mise en valeur de l'Ȏtat républicain«, et non de l'»autogestion républicaine«, met l'accent sur certains mécanismes défensifs de l'organisation politique de la société, et non point sur les mécanismes progressistes. Loin d'être comprises comme un processus naturel de »dépérissement de l'état«. la décentralisation et l'affirmation du rôle des républiques sont expliquées le plus souvent comme une »division du pouvoir« sur la base de l'ancien système, et parfois même comme un pas en arrière. C'est la raison pour laquelle le développement futur dépendra des réformes sociales radicales réalisées sur le terrain-même du système autogestif, dans le sens d'une démocratisation véritable (il n'est pas difficile de constater que les couches moyennes tendent vers les solutions autoritaires), et dans le sens d'une socialisation des organisations sociales. Pour y parvenir, il sera nécessaire de développer en même temps de larges discussions et de larges actions dans le sens des recommandations et des exigences formulées entre autres par le IIè Congrès des autogesteurs.
- 6. Il faudrait également mettre en application la position programmatique de la direction politique soulignant la nécessité de garder l'unité du système politique et socialiste en Yougoslavie comme base réelle de l'unité des peuples yougoslaves, non seulement par les processus de politique pratique, mais par les processus d'idées correspondants. Il est hors de doute que la consolidation du socialisme autogestif sert les intérêts de la classe ouvrière et de tous les peuples de Yougoslavie, et représente la meilleure des digues élevées contre toutes les spéculations politiques, dans notre pays et au dehors, spéculations qui comptent sur les tendances séparatistes, le découpement de la Yougoslavie dans l'esprit de la politique des blocs, la liquidation de l'autogestion ouvrière comme contre-balance au socialisme étatique. Nous devons nous garder d'oublier que les forces qui agissent dans ce sens sont très puissantes, à l'Est comme à l'Ouest, mais nous ne devont pas perdre de vue que toutes les forces progressistes, en Europe occidentale et dans le camp socialiste, sont vitalement intéressées par la préservation d'une Yougoslavie autogestive et socialiste unique.

5. - The centralization of the parliamentary political system is a value of the'» republican state « , and where V » republican selfmanagement « , and V a ccent on certain defensive mechanisms ifs of the political organization of society, and no point on the progressive mechanisms. L o i n d 'e tre c o m p r i s e s c o m m e n p r e s s u s n a t u r e l of the » deprivation of Vetat«, the decentralization and affirmation of the role of the republics is explained ees the most common » division of power « on the basis of the V a n cien s ystem , and p a r f o s m e m e c o m m e a n p a s e n a r e . This is the reason why future development depends on radical social reforms that realize on a self-managing system, in the sense of ' u n e d e m o c r a t i s a t i o n v e r i t a b l e (it is n e s t p a s s diffic ile to de c o n s t a t e r t h a t couches mean tendency towards authoritarian so lutions), and in the sense of socialization s o r g a n i n g tio n s social.

P o u r y p a r v e n i r , it will be necessary to develop m e m e m e n t of large-scale discussions and large-scale actions in the sense of recommendations - $\!\!\!$

tio n s et d es e x ig e n c e s fo rm u le e s e n tr e a u tre s p a r le H e C o n g res des a u to g este u rs.

6. - II fa u draitegalementmettreenapplicationthe position po -

grammasousoulignessitdegar-derVustetemepolitiquetsoougosandcommebasesyougoslaves, nouseulationsparalprocessofpoliticalpratices, butparalsoprecessofcorresponding ideas. II est hors dedoute that theconsolidationofsocials meautgests the interessof classouvrieret detous lespeoples of Yougos laverepresents meilleure des digues levees contertou-

the les s p o l i t i c a t i o n s , in our country besides, speculations that are competent on separatist tendencies, the d e c o u p m e n t of Y o u g o s life s V esprit of politics u e d e s blocks, the liquidation of the V a uto management again results in a counter-balance to etatic soci alism.

Nous devons nous garderd'oublierque les forces qui a gissent dans ce sens sont tres puissantes, a l'Est comme a l'Ouest, mais nous nede-

v o n t pa s p c r d e d e v u e q u e to all progressive forces, and in

Occidental Eu rope it is in the camp socia list, so there is a vital interest in preservation n d 'u n e Y o u g o s la v e a unique selforganizing society.

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LE SOCIALISME ET LA CRISE

Predrag Uranicki

Zagreb

I

Il y a déjà un bon demi-siècle que le socialisme se trouve placé sur la scène historique. Au cours de cette période, il s'est révélé sous ses différents aspects. Les clairs et les sombres. Les uns et les autres peuvent être rattachés à ces situations de crise qui affectent tous les développements, et par conséquent le développement social, crises de croissance, de stagnation, dépérissement. Pour l'action historique consciente, il est capital de distinguer clairement les caractères de certaines contradictions au lieu de jeter le voile sur certaines situations de crise en appelant crise de croissance ce qui est de toute évidence une in-

quiétante crise de stagnation.

Dans le développement du socialisme jusqu'à nos jours, tout phénomène de crise grave a forcément quantité de causes primordiales et secondaires. Je désire dans cette étude mettre l'accent sur les moments que je considère comme essentiels pour ces phénomènes. Et j'y vois deux moments décisifs: premièrement, les situations et conditions historiques extérieures et intérieures à l'intérieur desquelles le socialisme s'est développé jusqu'à maintenant (je parle essentiellement du socialisme européen); deuxièmement, la capacité ou l'incapacité des protagonistes eux-mêmes, les marxistes, à agir le plus possible conformément aux conditions précitées. Comme je vais le montrer, jusqu'à présent, on pouvait parler infiniment plus de dogmaticité, de nonélasticité et pour ainsi dire de non-marxicité des marxistes eux-mêmes dans la réalisation des buts historiques, ce qui a beaucoup contribué à l'approfondissement de certains moments de crise, dont je parlerai ici.

Il est tout à fait logique que les marxistes européens, dans leur engagement historique, soient partis d'abord des positions de Marx et Engels sur le dépassement du capitalisme et l'organisation du socialisme. Ils sont partis de leurs conceptions, mais ils ont négligé tout à fait les conditions et suppositions historiques desquelles étaient partis ces deux grands esprits de la pensée théorique du XIXè siècle. Et c'est

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Socialism has been on the historical scene for a good half century. During this period, it revealed itself in its different aspects. The light and the dark. Both can be linked to these crisis situations which affect all development, and consequently social development, crises of growth, stagnation, decline. For a conscious historical faction, it is capital to clearly distinguish between the characteristics of certain con trad iction n s instead of throwing the veil over certain crisis situations by calling for growth crisis what is obviously a crisis of stag n atio n.

In the dev elo p m en t of socialism up to the present day, every phenomenon of crisis has a strong qu u an tity of primary and secondary causes. In this study, I wish to emphasize the moments that I consider essential for these phenomena. And I see two decisive moments there: first, the external and internal historical situations and conditions within which socialism has developed until now. tena n t (I'm m a ssing mainly about European socialism); two C m em en t, the ability or inability of p ro ta -

gonists themselves, the Marxists, act as much as possible in accordance with the above-mentioned conditions. As I am about to show, up to now, we could talk about indefinitely more dogmaticity, non-elasticity and, so to speak, non-m a rx ic itc des m arxists themselves in the realiza tio n of historical goals, which has greatly contributed to the deepening of certain moments of crisis, of which I will speak here.

It is quite logical that European Marxists, in their historical commitment, started first from the positions of M a rx and Engels on the overcoming of capitalism and the organization of socialism. They started from their conceptions, but they completely neglected the historical conditions and suppositions from which these two great minds of the theoretical thought of the 19th century started. And it's 335

ici, à mon avis, qu'il faut chercher l'origine du malentendu tragique qui non seulement caractérisa la grave crise du socialisme-stalinisme, mais qui souvent se perpétue théoriquement et pratiquement dans le socialisme d'aujourd'hui.

Nous n'avons pas l'intention d'expliquer longuement l'une des pensées fondamentales de Marx et Engels sur le dépassement de la production capitaliste anarchique et des différentes formes d'aliénation de l'homme grâce à l'organisation de la production planifiée et une direction appliquée aux choses et non plus aux hommes. Assez de textes chez les classiques traitent de ce sujet et nous nous contenterons d'en citer deux. C'est ainsi que Marx écrivait dans la Critique du programme de Gotha: »Dans une société qui repose sur des principes de coopération, qui se fonde sur la propriété commune des moyens de production, les producteurs n'échangent pas leurs produits; le travail accompli pour l'obtention des produits n'apparaît pas non plus comme valeur de ces produits, mais comme une qualité matérielle qu'ils possèdent, car déjà, contrairement à ce que l'on observe dans la société capitaliste, les travaux individuels n'existent pas indirectement mais directement, comme parties intégrantes du travail total«. De même, Engels, vers l'année 70, écrivait dans son ouvrage contre Dühring: »En prenant possession des moyens de production dans la propriété de la société, on élimine la production de la marchandise et par le faitmême le règne des produits sur les producteurs. L'anarchie, dans la production sociale, est remplacée par l'organisation consciente et planifiée«.

Ces positions mettent en valeur l'une des caractéristiques essentielles opposant d'un côté société capitaliste d'exploitation et règne des produits sur les producteurs, et de l'autre socialisme, ou abolition de ce règne par l'organisation planifiée de la production et la domination de la production, c'est-à-dire des choses. Le »malentendu« tragique, chez les successeurs de Marx, est survenu au moment où ils ont perdu de vue les conditions historiques de l'hypothèse sur laquelle se sont fondés les fondateurs du marxisme, et au moment où ils ont essayé d'appliquer les positions et conceptions en question d'une façon mécanique et directe, sans aucune médiation sociale, à leur situation historique et directe, sans aucune médiation sociale, à leur situation historique – situation qui, dans la majorité des cas, était essentiellement différente de celle pensée par Marx et Engels. Il est nécessaire de le souligner, afin d'éclairer cette erreur historique et d'en tirer un enseignement.

L'optique historique des positions de Marx et Engels sur le développement du socialisme s'est avérée très éloignée de ce que fut le cours réel des choses. Ils ont supposé – ce qui était le plus logique et le plus rational – que le socialisme accèderait à la scène historique dans les pays qui étaient à l'époque les plus développés, où la classe ouvrière était la plus forte, où les contradictions entre bourgeoisie et prolétariat étaient par conséquent les plus aigües. Ces grands pays étaient l'Angleterre, la France, l'Allemagne et l'Amérique. Au début de la deuxième moitié du XIXè siècle, la Russie était le plus arriéré de tous les grands pays européens, le servage venait d'être aboli et le

here, he notes, it is necessary to search for the origin of the tragic male tendency that does not alone characterize the severe crisis of Stalinist socia lism ism, but which so u vents perpetuates this requirement in practice in today's so cialism.

Nous n'a vons pas l'intentiond'expliquer longuement l'une des pen-

sees the fundamentals of M a r x e t Engels on the passage of c a p i t a l i s p r o d u c t i o n anarchy and the different forms of alienation o m m e g r a c e a l 'organization of p r o d u c t i o n p l a n i f i e e t u n e d i r e c t i o n a p p l i q u e e a u x ch oses e t n o n l u s a u s h o m m e s. A s s e o f t h e -

tes chez les c lassiq u es t r a i te n t d e ce s u je t e t n o u s n o u s c ontenterons d'enciter deux. C'est a in si que Marx e criv a it d a n s la C ritiq u e d u p r o g ra m m e d e G o th a : » D a n s u n e so ciete q u i rep o se s u r des p rin c ip e s de c o o p e ra tio n, q u i se fo n d e s u r la p r o p rie te c o m m u n e d es m o y en s d e p ro d u c tio n, les p ro d u c te u rs n'e c h a n g e n t p a s leu rs p ro d u its; le tr a v a il a cco m p li p o u r l'o b te n tio n d es p ro d u its n'apparait pas non plus com me vale ur de ces pro du its, m ais comme un e qua lite m a terie lle qu'ils pos-se den t, c a r d e ja, c o n tr a ir e m e n t a ce q u e Ton o b se rv e d a n s la so ciéte c a p ita lis te, les t r a v a u x in d iv id u e ls n 'e x is te n t p a s in d ire c te m e n t m ais d ire c te m e n t, co m m e p a rtie s in te grantesdutravail to tal«. Dememe, Engels, versl'ann e e 70, e c riv a it d a n s so n o u v ra g e c o n tre D iih rin g : » E n p r e n a n t possessio n des m o y en s d e p ro d u c tio n d a n s la p r o p rie te d e la so ciete, o n ć lim in e la p ro d u c tio n d e la m a rc h a n d is e e t p a r le f a it-m em e le re g n e des p ro d u its s u r les p ro d u c te u rs. L'a n a rchie, d a n s la p ro d u c tio n so ciale, est re m p la c e e p a r l'o r g a n is a tio n co n scie n te e t p l a n ifie e«.

The spositions methen values of a distinctive caractes essenties sposed to a capitalist society's exploitation of products teurs, etc. of other socialism, ouabolition of ecregone parl'organization planning of production and the domination of production, c'est-a-dredthings. The "tragic" malent, among Marx's successors, is survived at the moment when they have lost sight of the historical conditions of the hypoth \hat{s} in which they are fondes less fond at uresdum arx ism, etam o mentouils ontess yd'appliquerles position set conceptions in the question of unefa? on meca

n o t d i r e c t e , without any social media, a l e u r situ a tion history - a situation that, in the majority of cases, is e tait e sse n tie l e m e n t d ifferent from that thought by M a r x e t Engels. II is necessary for

the s ouligner, in order to clarify this error history and the entire sign.

M a r x e t Engels's positions on the development of s o c i a l s m e s t a v e r e tr£ s e lo igned that this fu t the real course of things They do not suppose that it is the most logical and the most rational that soci alism a c c e d s it right on the histor ical scene in small countries the more developed, or the class o u v rie re tait the more fortified, or the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat par consequently plus aig iies. C e s g r a n d p a y s e t i e n t s in England, France, Germany and America. F r o m the beginning of the 11th century, Russia was the largest country in Europe, serving the 336th century

svstème portait encore des traces évidentes de féodalisme et de monarchisme. Les autres pays d'Europe de l'est étaient dans des situations identiques. Le mouvement ouvrier n'existait pour ainsi dire pas.

Les pays développés que nous avons cités étaient déjà pourvus d'une articulation de classe et sociale claire et forte, avec tout un passé de révolutions et de traditions démocratiques et culturelles bien plus développées, avec un mouvement ouvrier puissant et même riche de certaines expériences révolutionnaires (les chartistes, les blanquistes, la Commune de Paris, etc). On comprend parfaitement que dans une telle situation, on ait cherché les brèches du capitalisme là où de nombreuses suppositions pour leur existence ou leur formation intensive existaient déjà.

Si l'on tient compte de ces suppositions, la chose n'est pas si obscure. Cependant, les marxistes qui suivirent ne se sont jamais posé la question de savoir ce qui découlait de ces suppositions, qui pût donner à Marx et à Engels des bases pour établir leurs conclusions. Car. il faut le souligner également, il ne s'agissait pas seulement d'une projection théorique du futur lointain, mais aussi de la réalité immédiate du socialisme. Et les conclusions découlaient des conséquences des suppositions historiques. Ces conséquences, d'ailleurs, avaient une portée à longue échéance mais permettaient aussi des réalisations directes ou presque des positions essentielles de Marx et Engels sur le développement du socialisme en tant que première phase du communisme.

Par sa victoire dans les pays développés d'Eurone et d'Amérique. le socialisme serait devenu le système économique dominant du monde. Grâce à son potentiel économique moderne, il n'aurait pas eu de concurrent important: par ailleurs, ses ressources économiques et ses forces de production auraient agi de façon décisive sur l'accélération du développement économique et social dans les autres pays. Le développement du socialisme dans les autres pays du monde aurait échappé à la pression de la concurrence et de l'exploitation économique, et aurait pu compter sur une aide économique importante.

Deuxièmement, par le fait-même, le socialisme serait devenu un système politique dominant, et grâce au développement du démocratisme socialiste, à l'élargissement des possibilités de l'engagement social et de la participation du travailleur à la gestion de son processus de production et de la société dans sa totalité, il serait devenu historiquement si attractif qu'il aurait accéléré la maturité politique et l'engagement des travailleurs dans les autres pays.

Troisièmement, étant donnée la position économique et politique dominante dont il aurait bénéficié, le socialisme aurait fait tomber les besoins des énormes dépenses militaires qui pèsent toujours sur l'économie et la société dans les pays du monde entier, phénomène qui a des effets parfaitement négatifs sur l'élévation du niveau de vie, et sur le raccourcissement de la journée de travail, l'une des suppositions les plus essentielles du succès du socialisme comme dépassement de la division du travail en travail manuel et travail intellectuel.

Quatrièmement, grâce à tout cela le socialisme aurait pu se développer à la mesure de ses besoins, de ses exigences et de ses suppositions.

the system still bore obvious traces of feudalism and monarchism. The other countries of Eastern Europe were in identical situations. The labor movement did not exist, so to speak.

The developed countries that we have cited already had a clear and strong class and social articulation, with a whole history of revolutions and much more democratic and cultural tra d itio n s.

developed, with a powerful and even soulful working-class movement

certain revolutionary experiments (the Chartists, the Blanquists, the Commune of Paris, etc.). We understand perfectly that, in such a situation, we looked for the cracks in capitalism where, in name -

many suppositions for their existence or intensive training already existed.

If these suppositions are taken into account, the matter is not so obscure.

However, subsequent Marxists never asked themselves what followed from these suppositions, which could give M arx and Engels a basis for drawing their conclusions. Because. it should also be underlined. it was not just a theoretical projection of the distant future. but also of the immediate reality of socialism. And the conclusions flowed from the consequences of historical assumptions. These consequences, moreover, had a long-term bearing but also allowed direct or almost direct realizations of the essential positions of M arx and Engels on the development of socialism as a first step. first phase of communism.

By its victory in the developed countries of E urope and America.

socialism would have become the dominant economic system in the world. Thanks to its modern economic potential, it would not have had any major competition. its economic resources and its production forces would have acted decisively on the acceleration of economic and social development in other countries. The development of socialism in the other countries of the world would have escaped

to the pressure of competition and economic exploitation. and could have counted on significant economic aid.

Secondly, by the fact-m cm e, socialism would have become a dominating political system, and thanks to the developm ent of socialist dem ocratism, to the widening of the possibilities social commitment and the p a rticip a tio n of the worker in the management of his pro du ctio n process and of society as a whole, it would have become historically so attractive that it would have accelerated the political maturity and the commitment of workers in

other countries.

Third, given the dominant economic and political position from which it would have enjoyed, socialism would have done away with the needs of the enormous military expenditures which still weigh heavily on the economy and society in countries all over the world, a phenomenon which has perfectly negative effects on the rise in the standard of living, and on the shortening of the day of work, one of the most essential suppositions of the success of socialism as overcoming the division of labor into manual labor and intellectual labor.

Fourthly, thanks to all this, socialism could have developed to the extent of its needs, its requirements and its suppositions.

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Soustrait aux pressions économiques et politiques venant de l'extérieur, il aurait déterminé lui-même son rythme de développement con-

formément à ses possibilités.

Enfin cinquièmement, à cause de toutes les raisons citées, Marx a logiquement supposé que le rapport essentiel de la société bourgeoise le capital-rapport – serait rapidement dépassé, et avec lui la production des marchandises. Dans la sphère politique, le dépérissement de l'état serait également l'un de processus essentiels les plus urgents, étant donnée le caractère de cette sphère et la forte menace d'une possibilité de déformation bureaucratique et étatique.

Je pense que tout cela nous montre clairement que Marx et Engels, ainsi que la majorité des marxistes de la IIè Internationale, ne supposaient pas l'économie planifiée et le dépassement des rapports monnaic-marchandise comme un but lointain du socialisme, mais comme un but direct; c'est du moins ce que prouvent toutes les suppositions précitées, qui découlaient de leurs conceptions des voies de la révolution socialiste. La certitude que la révolution prolétarinne éclaterait d'abord dans les pays les plus développés était si profondément ancrée dans l'esprit des marxistes du début de notre siècle que même les Bolcheviques, considérant la supposition de Lénine concernant la possibilité d'ouvrir une brèche dans le capitalisme même en pays sousdéveloppé, ne voyaient dans cette éventualité, même au début de leur révolution, qu'une impulsion donnée au prolétariat des pays sous-développés pour continuer l'œuvre commencée. D'autre part, quand les Bolcheviques ont fait la révolution, une grande partie des sociauxdémocrates européens n'ont pas voulu reconnaître cette révolution comme une révolution prolétarienne, les événements qui se déroulaient n'étant pas conformes aux suppositions précitées.

Cependant, avant de passer au cours réel des événements révolutionnaires, il convient de souligner encore ce qui suit: nous avons dit que tous les grands marxistes considéraient le dépassement du capitalrapport, de l'économie monnaie-marchandise, et par conséquent du travail salarié, comme la tâche essentielle, comme la vocation historique du socialisme pour l'édification d'une société nouvelle, délivrée des rapports salariés, de l'exploitation et des formes variées de l'aliénation de l'homme - ce qui reste aujourd'hui le but essentiel des forces socialistes progressistes du monde entier; mais il faut rappeler aussi que Marx, Engels et Lénine, pour citer seulement les plus importants, supposaient aussi le dépérissement de la sphère politique, c'est-à-dire le dépérissement de l'état et la structuration de la société sur la base de l'association des producteurs libres«. Sur ce point, nous ne désirons ni répéter ni citer ce que nous avons déjà dit en maintes occasions, comme tant d'autres qui ont analysé le même problème, mais nous voulons rappeler les conclusions de Marx touchant l'analyse des événements de la Commune de Paris, les positions d'Engels sur le dépérissement de l'état dans l'» Anti-Dühring«, les pages exhaustives que Lénine consacre au même problème dans »Etat et révolution«, ainsi que quantité d'autres écrits de moindre importance parus après la révolution, la valorisation historique des Soviets russes et les premiers essais réels d'édification du système des soviets dans les révolurie u r, it is right to determ ine lui-memeson ry th by developing conform ation to these possib ilites.

En fin cin qui me ment, a cause de toutes les raisons citees, Marx a logique ment suppose que le rapportessentiel de la societe bourgeoise

- le c a p i t a l- r e p o r t - will be rapidly passed, and there will be no production of goods. D a n s l a s h e r e p o l i t i c e , t h e examination of the 1'e tats is written in the most urgent essential processes, which have taken on a character re d e ce tte s p h e re et la f o r t e m e n a c e d 'a p o s s i b i l y of au c ra t i c u e t e t a t i c b u r e formation.

Jepense que to ut ce la nous montre claire ment que Marx et Engels, ain si que la major ite des marx istes de la lie Internationale, ne suppo-

sa ie n t p as l e c o n o m y p l a n i f e e and d e p a s s e m e n t of r e p o r t s m o n -

n a ie -m a r c h a n d i s common b u t lo within induso cialism, b u t common but direct; it is the last in s ce that proves to you the precise su p p o s i t i o n s , which c o u l a i n t d e l e u r s c o n c e p t i o n s of t h e ways of socialist r e v o l u t i o n . The certainty that a proletarian revolution in ne e c l a t e r a t e d in the most developed countries gave it a profound creed in the spirit of the Marxists o three centuries when even the Bolsheviks, considering Lenin's supposition, concerned the possibility of overthrowing capitalism itself in a country sous-d e v e l o p p e , n e v o y a i e n t in this event , m e m e a u d e b u t d e l u r re v o l u t i o n , w h i c h an impulsion is given to the proletariat of the southern country

v e lop p e s p o u r c o n t i n u e 1'ceuvre com m en cee. On the other hand, when the Bolsheviks fight the revolution, a large part of society

d e m o c rate s eu ro p e e n s n o n t p as v o u lu re c o n n a itre c e tte rev o lu tio n com m e u n e re v o lu tio n p r o le ta rie n n e , les e v e n em e n ts q u i se d e ro u -

the ie n t n 'e t a n t pas c o n f o r m s au x su p p o s i t i o n s p recitees.

C e p e n d a n t , before passing through the real course of events rć v o lu -

tion n a ire s , it c o n v i e n t s o u l g n e r e n c o r e c o r e c o r e s : we know that all the great Marxists consider the d e p a s s e m e n t of capital-rap p o r t , the ' 6economy and m o n n a y -m a r c h a n d i s e , a n d p a r c o n t e r t h e w o r k s a l a rć , c o m m e la ta c h e s s e n t s , c o m m e l a t i o n historically rich so cialism for the 1'edification of a new society lle . the delivery of salary reports, ex ploitation and various forms of ali6 -

n a t i o n o f h o m m e - what remains to this day but t h e essential of the progressive socialist forces of the world; but it is also necessary to recall that Marx, E n g e ls and L e n in e, to p u r c i t e only the most - $\frac{1}{2}$

p o r t a n t s, s u p p o s a i e n t a l l y the dep r e s e m e n t o f t h e p o l i t i c a l s p h e r e , e'e s t- a -dire the dep e r s e m e n t o f t h e state and its s t r u c t u r a t i o n society on the basis of the'» association of free products« S u r ce p o i n t , w e do not want to repeat what we have already done on many occasions, such as the same problem, but now we wish to r a p p e l e M a r x ' s conclusions to the analysis of the events of the Paris Commune, Engels' positions on the d e p e r i s e m e n t of e state in the » Anti-Diihring « , the exhaustive pages that Lenin sacrificed to the same problem in the » State revolution « , a in si que q u a n tite of other scripts demonstrates the importance of p a r u s a p r e v o l u t i o n , the historical valorisation of the Russian Soviets and the first ones essay reels of the de fi cation of the soviet system and the revolutions

tions russe, hongroise, allemande, et de nombreux événements révolutionnaires vers la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale. En un mot, on peut dire que l'essence du dévoloppement du socialisme n'est pas conçue par les fondateurs du marxisme comme la domination de l'état, comme l'organisation de la production dans la société par un mécanisme politico-étatique, mais comme le dépassement de ce mécanisme par l'affermissement de l'auto-organisation de la classe ouvrière et du travailleur dans le socialisme. L'orientation planifiée de son développement devait donc être de plus en plus une foction de la structure autogestive de la société, et de moins en moins une orientation politico-étatique.

Il est nécessaire de signaler ici que ces conceptions étaient et sont restées celles de Marx et d'Engels, et que nous pouvons les suivre sur ce terrain jusqu'à leurs derniers écrits. Par exemple, la position de Marx sur le problème de la liberté dans le tome 3 du Capital est citée mainte fois, mais rarement comme confirmation des positions mentionées plus haut. Parlant de la liberté de l'homme, qui commence là où finit le travail déterminé par la misère et par la finalité extérieure, Marx souligne que, étant donnée la sphère de production, »la liberté dans cette sphère ne peut consister que dans le fait que l'homme associé, les producteurs associés (souligné par P. V.), organisent rationnellement tout le commerce de la matière avec la nature, et la placent sous leur contrôle commun au lieu de faire que ce commerce les dominent comme une force aveugle; dans le fait, par ailleurs, qu'ils le réalisent avec une dépense de forces minime et dans les conditions les plus dignes de leur nature humaine. Mais tout cela reste du domaine de la nécessité. Au-delà commence le développement de la force humaine, qui est un but en soi, le véritable empire de la liberté, qui ne peut refleurir que dans le royaume de la nécessité pris comme base. La diminution de la journée de travail en est la condition principale«. (Souligné par P. V.)

Si nous omettons ou rejettons cette conception des classiques du marxisme, concernant l'association des producteurs libres«, les aproducteurs associés«, les soviets, les conseils, en un mot, et pour employer notre terminologie à nous: la conception de la gestion ouvrière et sociale – nous rejetons la caractéristique essentielle du socialisme, ce qui a toujours eu et aura toujours des conséquences déplorables et même tragique pour son développement.

П

Telles furent donc les suppositions essentielles. La probabilité de l'ébranlement du capitalisme là où le supposiaient les classiques du marxisme, et par conséquent, de la réalisation immédiate des conceptions que nous avons exposées, cette probabilité était très grande au XIXè siècle. Cependant, tout a été brouillé par ce facteur qui distingue essentiellement l'histoire des processus de la nature, je veux dire l'homme. Certaines possibilités ont apparu en Europe au début du XXè siècle, surtout dans la période de la Première Guerre mondiale,

Russian, Hungarian, German events, and many revolutionary events towards the end of the First World W ar. In a nutshell, we can say that the essence of the development of socialism is not conceived by the founders of Marxism as the domination of the state, as the organ isatio n of p roduction in so ciety b y a politico-state mecha nism , but as the overcoming of this mecha nism by the strengthening of the self-o rg an isatio n of the working and working class in socialism. The planned direction of its development should therefore be more and more a function of the self-managing stru ctu re of society, and less and less a political direction. state.

It is necessary to point out here that these conceptions were and have remained those of M arx and Engels, and that we can follow them on this ground until their last writings. For example, the position of M a rx on the problem of freedom in tom e 3 of Le C a p ita l is cited m a n y times, but rarely as con firm atio n of the positions mentioned above. Speaking of the freedom of man, which begins where the work ends, determined by misery and by the external end ality, M arx emphasizes that, given the sp here of p roduction, "freedom in this sp here can only consist in the fact that m a n associates, the associated producers (emphasis p a r P. V.), org an isen t ratio n -

nally all the trade of matter with n a tu re, and place it under their com m on control instead of having this trade dominate them as blind force; in the fact, moreover, that they achieve it with a minimum expenditure of force and in the conditions most worthy of their human n a tu re. But all that remains in the realm of necessity. B o t h e b e m e n ts the dev elo p m en t of h u m a n strength, which is an end in itself, the veritable empire of freedom, which can only flourish in the kingdom of necessity taken as a basis.

The reduction of the working day is the main condition".

(Underline pair P. V.)

If we omit or reject this conception of the classics of Marxism, concerning the "association of free producers", the "associated producers", the soviets, the councils, in a n word, and to employ our own term in o lo g y: the conception of workers and social management - we reject the essential charac teristic of socialism, which has a day has had and will always have deplorable and even tragic consequences for its dev elopm ent.

П

Such, then, were the essential suppositions. The probability of the shaking of capitalism where the classics of Marxism supposed it, and therefore of the im m ed iate realiza tio n of the conceptions that we

have shown, this probability was very high in the 19th century. However, everything has been confused by this factor which essentially distinguishes history from the processes of n a tu re , I mean man. S ome pos s ib ility ap peared in E u rope at the beginning of the 20th century, especially in the period of the First W orld W ar, $339\,$

que des personnalités et organisations formées (je pense d'abord à Lénine et aux Bolcheviques) ont su bien mieux utiliser que les personnalités et organisations les plus connues et les plus éminentes dans les régions développées de l'Europe – et l'histoire s'est mise en marche en suivant des courants qui ne furent point ceux supposés par Marx et Engels. Les percées dans le mur du capitalisme ne se sont point faites dans les pays les plus développés, mais dans l'un des pays les moins développés d'Europe.

Une situation spécifique s'est donc créée, liée au développement du socialisme, dans laquelle les suppositions de Marx que nous avons citées sont purement et simplement tombées. La Russie d'alors, même sans les dévastations de la guerre civile, ne pouvait pas devenir un pays économiquement et politiquement dominant dans le monde, et le socialisme, par le canal de ce seul pays, ne pouvait pas non plus devenir un système dominant, ni se développer en obéissant à sa propre mesure et à ses propres besoins, mais restait en concurrence ardue avec le capitalisme développé. Cependant, si les suppositions ont failli dans leur presque totalité, les marxistes n'en ont pas moins suivi les visions de Marx et Engels, qui supposaient une situation beaucoup plus dévelopée et une position tout à fait différente dans le monde pour les pays socialistes. Tous les marxistes russes ont pensé avec Lénine qu'ils pouvaient et devaient réaliser dans l'immédiat la pensée des classiques concernant l'opposition essentielle au capitalisme, cette pensée qui devait abolir le rapport salarié et le caractère anarchique de la production capitaliste et de tout ce qui en découlait. Ce fut l'époque de la nationalisation intégrale, et, à cause de la guerre, de l'instauration du communisme de guerre. Quatre ans plus tard, le socialisme traversait en Russie une crise économique très grave, qui était conséquence non de l'abondance mais de la pénurie, et qui menaça de mettre en question la croissance normale de l'économie. l'échange avec la campagne, et par conséquent, sur le plan politique, les rapports de la classe ouvrière et de la paysannerie avec le nouveau pouvoir.

Seule une personnalité de génie comme Lénine, libéré des shémas même dans le cas où les suppositions générales étaient justes, en 1921, dans de telles conditions et dans les structures de pensée de ses compagnons, pouvait accomplir une volte-face décisive et proclamer la nécessité de la N.E.P. Et proclamer la nécessité de la N.E.P., c'était ouvrir la porte aux rapports capitalistes et aux méthodes de la production capitaliste, puisque plusieurs milliers d'usines ont été confiées à la direction des capitalistes, ce qui ébranla fortement bon nombre de communistes honnêtes et convaincus. Bon nombre d'éminents marxistes russes ne pouvaient pas être intimément d'accord avec Lénine sur la nécessité, en 1918, de faire la paix avec l'Allemagne impérialiste (et pardessus le marché, paix honteuse), et ils ne pouvaient pas non plus, au début, donner leur accord à cette attitude de »conciliation« envers le capitalisme, après la victoire remportée sur lui. Cependant, la grandeur de Lénine est d'avoir eu un sentiment de la réalité tout à fait exceptionnel, un sens profond des possibilités réelles - qui commandaient à sa tactique révolutionnaire, sans qu'il laissât échapper pour autant les chaînons essentiels. C'est la raison pour laquelle, après n a litć s e t o r g a n is a tio n s the most well known and most prominent in the developing regions of Europe - and h isto ire s'est m ise en m a rch e n s u i v a n t des c u r a n t s t h a t e f u r e n t p o i n t s supposed by M a rx and Engels. L e s p e r c e s d a n s le m u r d u c a p i t a l s m e n e s o n p o i n t f i t e s among the most developed countries, but among the least developed countries of Europe.

A specific situation has been created, lie in the development of socialism, in which the suppositions of Marx that he cites are not purely simple to m b ees. R u ssie, then, mfcme without the devastation of civil war, could not have become an economically and politically dominant country in the world, and socialism , p a r l e c a n a l d e ce alone, it could no longer become a dominant system, nor would developers obey its proper needs, but remain in fierce competition with development capitalism. C e p e n d a n t. if their supposed positions fail in their total rescue, Marxists do not even follow the visions of Marx and Engels, who supposedly do not vine situation beauty plus deve -

lop6e et u n e p o s i t i o n t o u t a f a it d i f e r e n t from the world for socialist countries. All Russian Marxists thought with Lenin that they could not immediately realize classical thought concerning its opposition in c a p i t a l ism , this thinking which destroys the report of poverty and the anarchic r a c t e r of c a p i t a l i s p r o d u c t i o n and of all that it produces. C e fu t 1'e p o q u e d of the nation's integration, and, because of the war, the ins tauration of war c o m m m u n ism. Three years later, socialism in Russia went through a very serious economic crisis, which consequently led to abundance but poverty, and which threatened to put it in q u e stio n the nor mal cro issan of the economy. I'e c h a n g e w i t h -

p a g n e , and consequently, on the political plan, the reports of the working class and the country with the new power.

Only a person of genius like Lenin freed himself from the case or the oppositions generated by him, in 1921, in such a cond itio n s et d a n s le s t r u c t u r e s de p e n see these com -

p a g n o n s, in order to accomplish a decisive turn-around and proclaim the necessity of the N .E .P It proclaims the necessity of the N.F. P.. e'e ta it to open the gateway to capitalist reports and to the methods of capitalist p roduction, although there are m illions of factories confines itself to the d ire c tio n of the c a p ita l i s t s , w h i c h b r a n d t h e f o r t e m e n t b o n n o m b e r of c o m m u n i s

 $t\ i\ o\ n\ s\ h\ o\ n\ e\ t\ e\ s\ and\ con\ v\ a\ n\ c\ e\ s\ .\ B\ o\ n\ n\ o\ m\ b\ e\ r\ d\ 'e\ m\ i\ n\ e\ n\ t\ s\ M\ a\ r\ x\ i\ s\ t\ e\ s\ Russians\ could\ not\ pass\ three\ in\ time\ agreements\ with\ L\ 6\ nine\ sur\ la\ n6cessit6,\ in\ 1918,\ to\ defeat\ the\ country\ with\ l\ 'All\ the\ great\ imperialists\ (and\ p\ a\ r\ d\ e\ ssu\ s\ le\ m\ a\ r\ c\ h\ e\ ,\ p\ a\ ix\ h\ o\ n\ t\ e\ u\ se\),\ and\ they\ could\ not\ do\ anything\ more,\ however,\ give\ you\ this\ attitude\ d\ e\ d\ e\ s\ c\ o\ n\ c\ i\ l\ a\ t\ i\ o\ n\ «$

a n v e r s c a p i t a l ism, a p r e s l a v i c t i r e r e m p o r t e d on it. C e p e n d a n t , L e n i n e 's greatness is in having a sense of reality without exception, a profound sense of real possibilities - which com -

m a n d a ie n t a sa ta c tiq u e rć v o lu tio n n a ire , san s q u 'il lais s a t ć c h a p p e r p o u r a u ta n t les ch a in o n s essentiels. C 'est la ra is o n p o u r la q u e lle , a p rč s 340

la victoire d'Octobre, il appliqua, en ce qui concerne la question paysanne, le programme social-révolutionnaire de gauche, et non pas le programme communiste; avec la nationalisation formelle de la terre tout entière, les communistes russes ont donné aux paysans la terre à gérer. De même, lorsqu'il vit qu'il ne pourrait autrement tirer le pays de la crise de stagnation du développement économique, Lénine n'hésita pas à inaugurer la nouvelle politique économique, ce qui était déroger aux principes proclamés, mais assurait le salut de la révolution. On dira qu'il y a là contradiction: certainement, comme dans le développement du monde tout entier, surtout le développement du monde d'aujourd'hui.

Les qualités caractéristiques de la personnalité de Lénine manquaient complètement à son »successeur«. Limitant de plus en plus la démocratie dans le parti, Staline, par des méthodes non-démocratiques, s'est débarassé peu à peu de l'opposition dans le parti et vers la fin des années trente, à commencé a réaliser la collectivisation forcée et l'économie dirigée planifiée. Le sentiment de la spécificité des moments et l'esprit démocratique dans la solution des problèmes politiques faisaient complètement défaut à Staline. Il lui manquait aussi la confiance dans les masses, et avant tout dans la classe ouvrière. Et tandis que Lénine devait compter encore avec l'état socialiste, mais avec l'état dépérissant - car, dans la pensée de Lénine, il devait être remplacé par la gestion directe des travailleurs dans les soviets - Staline a identifié socialiste et étatique, il a rejeté, il a banni l'idée de Marx sur l'autogestion et a conçu l'économie planifiée et la planification comme une fonction de l'état, proclamant cette époque moment historique de la victoire complète des rapports socialistes, ce qui aurait dû signifier aussi dépassement des categories essentielles de l'économie politique: le marché, les rapports monnaie-marchandise, le capital-rapport, la valeur, etc . . . Staline et ses collaborateurs ne pouvaient pas comprendre qu'à ce degré de développement social et dans de telles conditions historiques, il était impossible d'abolir aussi rapidement les anciens rapports, qu'il était impossible, sans encourir les plus lourdes conséquences, de bannir la grande idée marxiste sur le dépérissement de l'état, c'est-à-dire sur l'affermissement de l'autogestion et du rôle du travailleur dans la gestion non seulement de son surplus de travail, mais aussi de sa communauté sociale. Egalisant socialiste et étatique, propriété socialiste et propriété étatique, planification socialiste et planification étatique, ils ont créé un système étatique et bureaucratique puissant, un mecanisme qui, dans une situation sous-développée et dans un pays à traditions démocratiques faibles pouvait très facilement devenir fatal même pour les meilleurs protagonistes de la révolution, en même temps que pour une partie du peuple de ce pays, ce qui n'a pas manqué de se produire après qulques années seutement. Le système socialiste et son développement en URSS, pour les raisons que nous venons de citer, devait tomber d'une crise dans une autre.

Dans la situation intérieure sous-développée, les processus cités ne pouvaient être réalisés que par recours à la force. Concrètement, c'était le renforcement de la puissante sphère étatique et bureaucratique,

the victory of October, he applied, with regard to the peasant question, the left-wing sociai-rev o lu tio n airc pro g ram m e, and not the com m unist pro g ram m e; with the formal nationalization of the

entire land, the russian communists gave the peasants the land to manage. Similarly, when he saw that he could not otherwise pull the country out of the crisis of sta g n a tio n in economic development, Lenin did not hesitate to augur the new economic policy, which was a departure from the proclaimed principles, but ensured the salvation of the revolution.

People will say that there is a con trad ictio n: certainly, as in the development of the whole world, especially the development of the world today.

The characteris tic qualities of L en ine's perso n ality were completely lacking in his »successor«. Increasingly limiting democracy in the party, Stalin, by non-democratic methods, gradually got rid of the opposition in the party and towards the end of the thirties, began to achieve forced collectivization and the planned command economy. The feeling of the specificity of the moments and the spirit of democracy in the solution of political problems completely devastated Stalin. It also lacked confidence in the masses, and above all in the working class. And while Lenin still had to reckon with the socialist state, but with the dying state - because, in Lenin's thinking, he had to be replaced by the direct management of the workers in the soviets - Stalin helped to tify socialism and the state, he rejected, he banished the idea of M arx on self-management and congulan ification and p lan ific a -

tio n as a function of the state, pro cla m ing that era as a historic m oment of the com plete victory of the socialist re p o rts, which should also signify an overriding of the essential categories of political economy: m arket, m o n e y-m arket rela tio n, c a p ita l-r e p o rt, v alue, etc . . . Stalin and his collaborators could not understand that at this degree of social dev elo pm en t and under such historical conditions, it was impossible to ab o lish so quickly the old re p o rts, that it was impossible, without incurring the heaviest consequences, to banish the great Marxist idea on the decline of the state, that is to say on the strengthening of self-management and the role of the worker in the management not only of his surplus work, but also of his social com m unity. E g a lizing socialist and state, socialist ownership and state ownership, socialist planning and state planning, they have created a state system and powerful c ra tic office, a mech anism that, in an under-developed situ a tio n and in a coun try w ith weak dem o cratic tra d itio n s, m ay tac ile b ecome fatal even for the best p rotagonists of the rev o lu tio n, at the same time as for part of the people of this country, which has not failed to happen after only a few years. The socialist system and its development in the USSR, for the

reasons we have just cited, was to fall from one crisis into another.

i

In the underdeveloped internal situation, the above-mentioned processes could only be achieved through the use of force. Basically, it was the strengthening of the powerful state and bureaucratic sphere,

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la scission entre le pouvoir politique et le peuple allant en s'aggravant tandis que les rapports démocratiques dans le parti et dans la société devenaient de plus en plus étroits, et que toute pensée créatrice dans le domaine des sciences sociales et humanistes était étouffée et rendue impossible aussitôt qu'esquissée.

Le résultat fut la création d'un nouveau type de rapports salariés, d'un nouveau type d'aliénation économico-politique, ce qui, dans un système étatique et bureaucratique, ne pouvait que se refléter sur le plan des rapports nationaux (la domination de la nation russe, le mépris du droit des nations à l'autodétermination - le cas des pays baltiques, de certains pays d'URSS, et plus tard, par exemple, de la Tchécoslovaquie). Donc, dans un pays à traditions démocratiques faibles, et avec de fortes traditions absolutistes et autoritaires, dans un pays dont le prolétariat avait été décimé par la guerre civile et les masses épuisées – la politique de Staline a abouti à une crise profonde du socialisme qui eut des conséquences politiques à longue portée dans le monde entier: au lieu du développement de la démocratie socialiste, la terreur bureaucratique fut proclamée le degré le plus haut de la liberté de l'homme dans le monde moderne, la suppression totale du droit de la personne, les pires méthodes moyennâgeuses ayant été introduites dans les processus judiciaires, furent proclamées vers la fin des années trente réalisation du socialisme et début du passage au communisme.

On pourrait en conclure que tout développement du socialisme aboutira à des crises sensibles s'il ne tient pas compte des situations et possibilités concrètes, c'est-à-dire des étapes possibles de la réalisation des idées qui sont le but final de cette époque historique, but déjà exprimé dans Marx et Engels. D'autre part, tout socialisme situé dans un cadre européen doit tomber dans des crises graves s'il ne commence pas dans l'immédiat la réalisation des rapports autogestifs et la structuration de la société sur ces rapports autogestifs, ce qui ne fait avec le dépérissement de l'état1 qu'un seul et même processus. Staline n'a pas été si violemment critiqué et disqualifié pour avoir compté sur l'état socialiste, mais pour l'avoir compris comme l'unique réalité du socialisme et pour avoir transformé le processus essentiel du socialisme - le développement de l'autogestion sous la forme des soviets - en parlementarisme politique pur et simple, susceptible d'être manipulé à travers le mécanisme étatique et politique, surtout dans les rapports non-démocratiques. Le stalinisme, en tant que système de pensée et système de pouvoirs et de rapports (et le culte de la personnalité n'en est que l'expression extrême), subit une critique violente de la part de toutes les forces socialistes pour avoir conçu la gestion totale du pays, et par là la planification économique, seulement comme une fonction de l'état, donc de la sphère étatico-bureaucratique, et non d'abord comme une fonction de l'association des producteurs libres, comme la fonction de l'autogesteur. De même, parce qu'il

the scission between political power and the people is aggravating as democratic reports in the party and society become increasingly true, and that anyone who thinks creatively in the field of social sciences

¹ J'ai déjà parlé dans des études antérieures de ce second moment et du problème de la démocratie dans le parti, la vie publique, etc., et je ne répéterai pas ici ce que j'ai déjà dit.

and humanities will find it an impossible trend to sketch.

Leresult fut la creation of a nouveauty ped salary reports, a n o u v e a u t y p e of a lie nation eco n o m i c o - p o litiq u e, which, in its systfcme tiq u e et b u re au c ra tiq u e, n e p o u v a it to be refleters ureplanderrapports to the nation (the dominance of the Russian nation, the m 6-pris d u d ro it is the nation's self-determination - the case of the Baltic countries, certain countries of the USSR, and moreover, for example, of the Czechoslovakia). D o n e, in a country where there are trad itions of £ m ocratic failures, and with strong trad itions of abso lu tist authorities, there is a country in which the proletariat must be decisive w a r e t h e m asses ep uises - Stalin's policy is about a profound crisis of socialism that has long-term political consequences in the world tier: a u lie u d u d e v e l o p p e m e n t o f t h e democratic so cialist, the aucraticurbure fut proclaims the highest degree of freedom of man in the m o d e m o d e r m o d e r n , the suppre ssion to tale dudroit de lapersonne, the worst methods I use as introduced in judicial proceedings, f u re n t pro c la m e s ve rs the fin de year of the trend in the realization of socialism and the beginning of the transition to communism.

On the other hand, we conclude that the development of socialism will lead to sensible crises if it does not take into account concrete situations and possibilities, e'e s t- a -d ire the possible stages of the realization of ideas that are the final butt of this little history, but already expressed by Marx and Engels. On the other hand, to u t socialism situated in a European cadre and due to severe crises 'it does not commence beyond the immediate realization of rapprochement ts a u t o g e s t i f e s a t t h e s t r u c t u r a t i o n o f t h e society originate from a u t o g e s t i f i c r a p p o r t s , w h i c h e f a i t w i t h t h e d e p e r i s m e n t o f t h e state1 q u 'u n l e t m e p r o cessu s. Stalin did not undergo critical and d isqu alifi ed in order to account for the socialist state, but also in order to understand the unique reality of socialism and in order to trans form the essential processes of so cialism

- the development of self-management under soviet forms - and parliamentary politics pure and simple, susceptible to manipulation le a tra v e rs the ethical and political mechanisms, especially in non-democratic reports. L e stalinism, as a system of thought and a system of power and reports (and the cult of the individual is extremely expressive), su b i t u n e c r i t i q u e v io le n t on the part of both socialist forces in order to con^u lage stion to ta le two countries, and by the eco plan n o m iq u e , only as a common function of the state,

from the sphere of the tactical-bureaucratic, and not 'at all as a common function of the state' a ssociation of li-bres p roducers, com m e la fo n cti on of the auto manager. D e m e m e , because 'it 1 I 've also read in these earlier studies of this second moment of the problem of the democratic in the party, the v ie p u b liq u e , etc., et j e n e r ć p ć te ra i pas ici ce q u e j 'a i dćjžk d it.

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a réalisé ces conceptions dans le socialisme sans tenir compte des possibilités concrètes, grâce à des méthodes intolérablement violentes et policières, parce qu'il a étouffé la libre critique et proclamé ennemi du peuple quiconque s'opposait à de tels actes et à de telles conceptions, il tombe sous le coup de la critique. Telles sont, du moins fondamentalement, les racines profondes de la crise grave qui dans ces pays secoue le socialisme depuis déjà plusieurs dizaines d'années. La crise peut être adoucie par une prospérité économique, par l'élargissement des libertés publiques, etc. Mais tant que les structures de rapports que nous avons décrites ne seront pas détruites, le socialisme n'échappera pas à la crise. Les moments essentiels de la libération de l'homme échappant aux sphères politiques et économiques du pouvoir ne sont pas »derrière«, mais toujours »devant«, comme une tâche historique.

Ш

Etant donné le développement du socialisme yougoslave et en parlant le plus généralement possible, on pourrait le définir comme une lutte pour la voie personnelle, pour la réalisation de conceptions marxistes originales (la désaliénation, le socialisme humaniste, l'autogestion, l'autodétermination nationale, etc.), ce qui n'est que le deuxième côté de l'échec aux conceptions héritées du stalinisme et de la III^e Internationale. Ce processus commence essentiellement en 1941. Il dure encore et il serait illusoire de croire qu'il puisse s'achever avec les projets actuels, sujet sur lequel nous reviendrons. C'est la victoire sur certaines conceptions bien déterminées concernant les voies de la révolution, le rôle de l'état, du parti, la démocratie à l'intérieur du parti, l'économie planifiée, la solution des questions nationales, la fonction des arts et des sciences, les »transmissions« politiques et sociales, etc.

La voie empruntée par notre révolution socialiste était diamétralement opposée aux vues officielles de la III^e Internationale: elle était donc, à la base, anti-staliniste. Mais tout cela n'était pas encore pleinement conscient, notamment la nécessité d'un processus futur tout à fait indépendant de la révolution. Il n'y avait d'autre »modèle« que le modèle soviétique, et il n'est pas étonnant que dans une première étape, aussitôt après la révolution armée, on ait pris beaucoup au système soviétique. C'est-à-dire que les conceptions concernant les problèmes essentiels de la dictature du prolétariat et de la démocratie socialiste étaient souvent sous l'influence d'une interprétatiton stalinienne du léninisme.

Cependant, au cours de cette période, le système lui-même ne pouvait pas être affecté de crises plus profondes pour diverses raisons. Tout d'abord, la fraîcheur de l'extraordinaire exploit révolutionnaire des communistes et des peuples yougoslaves était encore présente dans la vie quotidienne des premières années d'après-guerre; deuxièmement, une centralisation plus développée n'était pas encore nécessaire pour assurer la défense de la future révolution, et enfin, trois ans à peine avaient passé que déjà notre révolution se heurtait au stalinisme et à ses prétentions. La conception et la réalité étatiques encore non

realized these conceptions in socialism without taking into account the concrete possibilities, through intolerably violent and police methods, because it stifled free criticism and proclaimed an enemy of the people whoever opposed such acts and has such conceptions, he falls under criticism. Such are, at least fundamentally, the deep roots of the serious crisis which has been shaking socialism in these countries for several decades now. The crisis can be softened by economic prosperity, by the extension of public freedoms, etc. But so long as the structures of relations which we have described are not destroyed, socialism will not escape the crisis. The essential moments of the liberation of man escaping from the political and economic spheres of power are not »behind«, but always »in front«, like a historical stain.

I 1 1

Given the dev elo p m en t of Yugoslav socialism and speaking as generally as possible, one could define it as a struggle for the personal path, for the realization n o rig in al marxist conceptions (disalien atio n , h um anist socialism, self-management, n a tio n al self-te rm in a tio n , etc.), which is not that the second side of the failure of the conceptions inherited from Stalinism and the I I I $^{\prime}$

In te rn atio n al . This process essentially began in 1941. It is still going on and it would be illusory to believe that it can end with the current projects, a subject to which we will return. It is the victory over certain well-determined conceptions concerning the paths of the re volution, the role of the state, of the party, of democracy within the party, the planned economy, the solution of national questions, the function of the arts and sciences, political and social »transm issions«, etc.

L a voie em pru n tée p a r n o tre rev o lu tio n socialiste e ta it d iam e tra le -

opposed to the official views of the International: it was therefore, basically, anti-Stalinist. But all of this was not yet fully conscious, including the need for a future process entirely independent of the rev o lu tio n . There was no other »model« than the Soviet module, and it is not surprising that in a first stage, immediately after the rev o lu tio n army, we took a lot from the soviet system. That is to say that the conceptions concerning the essential problems of the dicta tu re of the p r o le ta ria t and of socialist democracy were often under the influence of that of a Stalinian in te r p re ta tio n of Leninism.

However, during this period, the system itself could not be affected by deeper crises for various reasons.

F irst of all, the freshness of the ex tra o rd in ary re v o lu tio n ary feat of the communists and the Yugoslav peoples was still present in the daily life of the first post-war years; secondly, a more develo p ed ce n tra lisatio n was not yet necessary to ensure the defense of the fu tu re rev o lu tio n , and finally, barely three years had elapsed It has already happened that our rev o lu tio n has come up against Stalinism and its preten tio n s. State conception and reality as yet no 343

afirmées ont dû faire face très tôt à une vive critique théorique, et c'est en 1950 que commence la réalisation, quelle que soient son intensité et son radicalisme, de la conception de l'autogestion qui, dans le développement du socialisme, est la seule à pouvoir faire contrepoids à la bureaucratisation et aux déformations de l'étatisme.

Dans cette période qui couvre une dizaine d'années, on a vu se poser quantité de problèmes essentiels et vitaux pour le socialisme, et se dévoiler un grand nombre de mystifications stalinistes. Depuis le niveau politique jusqu'au niveau philosophique, la pensée marxiste critique a découvert le sens premier du socialisme et ouvert de nouvelles perspectives. Cependant, si dans la pratique on a fait quelques pas en avant dans le sens d'une démocratisation de la vie sociale et de la victoire remportée par certaines sphères sur la tutelle directe de l'état, les conceptions pré-critiques et la puissance de la sphère bureaucratico-centraliste, des rapports démocratiques insuffisants, notamment dans la sphère politique, un engagemnt politique et social également insuffisants de la part de la classe ouvrière, tout cela a plongé notre société socialiste dans des crises de plus en plus aiguës. Malgré les positions proclamées à voix haute sur le socialisme autogestif, nous avons connu un renforcement de la sphère bureaucratico-centraliste, car la concentration du pouvoir économique dans cette sphère était dominante. A cela venait s'ajouter une planification encore essentiellement administrative et étatique, avec un développement visiblement extensif de l'économie, et par lá, avec une série d'ingérences et de limitations administratives. Tout cela a eu nécessairement pour conséquence que jusqu'à la fin des années soixante ou presque, l'autogestion, dans les cellules de base de la société – dans les organisations de production – est restée stagnante, en dépit du caractère positif de son élargissement à d'autres organisations et institutions sociales.

Il s'ensuit que l'esence de la crise dans laquelle est tombé le développement du socialisme en Yougoslavie est à chercher dans la domination persistante du rapport centraliste et étatico-bureaucratique. D'où la similitude de cette crise avec la crise des rapports sociaux dans les pays du camp socialiste qui sont toujours sous l'influence dominante de la conception bureaucratique et étatique du socialisme. Dans le cas qui est le nôtre, on a difficilement renoncé à croire que la production socialiste planifiée puisse, dans n'importe quelle condition historique, se réaliser directement, à travers la sphère étatico-politique. Mais notre cas présentait déjà des différences importantes, du lait que ce modèle bureaucratique et étatique a eu à faire front chez nous à une critique rigoureusement fondée, et du fait que l'autogestion, bien que sous-développée à la base-même, est devenue une reanté historique que seule une contre-révolution ouverte eût pu rayer de l'ordre du jour de notre processus révolutionnaire. Tandis que dans le premier cas, on observe encore un »monolithisme« du système bureaucratique et étatique, dans le développement yougoslave, on a abouti à une »dualité« dans le système: aux formes traditionellement politiques et parlementaires sur lesquelles étaient fondées le centralisme et l'étatisme se sont opposées de plus en plus vigoureusement des formes autogestives et une conception autogestive qui, une fois conçue comme site e t s o n ra d i c a l ism, of the c o n c e p t i o n of self-management which, in the development of socialism, is the only power to act against labor weight ra tisa tio n et a u x d e f o r m a t i o n s of e tatism.

D a n t h i s p e r i o u s o f u n e d i z a i n e d y e a n s , he posed a quantity of essential problems and a struggle for socialism, and so on stalinist demystifications. From the level of politics to the level of sophistication, critical Marxist thought discovered the first sense of socialism and turned it into new perspectives. c e p e n d a n t, swa n s d a p r a t e o n a f a f a it q u e s p a s p a s s p a v a n t d a n s and sens d 'un e d e m o c ra tio vile so calile et d e la v icto say we m such directness of the state, pre-critical concepts and the power of the sphere of influence

tic o -c e n tra lis te , des r a p p o rts d e m o c ra tiq u e s in su ffis an , N o t m m e n t d a n sp h e p o litiq u e , in n e n e n g a g e m n t p o g e et so cal e g a and m e g a o u v rie re , to u t c e la a p l o n g o n o t r e s o c i e t e s o c i a l e d a n s d e n d e s c r i s s e s t h a t. Despite his loud proclamations on auto gestic socialism, there is now a known reinforcement of the aucratic-centralist sphere, a nd the c on c e n tra tio n d u p f o r e c o n o m i c a t i o n i n this dominant sphere. A c e l a v e n a i t s 'a jo u ter u n e p l a n i f i c a t i o n a n c o r e e s s e n t i e n t a m i n i s t r i v e et e t a t i c l e m e n t , a v e c u n d development visible in the eco text n o m ie , et p a r l a , w i t h a n e s s e r i e s of interventions and limitations a nd min istratives. T h a t ' s a eu n e c e s s a ire m e n t p o u r c o n seq u en ce that j u s q u ' a l a n n e e s s o i x a n t e o u p resq u e , l 'a u to -

management, in the basic cells of the company - in the production organizations - remains stagnant, due to the positive character of its organization of three social institutions.

II it follows that the essence of the crisis in which the development of socialism in Yugoslavia is characterized by Persian domination te d u r e p o r t o f t h e c e n t r a l s t e p t e t a t i c - b u r e a u c r a t i c

D 'oii the sim ilituity of this crisis with the crisis of societal reports in the countries of the camp societies listed today are under the dominating influence of the c o n c e p t i o n b u r e a u c r a tiq u e e t e t h e d u s cialism.

In our case, it is difficult to renounce believing that societal p roduction lists the plan, no matter what the historical c o n d ition , it is realized directly, across the etatico-political sphere. But neither case

already presents important diff erences, because this au c ratic e t e t a t i c a l b u r e m o d e l a e u a f a i r e f r o n t chez no u s a u n e c r i t i c l e rigorous use of fo n d ee , and d u f a i t that self-management, although under-developed as a base-me, has come from a rich history on its own u n e c o n t r e -re v o l u t i o n o u v e r t e d u p u r a y e r of the 'or-three days of another three revolutionary processes. W h e n this is the first case, one observes a core » monolithism « aucratic and etatic systems, in the Slavic development, it is about » two lite« in the sy stem: a u x f o r m e s t r a d i t i o n a l p o l i t i c a t i o n and p a r l e m e n t a r e s u r e s t h e c o n t e n t fo n d ees of c e n t r a l i s m e t l 'eta -

tism e se so n t o pposees d e p lu s e n p lu s v ig o u re u s e m e n t des fo rm e s a u to g e stiv e s et u n e c o n c ep tio n a u to g e s tiv e qu i, u n e fo is co n ^u e co m m e 344

le but de la libération de l'homme dans le socialisme, tend radicalement à devenir la structure dominante non seulement dans la base de la société, mais dans la société dans sa totalité.

C'est dans cette dualité qu'il faut chercher l'essence de la crise qui secoue le socialisme en Yougoslavie au cours de ces dix dernières années. Donc, en dépit d'une critique virulente du bureaucratisme et de l'étatisme, en dépit de l'élargissement du système autogestif aux autres sphères de la vie sociale, en dépit du développement graduel des rapports démocratiques – les forces de direction se sont difficilement libérées (et ne sont pas encore libérées tout à fait) de certains préjugés hérités et de certains privilèges concrets offerts ou permis par le bureaucratisme, à savoir:

premièrement, que dans le socialisme, le système de la production planifiée où l'état dispose du surplus de travail ne peut pas être réalisé longtemps à travers la sphère étatico-politique sans aboutir à de graves déformations:

deuxièmement, que cette politique économique, avec la négation des rapports monnaie-marchandise, mène nécessairement au monopolisme étatique, à une distribution injuste du surplus de travail, et par conséquent à un rapport d'inégalité dans la classe ouvrière elle-même, sans parler des rapports de la bureaucratie et de la classe ouvrière;

troisièmement, qu'un tel monopole politico-économique, disposant totalement du surplus de travail – ce qui donne à la bureaucratie un caractère de classe important – conduit nécessairement, dans un pays à plusieurs nations, à une tension et à des anomalies dans la solution du problème national;

quatrièmement, que la très forte concentration de la direction de la politique et de l'économie dans les mains des organes de l'état et du parti conduit nécessairement à la passivisation politique de la classe ouvrière, à la stagnation du développement de l'autogestion, même là où elle a les plus grandes possibilités de devenir la forme prédominante de l'organisation de la société;

cinquièmement, que le monopole politique et économique, dans le système de la domination d'un parti, conduit à un monopole très dangereux affectant le système tout entier des communications de masses et aboutissant à un flétrissement du démocratisme.

Les processus de libération des erreurs citées s'est déroulé et se déroule encore au milieu de plus grandes difficultés. Toute une partie des forces centralistes étatiques se refuse à abandonner sans combattre les positions gagnées, Sur bien des points, les proclamations de ce qu'on appelle la réforme n'ont pas connu de réalisation au cours des dernières années. Et l'intention principale – le renforcement de l'autogestion à la base, par l'abandon d'une plus grande partie du surplus de travail à la collectivité de travail – n'a pas encore été réalisée jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

Deux voies possibles se présentaient pour la solution de ces problèmes: ou les forces politiques progressistes, unies à des parties progressistes de la classe ouvrière et de l'intelligentsia agissant directement, accéléraient le processus entamé de transformation de la société sur les bases autogestives. Par là, on pouvait résoudre dans l'immédiat non

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the aim of the lib eratio n of m a n in socialism, it tends radically to become the do m in an t stru ctu re not only in the base of society, but in society as a whole.

It is in this duality that we must seek the essence of the crisis which has shaken socialism in Yugoslavia during these last ten years. So, in spite of a virulent criticism of bureaucracy and statism, in spite of the widening of the self-gestive system to other spheres of social life, despite the gradual development of dem ocratic relations - the leadership forces have hardly freed themselves (and are not yet completely free) of certain inherited prejudices and certain privileges offered or permitted by bureaucratism, namely: first, that in socialism, the system of planned pro d u ctio n where the state disposes of the surplus labor it cannot be achieved for a long time through the statepolitical sphere without leading to d e g r a ve deform atio n s; secondly, that this econom ic policy, with the ne g atio n of m o n e ym ark and dise re p o rts, neces sarily leads to state monopolism, to a d istrib u tio n in ju ste of the surplus of work, and therefore of a re p o rt of inequality in the working class itself, not to mention the re p o rts of the b u rea c ra cy and the working class; thirdly, that such a politico-econom ic monopoly, totally disposing of the surplus work which gives the bureau c ra cy an im p o class character rta n t - leads neces sarily, in a country with several natio n s, to tension and anomalies in the solution of the n a tio n a l p ro b lem e;

qu atriem en t, that the three strong concentrations of the direction of politics and economy give les m ains des org anes de l'ć ta t et du p a rti co n du it necessairem ent a la passiv isatio n politiqu e de la classe o uv riere, a la stagnation du dev elo p pem en t de l'autogestion, meme la ou elle a les plus grandes possibilites of becoming the prćd o m i-n an te form of l'org an isation of the society;

fifth, that po litical and econom ic monopoly, in the system of p a rt y d o m in a tio n, leads to a very d an -

gereu x affe cta n t le system e to u t e n ti e r des com m unications d e masses et a b o u tissan t a n fletrissem en t d u d ocratism e.

The process of releasing the errors cited has taken place and is taking place.

still rides amidst greater difficulties. A whole part of the centralist state forces refuses to give up without fighting the positions won, on many points, the pro clam atio n s of what is called the reform there has been no realization in the past few years. And the main in te n tio n - the strengthening of grassroots self-management, by giving up more of the surplus work to the community of work - has not yet been done until today.

D eu x voies possibles se presente n t p o u r la so lu tio n de ces pro b lč-mes: ou les forces p o litiq u es progressistes, unies k des p a rties p ro g re ssistes de la classe o u v rie re et de l'in te llig en tsia ag issan t directem ent, a c celeraien t le processus en tam ć de tra n sfo rm atio n de j a société sur les bases autogestives. P a r la, on po u v a it r éso ud red an s l 'im m 6diat non 2 PRAXIS

seulement les problèmes concernant le surplus du travail, mais aussi les problèmes de ces institutions financières et commerciales qui bénéficient d'une position privilégiée que rien ne justifie – ce qui permettait d'établir les suppositions les plus importantes pour la réalisation de la souveraineté des travailleurs, et par le fait-même, de leur nation. Car Marx lui-même, qui partait d'une situation historique où la question nationale, dans les pays développés, était la plupart du temps déjà résolue par la classe bourgeoise, considérait que »le prolétariat doit d'abord conquérir le pouvoir politique, s'élever jusqu'à la classe nationale, se constituer lui-même en nation, afin d'être national, encore que nullement dans le sens bourgeois« (Manifeste du parti communiste). Cette dernière thèse signifie d'abord que le prolétariat ne peut pas se constituer en nation et être national en utilisant les intérêts et sentiments nationaux, comme l'a fait la bourgeoise, pour attiser les haines envers les autres nations et s'assurer une hégémonie.

La deuxième voie possible était de situer la solution de ce problème dans la sphère politique (sphère où jusqu'à maintenant s'est déroulé notre développement), ce que faisant, les forces politiques, dans la lutte pour la solution des contradictions créées, mettaient au premier plan la question nationale et se concevaient comme des détachements avancées de leurs nations. A un moment donné, — et différentes forces ont pu l'interpréter de façon différente, et l'ont fait — le moment de classe a été presque banni. Ce qui prouvait bien non seulement l'incohérence des idées, mais aussi différentes incohérences qui se sont fait jour dans ce processus.

Pourquoi, pour résoudre ces contradictions, n'avons-nous pas emprunté la première voie que nous avons indiquée ici, nous laisserons ce problème de côté. C'est une question qui demande une analyse praticulière de notre développement et d'autres études encore, mais une partie de la réponse est donnée par cet article. La deuxième voie a eu pour résultat, jusqu'à maintenant, les amendements proposés pour la modification de la Constitution. On tente de briser et de dépasser l'étatisme centraliste grâce à deux moments essentiels: en transportant de nombreuses fonctions de l'état central actuel sur les républiques, c'est-à-dire en renforçant la souveraineté et l'étaticité de ces dernières, et en faisant que la classe ouvrière dispose du surplus de travail, c'est-à-dire qu'elle gère la distribution en même temps que la production,

Ces deux principes sont dans la ligne des solutions de la question sociale et de la question nationale d'esprit marxiste, en dépit de certains phénomènes concomittants où se dévoile le désir nourri par certains d'utiliser ces processus dans le sens nationaliste. Dans une communauté multinationale, la rupture avec le centralisme doit, de toutes manières, prendre une coloration nationale renforcée et un caractère de question nationale, bien que cette lutte pour le dépassement du monopole centraliste constitue dans son essence un pas nécessaire à toute révolution socialiste désireuse de réaliser les principes fondamentaux dont nous avons parlé. Dans les pays qui ne comprennent qu'une seule nation, des processus semblables deviendront nécessaires quand la classe ouvrière et les forces socialistes progressistes seront capables de

ficient of aprivilegionepositionequeriennejus tifient the area lisation of the sovereignestra vailleurs, and parle faitmeme, deleurnationornational question, in developing countries, has already resolved to class bourgeoise, considerait that the proletariat must first conquer political power, it must rise until the national class, se constituer lui-memeent in the bourgeois sense« (Manifest du particom -

m u n iste) T h e r e s e s i g n i f i e d 'a b o r d that the proletariat could not pass through the constitution of a three-nation nation without the use of int \pounds -

re ts et sen ti m e n t s n a t i o n a u x , com m e l 'a f ait la b o u rg eo isie , p o u r attiser les haines e s e n v e r s o t h e r n a t i o n s 'a s s u r e r u n e h e g e m o n i e

When I think it is possible to situate the solution to this problem in the political sphere (the sphere or just where our tenants are our tree development), which makes political forces, and s l a t-te for the solution of c on tradiction of c on s creees, mettaient a upremier p the nation's question is as conceivable as details of the advances of their nations. A unmoment of class is already pressing. This proves well nonse ulement of class is already pressing. This proves

h e r e n c e of ideas, but also differences in coherence that are not faithful in this process.

Why, for the sake of contradictions, we do not pass-

prunterthefremerevoiewhat we used to say here, we will leave this problem alone. This question requires a separate analysis of the other two developments, but part of the answer has been given in part. Ladeuxiemevoieaeupourresultat, as far as I am concerned, the amendments proposed for the modification of the Costitution. Onthenthedebriserethe debriserethe debriserethe who mentses enties:entralistegraceade xmomentses enties:entrals are publices, it is a direct reinforcement of the sovereignty of the etatic ite of the mif-

res, and emphasizes that the upper class has a surplus of labour, that

is, it manages the distribution itself tem p s q u e la p r o d u c t i o n , These two principles are in line with the solutions of the social and national questions of the Marxist spirit, and of course s p h e n o m e n e s c o m e n t s n ts o u s e d e v o i l e d e s i n g o u r r e p a r c e r t a i n s of utilized processes in the national sense. D a n s u n e com -

m u n a u t e m u l t i a t i o n a l , la r u p t u r e a v e c e n t r a l i s m e d o it, in both ways, emphasizes the character of the national question however, this struggle for the passage of a central list monopoly constitutes its essence without allowing any revolutionary societal list to be used for reality e r les f o n d a m e n t p r i n c i s e s d o n t know avo n s p a rle In countries that do not understand that they are a nation, such processes will not be necessary when the working class and progressive socialist forces will not be capable s d e 346

dépasser – par la réalisation des rapports autogestifs dans les communes et dans la communautés des communes – le pouvoir central étatique et bureaucratique qui est typique des pays socialistes actuels. Donc, une solution conséquente de la question nationale comporte à la base, comme nous l'avons dit ailleurs, sur la plate-forme sociale et de classe, des forces socialistes révolutionnaires. Cela ne signifie pas qu'elle n'est pas en même temps la composante essentielle de la libération de l'homme et de l'instauration d'un nouvel humanisme.

Si, dans notre communauté yougoslave, de grands progrès ont été réalisés en ce qui concerne les processus mentionnés, il faut définir immédiatement leur portée, et leur limite. Notre développement fait que ces processus se déroulent plus rapidement et que la solution de certaines contradictions est plus urgente qu'auparavant. Mais les possibilités de solutions sont aussi beaucoup plus grandes. La première contradiction est liée au problème du renforcement de la souveraineté des républiques et au problème de l'étaticité nationale. D'un côté, si quelqu'un a compris clairement que la thèse du renforcement de l'état dans le socialisme ne fait que perpétuer les rapports étatico-bureaucratiques, mettant en question la libération du travailleur et la base sociale essentille de la nation elle-même, ce sont bien les marxistes et communistes yougoslaves, dans leur lutte contre la stalinisme. Considérant la nécessité de l'existence des états nationaux dans la communauté yougoslave, nous devons être conscients de cette contradiction et de ce danger du renforcement de l'étatisme des républiques. Le problème ne sera résolu que si nous concevons les mesures actuelles comme des étapes de notre révolution socialiste; donc, si nous ne restons pas sur ce qui est acquis – et nous ne pourrons pas le faire, même au cœur des plus graves conflits. Avec cette étape de solution des rapports étatico-centralistes et des rapports nationaux dans le sens d'une pleine égalité, s'impose l'étape de la création de nouveaux mécanismes démocratiques pour faire échec aux processus possibles de renforcement de l'étatisme républicain, mécanismes dont le plus important est la non-limitation du processus d'autogestion à la base ellemême, avec le droit pour la classe ouvrière de disposer du surplus de travail, et la restructuration graduelle de la communauté nationale, puis yougoslave, sur le principe autogestif. Les possibilités de réalisation de ces buts sont beaucoup plus grandes qu'il y a dix ans, et je ne vois aucune raison pour que, dans les modifications de la Constitution, on ne fasse pas un pas en avant dans ce sens.

En même temps que ces problèmes, dont j'ai déjà parlé dans cette étude et qui ne constituent qu'une petite partie de nos problèmes les plus importants, je désire citer encore quelques questions, dont la solution reste notre tâche théorique et pratique la plus urgente.

La souveraineté du peuple – et c'est bien de cela qu'il s'agit d'abord –doit encore aujourd'hui s'exprimer et se réaliser, au degré de développement qui est le nôtre, à travers son organisation politique, l'état. Mais le fétichisme de l'état, nous l'avons résolu depuis longtemps. Nous le savons parfaitement, l'état, dans le socialisme, est aussi un organe de force, une institution politique dans laquelle la souveraineté nationale ne trouve pas directement son expression, et qui devient

to go beyond - through the realization of self-goverging re p o rts in the com m unities and in the com m unities of com m unities - the central éta-tic power and cratic office which is typical of the current socialist countries.

Therefore, a consistent solution of the national question comprises at the base, as we have said elsewhere, on the social and class platform, revolutionary socialist forces. This does not mean that it is not at the same time the essential component of the lib eratio n of m a n and of the in sta u ra tio n of a new hum anism.

If, in our Yugoslav community, great progress has been made with regard to the processes mentioned, it is necessary to define immediately their scope and their limits. Our developm ent makes these processes happen more quickly and the solution of certain con trad iction s is more urgent than before. But the possibilities of solutions are also much greater. The first c on trad iction is linked to the problem of strengthening the sovereignty of republics and the problem of national statehood. On the one hand, if anyone has clearly understood that the thesis of strengthening the state in socialism only perpetuates the state-bureau re p o rts -

critics, questioning the lib e ratio n of w orkers and the essential social basis of the n a tio n itself, these are indeed the Yugoslav Marxists and com m unists, in their head against stalinism. Considering the need for the existence of n a tio n al states in the Yugoslav com m unity, we must be aware of this co n tra dictio n and this d a n g e r of the strengthening of statism re p u b lics. The problem will only be solved if we conceive the present measures as stages of our socialist rev o lu tio n; therefore, if we do not stick to what is acquired - and we will not be able to do so, even in the heart of the most serious conflicts. With this stage of resolving state-centralist re p o rts and n a tio n re p o rts in the sense of full equality, the stage of cre a tio n of new dem o cratic mecha nism s to frustrate the possible processes of strengthening the rep u b lican state system, of which the m ost im p o rta n t mecha nism s is the n o n -lim ita tio n of the process of selfmanagement at the base itself, with the right for the working class to dispose of the surplus work, and the gradual restru c tu ra tio n of the com m unity n atio n ale, then Yugoslav, on the principle of the togestive. The possibilities of achieving these goals are much greater than ten years ago, and I see no reason why, in the amendments to the C onstitution, we should not make a step forward in this direction.

At the same time as these problems, which I have already mentioned in this study and which constitute only a small part of our most important problems, I would like to cite a few more questions, the solution of which remains our most urgent theoretical and practical task.

Sovereignty of the people - and that is what it is first and foremost about

- must still today be expressed and realized, at the level of development which is ours, through its political organization, the state.

But the fetishism of the state, we resolved it a long time ago.

W e know it perfectly, the state, in socialism, is also an organ of force, a political in stitution in which n a tion all sovereignty is ne trouve not directly its expression, and which becomes 347

très facilement une force régnant sur le peuple. Nous devons donc persister à considérer chacune de nos créations étatiques dans le processus historique et dans la nécessité de son dépassement par l'organisation autogestive de la société, laquelle dépassera l'état lui-même. Déjà de nombreux procesus actuels ont contribué au dépérissement concret de l'état. Les décisions actuelles, qui aspirent à faire que le surplus de travail soit mis à la disposition de la classe ouvrière, constituent des pas en avant dans le sens du dépérissement de l'état dans l'une des sphères essentielles, la sphère économique. C'est la rasoin pour laquelle nous devons aujourd'hui, et tout de suite, poursuivre ce processus et engager le plus largement possible les travailleurs à prendre les décisions essentielles et à gérer la communauté pour que les processus d'élimination de la bureaucratisation et de la domination politico-administrative soient rendus impossibles à la racine. Si l'on examine, de ce point de vue, le processus de formation des communautés de peuples, de la conscience de peuple et des organisations politiques correspondantes, je pense que l'on peut constater cette suite historique: le peuple, économiquement et politiquement pas encore uni et dépourvu d'une conscience de communauté unique et d'intérêts historiques communs; la nation, caractérisée par des institutions politicoétatiques uniques accusées (avec toutes les autres caractéristiques communes, unité économico-politique, communauté de la langue, sentiment d'appartenance, tradition historique, etc.); et pour finir par le dépassement des structures politiques, la formation de la communauté autogestive du peuple, degré suprême du développement d'un peuple à partir des perspectives historiques possibles à voir dès aujourd-hui. Notre développement se trouve plutôt au deuxième stade mentionné, mais avec déjà quelques éléments du troisième.

Le deuxième problème, la deuxième contradiction importante, est la contradiction entre le rapport monnaie-marchandise (économie de marché), qui, dans sa forme non entravée, doit reproduire le capitalrapport, le fétichisme de la marchandise et de l'argent, et la tendance de la direction planifiée de la production et du dépassement de la production de marchandises. C'est un processus de longue haleine, dont le dépassement réclame beaucoup d'habileté, de clarté théorique, de conscience socialiste, un certain niveau de développement, mais aussi certain changements dans les conditions historiques. Car en un sens, le processus total est une épée à double tranchant: le manque de contrôle et d'influence de la communauté socialiste sur le développement des rapports monnaie-marchandise conduit nécessairement à la ranimation du capital-rapport qui est la base du rapport salarié et de l'exploitation (ce que l'on a déjà vu chez nous, surtout dans le domaine du monopole financier), et, chez les producteurs, à un comportement de propriétaires de groupe, avec les mêmes conséquences. La planification du développement et de la production, surtout quand elle se trouve entre les mains de l'administration de l'état, aboutit fatalement à des déformations étatiques que nous connaissons bien, à des monopoles, à un autre type de rapport salarié, etc. C'est dans le processus de dépérissement de l'état que nous voyons quant à nous l'unique solution de ce problème difficile: comment faire que le développarliamentary institutions on a u to gestive of the society, which passes 'e ta t lu i-meme.

Already a n u m b e r o f a c u l a t p r o c e s u s e s c o n t r i b u t a concrete analysis of the state. Actual decisions, which involve making surplus labor so it is a disposition of the working class, constitute the avant-garde passage in the doubtful sense e ri se m e n t of the state within the meaningful sphere, the economic sphere. C ' e s t l a r a s o i n p o u r l y w h e n we have to do today, and therefore, to pursue this process to take the most extensive possible decisions e sse n tie s e t a g e r e r of the c o m m u n a u t e because the processes of delimitation of labor and aucratization of politico-admin is trative domination tend to lead to impossible reasons e Let us examine, at this point of deviation, the process of communication formation.

n a u te s of the people, of the consciousness of the people and of the corresponding political organizations, although 'on p eut c o n s t a t e r this suite of history: the people, e c o n o m iq u e m e n t p o l i t i c u e m e n t pa s s e n c o r e unity deprived of 'a consciousness of c ommunity or unequal interests; the nation, the character of the rise of political institutions -

e ta tiq u e s u n i q u e s accused (with the other common characteristics, eco n o m i c o-political unity, language c o m m u n a u t e , sentiment d' a p p a r t a n c e , historical tradition, etc.); e t p o u r f i n i r p a r l e d e p a s s e m e n t o f p o l i t i c s t r u c t u r e s , t h e formation of the c o m m u n a u t e self-managed p e o p l e , a degree of supreme development of a p e o p l e apart i r perspective e s h i s t o r i c a l p o s s i b l e s a u s a u j o u r d - h u i.

Our development finds itself mostly in the middle of the demention, but also with some elements from behind.

When there is a problem, there is an important contradiction, there is a contradiction between the money-commodity ratio (the market economy), which, in its formal intervention, should reproduce the capital-rapport, the fetich ism of the market and the iset of money, and the tendency of its planned direction the production of goods. It is a long-term processus, in which the passage claims to be a coup d'ability, declares theories, lists societal consciousness, is uncertain iv e a u d e d e v e l o p e m e n t, but also certain changes in historical conditions. C a r e n u n sense, the total processus une pe e a doubletranch and the lack of c o n t r o l a n d'influence of the c o m m u n a u t e s o c i a l on the development of monthly-m a r c h r e p o r t s a n d is e c o n d

u e n e c e s s a s e m e n t a l r a n i m a t i o n du c a p i t a l- r e p o r t, which is the basis of the exploitation salary report (which is not the case with us, especially in led o -

m a i n e d u m o n o p o l e f i n a n c i e r), and, among the p r o d u c t e u rs , a n c o m p o r t m e n t of group owners, with the same consequences. L a p l a n i f i c a t i o n d e v e l o p m e n t o f p r o d u c t i o n , especially when it finds itself in the hands of the state administrator, about f a -

ta l e m e n t s of well-known deformations, of monopolies, or other types of reports, etc. It is in the process of deperisement of the state that we see quantitatively the unique solution to this m edifficleproble: comment fairequel

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pement planifié d'une communauté nationale et socialiste soit fonction de l'autogestion de l'association des producteurs libres, organisés dans leurs communes et dans les communautés de peuples, et non pas fonction de l'état coupé des producteurs.

Le problème qui se pose ensuite, et qui, malgré son importance, n'a été resolu ni en théorie ni en pratique, est celui des centres de la puissance financière (banques, organisations de ré-exportation, etc.). C'est une question de principe pour le développement autogestif du socialisme, qui touche non seulement les institutions centrales, mais aussi les instituions des républiques. Je pense que jusqu'à maintenant, on a fait une erreur de principe en omettant de distinguer plus essentiellement institutions de médiation et institutions créant le surplus de travail. En un mot, des institutions de médiation qui ne créent pas le surplus de travail (banques, commerces...) ne peuvent pas être égalisées avec les sujets autogestifs, la classe ouvrière qui produit ce surplus de travail. Ces institutions ne peuvent donc pas décider »de façon autogestive« du capital dont elles disposent, car il n'est pas créé par elles. Ce sont des organisations de médiation qui doivent être placées sous le contrôle, et en partie sous la gérance, des sujets qui produisent ces valeurs, en même temps que sous le contrôle de la communauté sociale (depuis la commune jusqu'aux représentations de la république et de la fédération), responsables du fonctionnement et du développement des raports socialistes.

L'émancipation autogestive des institutions citées a déjà donné lieu, dans notre développement actuel, à des infractions graves à certains principes des rapports et des solidarités socialistes, allant jusqu'au phénomène typiquement capitaliste de l'extra-profit, du chantage, de l'usure, etc. Ce problème, comme nous l'avons dit, n'est pas seulement lié à la situation actuelle du centre de la puissance financière, du capital d'état et à de fortes institutions de ré-exportations: c'est un problème de principe qui doit être résolu pour assurer le fonctionnement futur du système économique socialiste au niveau des républiques et des communes.

A ce degré de notre développement, je vois encore une question qui s'impose, une question qu'il faudrait examiner plus en détails, et dont l'étude permettrait d'aller plus loin dans le développement futur des rapports autogestifs et de l'influence de l'autogestion sur les communautés sociales plus ou moins larges. Il s'agit d'un problème que j'appellerais nivellation dans l'autogestion.

Point n'est besoin d'insister sur le fait qu'en Yougoslavie, toutes les régions de la fédération et des républiques ne sont pas également développées. Nous avons des régions avec une classe ouvrière très fortement non-développée, des régions avec une classe ouvrière de la première génération, des régions avec des paysans-ouvriers, avec base économique et culturelle faible, etc. Mais nous avons aussi des régions, et surtout de puissantes agglomérations urbaines (Zagreb, Belgrade, Rijeka, etc.), avec une classe ouvrière forte, un potentiel économique fort, une intelligentsia forte, où les traditions socialistes sont très anciennes et très développées. Cependant, en ce qui concerne le dévelopement des rapports autogestifs, de la structure des rapports auto-

ment of a n atio n al and socialist community be a function of the selfmanagement of the association of free producers, organized in their com m unities and in the com m unities of peoples, and not depending on the state cut off from the producers.

The problem which then arises, and which, despite its importance, has not been solved either in theory or in practice, is that of the centers of fin an cial power (banks, o rg an isatio n s re-ex p o rtatio n, etc.).

It is a question of principle for the overall development of socialism, which affects not only the central institutions, but also the institutions of the republics. I think that until now, we have made an error in principle by failing to distinguish more essentially between m ed iatio n in stitutions and in stitutions creating the surplus work. In a nutshell, m ed iatio n in stitutions that do not create surplus work (banks, shops . . .) cannot be equated with autogestive issues, the working class that produces it is more work. These institutions therefore cannot decide "autogestively" on the capital at their disposal, because it is not created by them. They are m ed iatio n o rg an isatio n s which must be placed under the control, and partly under the management, of the subjects who produce these v alues, at the same time as under the control of the social com m unity (from the com m une to the rep resentation s of the republic and the federation), responsible for the functioning and dev elo pm ent of socialist relatio n s.

The self-gestive eman cip atio n of the institutions mentioned above gives rise, in our current development, to serious infringements of certain principles of socialist re p o rts and solid arities, alla n t up to the Dhenomene TV stinging capitalist of e xtra -p ro fit, blackmail, usury, etc. This problem, as we have said, is not only related to the current situation of the center of financial power, of the capital of the state and of strong in stitu tio n s of re- e x p o rta tio n s: this is a problem of principle which must be solved to ensure the future functioning of the socialist economic system at the level of the republics and the communes.

At this stage of our dev elo p m en t, I still see a question which imposes itself, a question which it would be necessary to examine in more detail, and whose study allows it deals with going further in the fu ture develo p m en t of self-gest ive re p o rts and the in flu en ce of self-management on more or m social com m unities wide anoints. This is a problem that I would call leveling in self-management.

There is no need to insist on the fact that in Yugoslavia, all the regions of the fed e ra tio n and of the rep ublics are not equally developed. We have regions with a very strongly undeveloped working class, regions with a first generation working class, regions with peasants

without working class, with a weak economic and cultural base, etc. But we also have regions, and above all powerful urb a n ag g lo m eratio ns (Z agreb, B elgrade, R ijeka, etc.), with a strong working class, a strong economic potential, a e in te llig en tsia forte, where socialist tra d itio n s are very old -

very well developed. However, with regard to the deve-lopm ent of self-gestive re p o rts, the stru c tu re of self-349 re p o rts

gestifs dans tous nos milieux, développés ou non, nous avons développé une nivellation typique. Le type des organisations autogestives, leurs rapports envers l'organisation communale ou républicaine, etc.

est en gros partout le même.

J'estime de même qu'il faut dépasser la nivellation en gain (mais en même temps lutter contre les disproportions de gains injustifiées), et lutter contre la nivellation dans l'autogestion. Bref: il faudrait permettre, dans nos milieux les plus développés la formation de rapports autogestifs où l'influence de la classe ouvrière et des travailleurs en général trouverait sa pleine expression, ce qui développerait et rendrait plus directe l'influence des structures autogestives développées, non seulement dans leurs communes, mais aussi dans les républiques et dans la fédération. Car il ne faut pas oublier que quelques-unes de ces communes développées représentent les capacités économiques, culturelles et intellectuelles les plus développées de leur république. Point n'est besoin de souligner que ces régions autogestives plus développées pourraient venir en aide aux régions non-développées et agir sur elles comme des paradygmes des rapports socialistes développés et humains.

Cette position différenciée quant aux possibilités et besoins des différents niveaux des rapports autogestifs dans certaines de nos régions, le dépassement de la nivellation dans la réalisation des rapports autogestifs, sont la condition préalable indispensable au développement accéléré des rapports atuogestifs de notre socialisme et au dépassement de la société politique.

Nous voudrions effleurer encore un problème. Je pense que jusqu'à maintenant, on a trop peu étudié la relation socialisme yougoslave capitalisme développé, capitalisme avec lequel nous devons nécessairement entretenir des rapports politiques et économiques. Cette relation est encore la source de nombreuses difficultés dans notre développement socialiste, car les pays capitalistes développés sont encore dominants économiquement (et dans une grande mesure, culturellement). Cela veut dire que par leur développement économique et social, ils imposent certains critères bien déterminés, des valeurs, un rythme de développement, des points de vue, etc. Et tous ces pays se trouvent déjà dans la phase de développement de la société et de la psychologie de consommation, caractérisés par la création de nombreux besoins artificiels, par une production de masse de mauvaise qualité, ce qui ne fait que perpétuer, du moins jusqu'à maintenant, la division du travail et tous les phénomènes de l'aliénation économique, politique et idéologique qui nous sont connus.

Le socialisme, dans les pays où il est aujourd'hui une réalité, pourrait s'opposer en commun, à l'échelle mondiale, à l'influence négative aliénée de la société de consommation. Cependant, les différences dans le monde socialiste contemporain, sont telles que ce monde est davantage non-unique qu'unique, plus aliéné que non-aliéné, trop pour qu'une action commune ayant pour base, bien entendu, les rapports autogestifs, puisse être prise en considération. Dans les pays capitalistes développés, certaines influences de la classe ouvrière et des forces socialistes sur la formation différente de la production, de la

t y p i c a l l e v e l a t i o n s T ypes of deorganizations are auto gestives, their reports towards 1'communal or public organizations, etc.

it is a gross p a rto u t le m e.

I 'estimate that I have to pass the level of gain (but at the same time struggle against disproportions of gains in justice), et lu tter c o n t r e l n i v e l a tion in self-management. B re f: it should be allowed, in our milieux, to further develop the formation of reports to managers or 1'in fluence of the work class u r s e n g e n e r a l finds its own expression, which develops the right trend -

right plus direct 'in fluence of these structures on self-organizing developers, not only in their commons, but outside of les republics u s et d a n s la f e d e r a t i o n C a r i l n o t p a s s o b l i e r that some of these common devel opments represent the most economic, cultural and intellectual capacities v e l o p p e s s d e le u r re p u b l i c a t i o n

P o i n t n 'est b eso in d e emphasizing that self-evident plus developed regions are poorly developed a ide aux non-developing regions are labeled as m e des p a ra d y g m e s of soc ial r e p o r t s lists of human development.

c e tte p o sitio n d iffe re n c e e q u a n t a u x p o ssib ilite s eso in s des d if-fe we nts nts nts nts nuts r a p p o r p o r p o r p o r p o r p o r p o r p o r s tifs d a n s c e rta in e s d e n o s reg io n s reg o e lla tion and s l a r e a l i s a t i o n of r e p o r t s to gestives, so t h e c o n d i t i o n pre la b l e indispensable au d e v e l p e m e n t a c c e le re des r e p o r t s to gestives from our society lism e and the passage of political society.

Nous woudrionseffleurerencoreaproblem Even though I am a tenant, it is a trouble to develop the relationship between socialism and Slavic capitalism, capitalism with which we now need to speak tre tenure political and economic reports. This relation is corelates ource of anumber of uses difficulties in our socialist development, as developing capitalist countries dominate their economies nt (and in a large measure, culturelle-

m ent). C e la v e u t d i s p a r d e r d e v e lo p p e m eco n o m iq ueet so c ial, im p o s n t c e rta in s c rit^re s B ie n d e t e t e r in ts dev u e , etc. T o u s s e s c o u s t i o n s a l l e a s e t h e p h a s e of development of society and the psychology of consumption, c a r a c te rise s p a r la c r e a t i o n d e n o m -

b re u x b eso in s a rtific ie ls, p a r u n e p ro d u c tio n d e m asse d e m a u v a is e q u a lite, ce qui n e f a it qu e p e rp e tu e r, d u m o in s ju sq u 'a m a in te n a n t, la d iv isio n d u tra v a il e t to u s les p h e n o m e n e s d e l 'a lie n a tio n eco n o m iq u e, p o litiq u e et id eo lo g iq u e q u i n o u s so n t con n u s.

When no cialism, in the countries of the soil, is the day of 'hui une re a lite, right-wing opposition is common, at the world level, although it has a negative influence nee of the consumption society. However, the differences in the world associated with the contemporary list are such that this world is advantageous -unique, rather than alien £quenon-ali£n6, troppourquu'une actioncommune ayantpour base, benented u, thereports autogestifes, puisterprise enconsideration. In developing capitalist countries, certain influences of class or socialist forces on the different formation of production, of the

pychologie sociale, de l'intérêt et des conceptions du sens de l'existence humaine, ne font que pointer ici et là. Il semble que pour une longue période encore, nous devions compter non seulement avec la division des blocs dans le monde, mais aussi avec la concurrence et les influences dont nous avons parlé.

Notre communauté yougoslave dans son ensemble étant encore relativement non-développée et numériquement faible, avec des très fortes structures politiques et de très faibles structures autogestives, les difficultés mentionnées seront sans cesse la source d'offres bureaucratiques et technocratiques pour la solution de nos problèmes économiques et socialistes. Non seulement ces tendances seront très fortes, mais elles ont de grandes chances de devenir dominantes dans un période historique. Est-ce que le développement du socialisme autogestif en Yougoslavie, lequel, étant données les conditions intérieures et extérieures, n'est pas dans une situation enviable (mais il ne faut pas penser que les conditions extérieures resteront inchangées), l'emportera sur toutes ces influences anti-autogestives? Cela dépend d'abord des possibilités d'engagement maximal de tous les travailleurs dans la formation de nos structures et associations autogestives, avec l'élargissement adéquat des rapports libres et démocratiques, avec le dépassement des monopoles dans toutes les sphères de notre vie sociale.

social psychology, interest and conceptions of the meaning of human existence, only point here and there. It seems that for a long time to come we will have to reckon not only with the division of blocks in

the world. but also with the competition and the influences we bet on.

Our Yugoslav community as a whole is still relatively undeveloped and numerically weak. with very strong political structures and very weak self-governance structures, the difficulties mentioned will constantly be the source of office offers -

cratic and technocratic for the solution of our economic and socialist problems. Not only will these tendencies be very strong, but they have a great chance of becoming dominant in a historical period. Is the development of self-help socialism in Yugoslavia, which, given the internal and external conditions, is not in an enviable situation (but it should not be not think that the external conditions will remain unchanged), will prevail over all these anti-autogestive influences? This depends first of all on the possibilities of m ax im al commitm ent of all w orkers in the formation of our self-help stru ctu res and associations, with the ade q u ate widening of relations free and dem ocratic ports, with the overcoming of monopolies in all spheres of our social life.

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LES FORMES ET LE CARACTERE DES CONFLITS SOCIAUX

Nebojša Popov

Belgrade

Je sortis les jumelles de l'étudi de canvas et je les braquais sur Zemun. Tout d'abord je ne vis rien. Ajustées sur une autre distance, leurs lunettes étaient brumées et ne donnaient aucune image. Au fur et à mesure que je tournais la petite roue, je LES vo-yais sortir, comme d'un épais brouillard d'hiver, EUX avec à leur tête le porte-drapeau qui brandissait son étendard rouge. Il me semblait que moi-même je les attirais et les appelais à sor-tir du brouillard, à marcher sur moi, et pas qu'ils se déplaçaient mus de leur propre volonté d'assassin, ayant pris leur élan encore en Dixneuscentquaranteetun, en descendant la rue Pop-Lukina, et en tournant ma petite roue, d'un coup rapide, je les sis replonger dans l'anonymité. La force de l'index et du pouce, entre lesquels je serrais la roue pour l'ajustement des lunettes, a été pendant un instant plus forte que toute cette armée qui attendait sous la digue et communiquait à l'aide de sifflets aux airs tranchants des oiseaux - rien ne bougeait plus sur l'emplacement où ils se trouvaient il y a un instant encore - et soudainemet ils réapparurent. et de nouveau avec le porte-drapeau à leur tête, ils se précipiterent d'eux mêmes, et moi je fis bien attention de ne pas même tou-cher la roue des jumelles. Il n'y a plus de doute, je ne les avass pas suffisamment éloigné, c'est à peine de quelques pas que je les avais rejeté dans le brouillard duquel ils se précipitaient dans ma direction. Je fis un tour énergique avec la roue et ils disparurent encore une fois. Cette fois-ci, cependant, encore moins de temps passa avant la réapparition, sans mon appui, du drapeau rouge qui sortait du brouillard et dans lequel je le sis retourner sur le coup. Je savais que ces intervales allaient se faire plus brefs et que mes jumelles n'allaient pas les arrêter. J'étais debout sur la digue, comme sur une galerie, et j'attendais.

(B. Pekić, Le Pèlerinage d'Arsenije Njegovan)

Au cours du dernier quart de siècle de sa vie, à deux reprises, le propriétaire Arsenije Njegovan, en affrontant la masse révoltée dans les rues de sa ville, perdit le propre de son privé. Par ailleurs, même dans la solitude de son univers privé il ne se sentait pas tout à fait à son aise. Il était déchiré par les différends autour de la propriété avec sa famille la plus proche, les concierges, les locataires, les bancaires... Dans le tourbillon du monde qui, à la fois, lui appartenait et non, il

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I took the twins out of the etu d i dc canvas and pointed them at Z em u n . At first I saw nothing. Adjusted to another distance, their glasses were foggy and gave no image. As I turned the little wheel, I saw THEM emerging, like a thick winter mist, with the flag-bearer on their heads brandishing his elen d ard red. It seemed to me that I myself was luring them and calling them out of the fog, to walk on me, and not that they were moving of their own murderous will, having taken their momentum still in D ixn eu fcentq u a ra n teetu n, going down Pop -L u kin a street, and turning my little wheel, suddenly, I made them plunge back into anonymity. The strength of the index finger next to the thumb. between which I clamped the wheel for the adjustment of the glasses, was for a moment stronger than all this army which waited under the dyke and communicated with the help of whistles to the sharp tunes of the birds - nothing moved any more on the spot where they were just a moment ago - and suddenly and they reappeared.

and again with the standard-bearer at their head, they rushed forward on their own, and I was careful not to even touch the wheel of the binoculars. There is no longer any doubt, I did not swallow them far enough away, it was barely a few steps that I had thrown them back into the mist in which they my direction. I spun the wheel vigorously and they disappeared again. This time, however, even less time passed before the reappearance, without my support, of the red flag coming out of the mist into which I flipped him on the spot. I knew that these intervals were getting shorter and that my twins weren't going to stop them. I was standing on the dyke, as if on a gallery, and I was waiting.

(B. Pekić, The Discovery of Arsen ije Njegovani

During the last quarter of a century of his life, on two occasions, the owner Arse n ije Nje g o v a n , facing the revolted m ass in the streets of his city , lost its own private property. Moreover, even in the loneliness of his private world, he did not feel entirely at ease. He was torn apart by the disputes around the property with his closest family, concierges, tenants, bankers...

In the to u rb illo n of the w orld which, at the same time, belongs to him and not, he 353

n'y avait pas un seul coin où il s'appartiendrait réellement et finalement. Malgré tout, il endurait grâce à l'amour passionnant, mais possesseur, qu'il vouait à ses maisons qu'il fit édifier et qu'il possédait. C'est cette passion de propriétaire qui le lance dans des sphères où il perd le contrôle de soi-même et de son environnement, où les démarcations et les communications entre les gens sont établies par une puissance qui est au-delà de leur portée.

Une fois qu'il était sorti de sa maison, emporté de préoccupations pour ses maisons-favorites, déjà construites et aimées avec ardeur, ce jour même, en Milleneufcentquaranteetun, pendant qu'il déscendait la rue Pop-Lukina, il fut pris et enlevé par la masse du vingtseptmars. Une autre fois, après une vie de solitaire prolongée, sa passion de bâtisseur le fit conduire à Novi Beograd pour y prospecter des terrains pour ses nouveaux projets. Cette fois encore, le trois juin milleneufcentsoixanthuit, près du pont ferroviaire, la masse révoltée coupa son propre courant de vie, privé.

Du point de vue d'Arsenije Njegovan, les deux événements étaient d'une importance égale, Ils ne faisaient qu'attiser le cauchemare des souvenirs personnels, longs de cinquante ans, de la terruer rouge de la révolution russe. La mémoire de Voronyez, des bonnets pointus de la cavalerie et du mauvais traitement des »cols de fourrure« parmi lesquels il y a eu, certainement, des propriétaires de maisons, rend intolérables les troubles renouvelés. Le sentiment de la répétition fatale des »révoltes rouges« et l'atrophie mentale qui, aux dires du propriétaire, »s'était conçue d'elle-même au revers des comptes et des reçues«, représentent les derniers signes de vie d'Arsenije Njegovan, appartenant à une génération qui, entre autres choses, mena deux guerres mondiales. Le trois juin, dans la solitude de l'appartement, la mort le délivre d'angoisse, et c'est ainsi qu'il s'en alla de ce monde, qui n'était plus le sien, le bon vieux monde bourgeois (et ce monde nouveau – non bourgeois).

Ainsi finirent les jours du héro du roman de B. Pekić. Or, dans la vie réelle demeura le point de vue bourgeois, survécu l'illusion que les jumelles peuvent refouler les conflits sociaux, même quand il est certain que c'est impossible le besoin pour l'illusion reste, et restent aussi les tendances à scrutiner les événements sociaux »de la galerie«, en marge »de la mêlée« des conflits sociaux. Il serait bon de se demander, toutefois, si les conflits sociaux ne pourraient pas être »observés« d'un autre point de vue à l'aide duquel il nous serait données, éventuellement, de voir la possibilité de vivre humainement dans de nouvelles formes de communauté, de l'autre côté de la vision fataliste de l'histoire ou de l'attitude fanatique à son égard.

Dans une tentative de répondre à cette question, je tâcherai, autant qu'il est dans mes pouvoirs, de décrire le plus succintement possible les formes fondamentales, le caractère social et les conséquences possibles des conflits sociaux dans ce même intervale dans lequel dura une partie de la vie d'Arsenije Njegovan (mars 1941-juin 1968).

m en t. D a s t h e r e , i l e n d u r a t i o n grace & l 'a m o u r p a s s i o n n a n t, m a i s p o s s s s e s , that he sees these houses as defined as he possesses it.

C'est c e tte p a ssio n d e p r o p rie ta ire q u i le la n c e d a n s d es s p h e re s oil il p e rd le c o n tro le d e so i-m em e e t d e so n e n v iro n n e m e n t, ou les d e m a r ca tio n s et les c o m m u n ica tio n s e n tre les g en s so n t ć ta b lie s p a r u n e p u is san ce q u i e a u d e la d e l p o r t e

Un e fois qu'il e ta it so rti des am aison, emporte depreoccup a tions pour ses maisons -favorites, de jacons truites et a imees avec ardeur, ce jour meme, en Milleneufcent quarante etun, pendant qu'il descendait la ruePop-Luk ina, il fut priset en levepar la masseduvingts eptmars.

On the r time, I assumed a prolonged solitary life, a passion for -

tisse u r le fit c o n d u ire a Novi Beogradpoury prospector develops new aux projects. T h i s time again, the three junes in thousands of n e u f-cents o i x a n th u it, pres du pont railway, the mass revolt and occupation pro pre c o u r a n t of life, priv e

Due to the point given by Arsenije Njegovan, these events are of equal importance, They make the cauche mare of souvenirs persons ls, long decades, of the red background of the Russian revolution. The mem or y of Voronyes, bonetspoints of the cavalry and finally the treatment of the »collars of fourrure « on which he had, certainly, his own ire s of the houses, rend in to-

and ra b les trouble s re n o u v e l s. The sentiment of the repetition fatales of the » red revolts « and the trophy which, in a proper direction, » is confused '. e lle -m e m e a u r e v e r s des c o m p t e s e t des ju e s « , re p r e s e n t l e s t h e latest signs of 'Arsenije Njegovan', a p p a rte -

n a n t a u n e g e n e ra tio n qu i, e n tr e a u tr e s choses, m e n a d e u x g u e rre s m o n d ia les. L e tro is ju in , d a n s la s o litu d e d e l 'a p p a rte m e n t, l a m o rt le d e liv re d 'an g o isse, e t c 'est a in s i q u 'il s'e n a li a d e ce m o n d e, q u i n 'e ta it plu s le sien, le b o n v ie u x m o n d e b o u rg eo is (et ce m o n d e n o u v e a u -

n o n b o u rg eo is).

A in si f i n i r e n t les s days du h e r o d u r a n d e B. Pekić. Or, in

real life she m e u r e s the point of view of the bourgeoisie, survec u l 'illusion that the twins encounter foul societal conflicts, m e m e q u a n d i l e st c ert a in q u e c 'est impossib le le b e so in p o u r V illu sio n reste , e t r e s t a n t au ssi le s t e n d a n c e s scrutinizing social events » de l a g a l e rie « , en m a r g e » of the m elee« of the so cia u x c o n flits II s e r i t b o n d e d e m a n d e r , t o ute fo is, si les c o n flits s o c i a u x n e p o u r r a i e n t p a s e t r e »ob serv es« d 'u n a u t r e p o i n t de v e a l 'a id e d u q u e l il n o u s s e r i t don n ć e s, e v e n t u e -

m ent, there is the possibility of living rehum ain e m e n t in these new forms of c o m m u n a u t e , on the other side of the fatalistic vision of the 'his-to ire ou de l'a ttitu d e f a n a t i c a t i o n s

D a n s u n e t a t i v e r e p o s s e s t h i s q u e s t i o n , t h a t t h e r a i , although he is in his powers, decides the most succinctly possible fundamental forms, the societal caract& and the possible consequences of societal conf licts within this same interval during a part of the life of 'Ar s e n ije N je g o v a n (March 1 9). 4 1 - June 1968).

Il va de soi que dans un article on ne peut pas évoquer toutes les formes plus importantes des conflits sociaux, mais seulement celles qui concernent directement les fondements sur lesquels repose le système des rapports sociaux dans la Yougoslavie contemporaine. Il sera question, donc, des conflits autour du caractère des rapports de propriétés et politiques dans une société qui, au début de sa formation. abolit le pouvoir économique et politique de la bourgeoisie. Le diapason des conflits sociaux réels étant, par ailleurs beaucoup plus vaste, nous ne mentionnerons que quelques d'entre eux: conflits des bergers et des agriculteurs, des vallets et des patrons, de la ville et de la campagne, des communautés locales entre elles, du salarié classique et du patron, qui témoignent de la présence de presque toutes les époques de l'histoire jusqu'ici de la société. Cette fois-ci l'on ne pourra pas se pencher sur le contexte international qui a été depuis toujours, et l'est encore, spécialement important pour le événements dans la société yougoslave.

1.

Les bases du système des rapports sociaux dans la société yougoslave contemporaine ont été jetées au cours de la guerre de libération et civile (1941-1945). En ces années étaient créées les conditions pour l'élimination de la classe qui était au pouvoir, et pour la supression des fondements de son règne.

Pour les événements qui advinrent plus tard dans la société yougoslave, deux conflits de l'époque sont très importants: le conflit du mouvement de libération national avec l'occupant étranger et le conflit au sein du mouvement de libération et, sur un plan plus vaste, au sein de la société yougalsove.

Au commencement de la guerre, cette deuxième confrontation n'était pas si manifeste, comme elle le deviendra plus tard. En effet, l'insurrection s'était déclanchée comme une auto-défense spontanée (fin mai-juin 1941) contre l'occupant et, encore plus, contre ses alliés dans le pays qui profitent de l'occupation pour le pillage et la terreur. Le partage des parties en présence dans la guerre se fait sur la base nationale et confessionnelle. Dans de telles circonstances, peu après l'attaque de l'Alemagne sur l'URSS, la direction du PCY décide d'organiser le déclanchement et la propagation de l'insurrection (cela ne veut pas dire que les communistes ne faisaient que se joindre dès lors à l'insurrection, nombreux sont ceux qui le firent beaucoup plus tôt, sans attendre la directive). L'essor de l'insurrection au cours de l'éte et de l'automne de la même année et l'idée que la guerre n'allait pas durer longtemps, incitent les révolutionnaires professionnels, dirigeants du PCY, d'initier, vers la fin de 1941, le passage à une »deu-

¹ En ce qui concerne leurs formes fondamentales et le cadre théorique de leur recherche concrète-historique, voir l'article de V. Milié, *Prilog teoriji društvenog sukoba* (Une contribution à la théorie du conflit sociale), *Praxis*, Zagreb, 1965, n. 1.

most important forms of social conflicts, but only those which directly concern the foundations on which the system of relations is based. social relations in contemporary Yugoslavia. economic and political power of the bourgeoisie. The diapa son of real social conflicts being, moreover, much broader, we will only mention a few of them: conflicts of shepherds and ag ricu ltors, of servants and bosses, of the city and the countryside, of the local com munities between them, of the classic wage earner and the boss, who bear witness to the presence of almost all periods of his to ry until 'i^i of the company. This time, you will not be able to focus on the international context which has always been, and still is, especially important for the events in Yugoslav society.

1.

The foundations of the system of social relations in contemporary Yugoslav society were laid during the liberation and civil war (1941-1945). In those years, the conditions were created for the elimination of the class that was in power, and for the suppression of the foundations of its rule.

For the events that happened later in Yugoslav society, two conflicts of the time are very im p o rtan t: the conflict of the n a tio n a l lib e ratio n m ov em ent with the the foreign occupier and the conflict within the lib e ratio n m ovem ent and, on a broader level, within Yug alsove society.

At the beginning of the war, this second c o n front tatio n was not so obvious, as it would become later. In fact, the insurrection was launched like a s pon tan ed self-defense (end of May-June 1941) against the occup an ter and, even more, against its allies in the country who take advantage of the occupation for looting and terror. The sharing of the parties involved in the war is done on a n a tio n al and denominational basis. In such circumstances, shortly after Germany's attack on the USSR, the P C Y management decided to o rg anize the outbreak and the pro p ag a tio n of the insurrection (this does not mean that the com m unists only joined the insurrection from then on, many are those who fired much sooner, without waiting for the d irective). The rise of the insurrection during the summer and autumn of the same year and the idea that the war was not going to last long, incited t the profession a l revolution a ries, leaders of the PCY, to initiate, towards the end of 1941, the passage to an e »deu-1 As regards their forms tal foundations and the theoretical framework of their concrete-historical research, see the article by V. M ilić, Prilog teo riji društvenog sukoba (A co n trib u tio n a la th ć o rie

xième phase de la révolution«, à la lutte de classe, à la lutte pour le pouvoir, afin que la question du pouvoir puisse être tranchée avant la fin de la guerre.² C'est ainsi que l'on stimula la stratification du front patriotique, en recourant souvent à la brutalité de la violence. Les recherches des historiens n'ont pas encore dégagé clairement le facteur qui a eu une influence décisive sur cette stratification. Or, il est certain, pour le moment, qu'elle a été influencée, outre les politiques sectaires des dirigeants du PCY, par l'hesitation traditionnelle de la paysannerie et de la politique d'attente des politiciens bourgeois, de même que par une certaine indulgence des occupants à l'égard des insurgés, calculée pour réprimer l'influence des communistes sur les insurgés et pour saper la mouvement de libération unique, en renforçant les mouvements nationalistes (et c'est à cette fin, notamment, que sous la pression de l'Allemagne, Pavelić forme l'Eglise orthodoxe indépendante dans le cadre de la NDH – Etat indépendant croate).

Le sectarisme (connu davantage dans l'historiographie nationale sous l'appellation – »erreurs gauches«) des révolutionnaires professionnels, pour l'essentiel, a sérieusement affecté le développement de l'insurrection surtout au Monténegro et en Bosnie-Herzégovine orientale où les forces insurrectionnelles faiblissaient rapidement au cours de la première moitié de 1942.

Dans les années suivantes de la guerre, les mouvements nationalistes coopèrent de plus en plus ouvertement et étroitement avec l'occupant, cependant que le PCY s'affirme comme le noyau d'action incontestable du mouvement de libération nationale. Sous le couvert de la devise – fraternité-unité – et de la création de la Yougoslavie sur des bases nouvelles, le PCY forme un bloc révolutionnaire massif qui met victorieusement un terme à la guerre. Au lendemain de la guerre, on sanctionne l'état de choses créé pendant la guerre de libération et la guerre civile. La trahison nationale de la classe bourgeoise du pays condamne celle-ci à disparaître de la vie politique, ce qui a été suivi, peu après, de sa dépossession économique – réforme agraire et nationalisation des moyens de production.

2.

Le rôle du pouvoir politique dans la disparition de l'un et la création d'un autre régime, la domination de la sphère politique sur celle de l'économie et les autres domaines de la vie sociale, ménage le champ d'action à la dominance sociale des tenants directs du pouvoir. A la suite de la guerre révolue, une partie de la société, celle qui fut du côté de l'occupant, s'est vue placer dans une position subordonnée, en marge de la vie publique, pour l'essentiel. Ce qui importe davantage pour le régime social qui va s'établir dans la société d'après la

² Pour les détails, consulter: R. Hurem, *Pojava krize NOP-a u Bosni i Hercego- vini krajem 1941. i poéctkom 1942.* (Phénomène de crise dans le Mouvement de libération nationale, fin 1941 – début 1942, en Bosnie-Herzégovine), manuscrit de la thèse de doctorat.

x iem e p h a s e d e la re v o lu tio n «, a la lu tte d e classe, a la lu tte p o u r lc p o u v o ir, a fin q u e la q u e stio n d u p o u v o ir p u isse e tr e tra n c h e e a v a n t la fin d e la g u e rre .2 C 'est a in si q u e T on s tim u la l a s tr a tif ic a tio n d u f ro n t p a trio tiq u e, e n re c o u ra n t so u v e n t a la b r u ta lite d e la v io len ce. L e s re -

ch erch es of h isto rie n s n o n t pas e n c o r e d e g a g a g e c l a r e m e n t t h e f a c t e u r w h i c h a eu u n e influenced decisive sources of stratification. Or, it is certain, for the moment, that other sectarian politicians of the PC Y leadership will influence the parliament itio n of the p a y -

san n e rie t of the politics attendant on bourgeois politicians, as well as the occupants' certain indulgence in view of the insurgency, ca lc u lee p o u r re p r i m e r l 'in fluence of the c o m m u n i s t e s s u r e s u r g e s t p o u r s a p e r l a t i o n unique liberation movement, and reinforces the m o u -

v e m e n ts n a tio n a lis te s (et c'est a c e tte fin , n o ta m m e n t, q u e sous la p re s -

sion of Germany, P a ve lić formed the Independent Orthodox Church within the framework of the NDH - Croatian Independent State).

The sectarism (known as the advantage of national history under the appellation - "left-handed errors") of the revolution of the profest-

sions, for the sake of essence, a series of effects on the development of the insurrection throughout Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina -

ta le ou le fo rces in su rre c tio n n e l s f i b l i s s a i e n t r a p i d e m e n t during t h e 1942 f i r m e m o i t y.

In the years following the war, national movements cooperated deeply and more openly with the oc-cupant, although the P C Y s 'a f firm c o m m e n t o f a c t i o n i n a s t a b l e c o n t e n t t o n a t i o n a l l e b e r a t i o n m o v e m e n t Under the guise of the motto - fraternity - unity - and the creation of Y o u g o s life on new bases, the PC Y formed a block revolution n n a m a s s i f c u i m e t h i s v i c t o r y use of the term la g u e rre A u l a n d m a i n d e la g u e rre , on the sanctity of the state of things creeping during the war of liberation and the civil war. N a t i o n a l t r a h i s o n a l o f t h e bourgeois class of a contemporary country i s p a r a t i o n o f p o l i t i c life, which is followed, immediately, by a desire for economic possession fo rm e a g r a i e t n a t i o n a l i s a t i o n of m eans of p r o d u c t i o n

The role of politication in the disparition of the unetlacre ation of another regime is the domination of the political sphere over that of the economy et the other spheres of social life, manage the field of action with the social dominance of the direct tenants of power.

A la su ite d e l a g u e rre rev o lu e , u n e p a rtie d e la societe, celle q u i fu t d u cote d e l 'o c c u p an t, s'est v u e p la c e r d a n s u n e p o sitio n su b o rd o n n e e , en m a rg e d e la v ie p u b liq u e , p o u r l 'esse n tie l. C e q u i im p o rte d a v a n ta g e p o u r le reg im e so cial qui v a s'e ta b lir d a n s la so ciete d 'a p rč s la 1 P o u r les d e ta ils , c o n su lte r: R. H u re m , P o ja v a k riz e N O P - a u B o sn i i H e rc e g o v in i k r a je m 1941. i p o č e tk o m 1942. (P h ć n o m e n e de crise d a n s le M o u v e m e n t đc lib e ra tio n n a tio n a le , fin 1941 - d ć b u t 1942, en B o sn ie -H e rz 6 g o v in e), m a n u s c rit de la th ese de d o c to ra t.

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guerre, c'est le rapport des nouveaux titulaires du pouvoir politique et, à l'aide de celui-ci, du pouvoir économique, à l'égard du bloc révolutionnaire.

La décomposition du bloc révolutionnaire, annoncée encore pendant la guerre, atteint des proportions plus larges dès les premières années suivant la libération du pays. Les participants les plus nombreux du mouvement de libération nationale, les paysans, pendant la collectivisation forcée de la campagne et le rachat obligatoire, ainsi qu'à la suite de l'industrialisation du pays sur le compte de l'agriculture, disparaissent subitement, tout d'abord du PCY, et ensuite de la vie politique en général. La classe ouvrière, relativement peu nombreuse dans la société d'avant la guerre, réduite en nombre pendant la guerre, émergeait de l'industrialisation entamée du pays.

Les révolutionnaires professionnels de diverses origines sociales deviennent une couche sociale homogène et un nouveau facteur essentiel de l'intégration du système social global. Leur puissance sociale repose sur un type de parti politique spécifique, sur une organisation monolithe aux efectifs disciplinés, organisation créée à l'image du parti russe, renforcée dans les conditions d'illégalité et les circonstances militaires pendant la guerre, couronnée de la gloire du Vainqueur. Le rôle social de l'appareil du parti et de l'Etat revendique toujours plus de cadres – une nouvelle couche bureaucratique est en voie de création. Deviennent aussi parties des nouvelles classes au pouvoir: dirigeants militaires, dirigeants économiques, intellectuels qui occupent des positions-clés dans les institutions de propagande, culturelles et éducatives.

La puissance politique énorme de la *politocratie* (classe politique) permet à ses appartenants d'acquérir de la richesse matérielle, tant par le partage des biens fonciers et immobiliers survécus de la classe dépossédée que par des rémunérations relativement élevées, fixées d'après la position dans la pyramide hiérarchique de l'organisation.

La classe nouvellement créée adopte une attitude unique face à la société. A cause du faible enracinement social, et surtout économique, de la politocratie, dans l'établissement du nouveau système social et dans son fonctionnement un grand rôle revient à la violence politique directe.

L'opinion en fonction des alternatives du développement social ne pouvait, cependant, assurer l'unité absolue de la politocratie. Pendant le conflit avec le stalinisme extérieur, russe, on élimine une bonne partie de cette couche à la place de laquelle sont cooptés des membres nouveaux. Dans de telles circonstances, pour assurer l'unité intérieure or renforce le rôle de l'appareil repressif, et avant tout de la police politique dont les dirigeants étaient à la tête du secteur organisationnel et des cadres du Parti. Son rôle refoule, plus qu'auparavant, les facteurs idéels de l'intégration du parti, de la politocratie et de la société. On voit s'approfondir la division entre la direction active et la masse exécutante, ce qui est, au fond, une division de la société en classes.

war is the relationship between the new holders of political power and, with its help, of economic power, with regard to the revolutionary bloc. Professional revolutionaries of various social origins become a homogeneous social stratum and a new essential factor in the integration of the global social system. Their social power rests on a specific type of political p a rti, on a m onolith o rg an isatio n with a number of disciplines, an o rg an izatio n created in the image of the Russian bet, reinforced in the conditions of illegality and military circumstances during the war, crowned with the glory of the V ain c u e r. The social role of the apparatus of the party and the state demands more and more cadres - a new bureaucratic layer is being created. Also become part of the new classes in power: military leaders, econom ic leaders, intellectuals who occupy key positions in pro p ag an d institu tio n s , cultural and educational.

The enormous political power of the politocracy (political class) enables its members to acquire material wealth, both through the sharing of surviving land and real estate the dispossessed class only by rela tiv ely high remunera tio n s, fixed according to the position in the hierarchical p y ram id of the o rg anisation.

The newly created class has adopted a unique attitude towards society. Because of the weak social, and above all economic, roots of the politocracy, in the estab lishment of a new social system and in its func tioning a great deal role falls to direct political violence.

O p inion based on social develo p m en t a lte rn a tiv e s could not, however, ensure the absolute unity of the politocracy. D uring the con fl ict w ith external, Russian Stalinism, a good part of this stratum is elim ined, in place of which new m em bers are co-opted. In such circumstances, to ensure internal unity, the role of the repressive apparatus is reinforced, and above all of the political police whose leaders were the head of the org an isation al sector and P a rti executives. Its role suppresses, more than before, the ideal factors of the integration of the party, the politocracy and society. We see a deepening of the d iv ision betw een the active management and the

performing m ass, which is, basically, a div isio n of society into classes.

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De tels rapports dans le parti, malgré les tentatives nombreuses de les changer au cours de la période écoulé, ne lui ont pas permis de s'affirmer en tant que partie organique de la classe ouvrière, en tant qu'»intellectuel collectif« (A. Gramsci).

La concentration du pouvoir politique dans un cercle restreint des révolutionnaires professionnels, complété graduellement par de jeunes politiciens professionnels, faiblit de temps à autre les rapports hierarchiques rigides, rapports qui se renouvellent au travers du conflit au sein de la politocratie. Cette lutte est menée selon les règles de l'organisation hiérarchique (secret, excommunication, brutalité avec plebiscite complémentaire dans le parti et le peuple). Les remanîments de cadres dans les sommets de l'organisation sont suivis de balayages déscendant l'échelle hierarchique de l'organisation, et même en dehors de celle-ci. Les conséquences de ces changements se répercutent sur la condition sociale des individus (vie conjugale, famille, emploi, profession, libertés civiques, etc.). Ces cas entrainent aussi des changements considérables dans la structure sociale, la position de certains groupes faiblit, celle des autres se renforce.

A l'occasion de ces changements on proclame d'habitude »une nouvelle étape de la révolution«, sans explications plus détaillées, comme s'il s'agissait toujours à nouveau du déroulement répété de son inévitabilité. Toute opposition aux apotres des lois ainsi conçues, rigides, de l'histoire semble être une trahison; les soupçonneux deviennent des citoyens soupçonnés, les opposants des ennemis. Puisque l'on ne peut pas s'attendre à ce qu'un esprit simple saisisse et accepte de tels changements, on instigue les tendances irrationnelles de la conscience collective; les »forces défaites« sont présentées comme étant des ennemis du peuple, de la classe ouvrière, du socialisme, des ennemis que l'on se doit de combattre jusqu'au bout, de les anéantir, même s'ils se trouvent plus dans l'»underground«, bannis de la vie publique.

Ces temps derniers de tels règlements de comptes assument des formes plus stylisées (procès publics, prisons régulières, tentatives de faire accepter dans l'opinion publique les motifs des verdicts, etc.).

3.

La compression de la classe ouvrière dans les cadres de l'organisation de travail ne la retient pas dans une docilité totale au sein des cadres d'activités qui lui sont imposés du dehors. Privée des moyens pour mener une action sociale plus vaste, la classe ouvrière recoure aux grèves, à cette forme classique de la lutte de classe pour le montant du salaire, c'est-à-dire pour sa part dans la répartition de la plus-value.

Depuis la première grève notée à Trbovlje, en 1958, il y a en eu environ 2000 jusqu'à 1970, officiellement enregistrées. Ces temps derniers, elles se font de plus en plus fréquentes. Elles demeurent en dehors du système, bien que l'on relève, depuis récemment, des tentatives de les faires »imbriquer dans le système«.

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The report sfrom the party, despite the tentative numbers of changes during the course of the school period, do not allow to affirm that que organic part of the working class, as the '» intellectual collection.

tif« (A . G ra m sc i).

The concentration of political power ansuncerc lerestreet desrevolution nareprofessionels, completegraduely by young politician professionels, faiblit detempsautrelsreportshierar-chiques rigides, reports that renouvelentautherduconflitause in de lapolitocratie. This struggle is meand according to the regies of the orga-

hierarchical settlement (secret, excommunication, brutality with plenty of complementarity between the party and the people). The remain is ments of decades at the summits of the organization are followed by debalayages descending from the hierarchy of the organization, et memeende hossofthee ele-ci. The consequences of these changes are repercutant on the social condition of individuals (life, family, job, professors sion, civic liberties, etc.). Cessentrainent ausisconsiderable entsine nements in the social structure, the position of certain groups is weak, that of others is different force

On the occasion of these changes proclaimed 'habit of » u n e n o u -

at the stage of the re v o lu tion «, without explanations plus details, as it is said it is to u j u r s a n o u v e a u d u d e r o u l e m e n t repeatedly so n in e v i-tablity. T h e o p p o s itio n a u x a p o t h e r of t h e laws of in s i c o n ju es , rigid es, of history seems to be a treason; the soups of the citizens become soups, the opponents of these enemies. W h e n T o n e p e u t p a s s s a t e n d r e a c e that a simple spirit would accept such changes, he instigates the irrational tendencies of consciousness this co llective; the »forces of de facto « are presented as enemies of the people, of the working class, of soci alism, enemies of the self it d e c o m b a ttre ju s q u 'a u b o u t, of the les a n e an t i r, m e m e s'ils se tru u -

v e n t p lu s d a n s l '» u n d e rg ro u n d « , b a n n is d e la v ie p u b liq u e .

Recently detailed regulations assume these forms plus stylisees (public promises, prison regulations, tentative defairs e a c c e p t e r d a n s p u b l i c o p i n i o n the motifs of the verdicts, etc.).

L a compression de la classe ouvriere dans les cadres de l'organis a-

tion of travail ne la r etient pas dan s u n e do c ilite to ta le a u se in des cadres d'activite s q u i l u i s o n t i m p o s e d u d e h o r s. Deprived of the means of m e n e r u n e a c t i o n s o c i a l v a s t e , the ou v rie class resorts to strikes, this forms the c la ssique of class struggle for m o n -

ta n t d u s a la ire, c'e s t- a -d ire p o u r sa p a r t d a n s l a r e p a r titio n d e la p lu s-v a lu e.

Since the first census of Trbovlje, in 1958, there have been about 2000 until 1970, officially registered. Lately, they have become more frequent. E lle s d e m e u r e n t e d h o r d u s y s t e m e , b i e n q u e l 'on r e l i v e , de p u i s rć c e m m e n t , d e s t a t i v e s de l e s faires » i b r i q u e r d a n s le sy stem e «.

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Tandis que dans le capitalisme il est certain que la classe au pouvoir se trouve du côté opposé de la classe ouvrière, dans notre société cela est moins certain. Un sujet du conflit, les travailleurs, est certain, le deuxième est recouvert de conscience mythologique, il est pour ainsi dire invisible.³ Aussi longtemps qu'il aura été incertain contre qui les travailleurs font la grève, survivra l'assertion, absurde d'ailleurs, selon laquelle les travailleurs font la grève contre eux-mêmes, ce qui pourrait être vrai autant que si nous affirmions que la classe ouvrière est la première classe au pouvoir dans l'histoire qui abandonne volontairement le pouvoir – pour s'en aller dans l'émigration économique.

Il est intéressant à noter que les grèves se déclarent peu après le premier, et jusqu'à présent l'unique Congrès des conseils ouvriers (25-27 juin 1957). Après une »élaboration« institutionnelle de l'autogestion pendant sept ans, c'est seulement après ce congrès que l'on annonce l'orientation vers le renforcement de la base matérielle de l'autogestion. En conséquence, l'on serait en droit de supposer que les grèves sont les symptomes de la naissance spontanée d'un mouvement ouvrier autogestionnaire et une forme de lutte contre ceux qui freinent son essor. C'est ce qui est corroboré par des cas de plus en plus répendus d'auto-organisation des grévistes (comité de grève, réunions ouvrières, auto-assistance).

Les grèves restent d'habitude dans l'antichambre du régime et n'ont pas un impact social plus sérieux (paiement des rémunérations ou leur majoration). L'éloignement des instruments du pouvoir (organes d'Etat, du parti, syndicaux, et institutions culturelles et éducatives) et sans part plus importante dans la plus value et d'influence sur sa répartition, ne permettent pas que les rapports sociaux soient changés sous l'influence organisée de la classe ouvrière. Elle demeure exploitée, dans une position de salariat. Cette tendance se manifeste assez fortement dans un nombre croissant de grèves qui débordent les cadres des organisations de travail (Kopar, Rijeka, Split, Ljubljana, etc.).

Ces quelques dernières années on est témoin de plus en plus fréquemment des grèves auxquelles participe aussi une partie de l'intelligentzia, pour l'essentiel des étudiants et des enseignants, ce qui signale que cette couche sociale est, elle aussi, pour une bonne part, dans une position de salariat.

La dissimulation du caractère de classe du pouvoir dans la société contemporaine est un phénomène général d'adaptation du système bourgeois aux »nouvelles circonstances«. La politocratie se comporte comme la bourgeoisie contemporaine, pour laquelle R. Barthes dit (dans Mythologies, Seuil, 1957) qu'elle se détermine dans la société contemporaine (»anonyme«) en tant que »classe sociale qui ne veut pas être nommére.

Pour une explication plus détaillée de cette attitude, voir: N. Popov, Strajkovi u sauremenom jugoslovenskom drustvu (Les grèves dans la société yougoslave contemporaine), Sociologija, Beograd, 1969, n. 4, ou la traduction en allemand Streiks in der gegenwärtigen jugoslawischen Gesellschaft, Praxis, revue philosophique, Zagreb n. 3/4, 1970.

mythological consciousness, he is, so to speak, invisible. workers go on strike, will survive the assertion, absurd by the way, that the workers go on strike against themselves, which could be true so long as if we assert that the working class is the first ruling class in history that voluntarily relinquishes power - to go economic migration.

It is interesting to note that the serious ones were declared shortly after the first, and up to and including the only Congress of Workers' Councils (June 25-27, 1957). After an in stitu tio n al »elaboration« of self-management over seven years, it was only after this congress that we -

sets out the o rie n tatio n towards strengthening the material basis of self-management. Consequently, one would be right to suppose that the grave are the symptoms of the spo n tan e birth of a worker m ovem ent that is self-managing and a form of luster. head against those who slow down its development. This is what is corroborated by increasingly frequent cases of self-organization by strikers (strike committee, workers' meetings, self-help).

The serious ones usually remain in the forerunner of the regime and do not have a more serious social im p act (payment of rem u n ćratio n s or their increase). The distancing from the in strum ents of power (bodies of the State, the p a rti e, unions, and cul tural and educational institu tio n s) and without p a rt more im p o rta n te in value and influence over its distribution, does not allow social re p o rts to be changed under the organized influence of the working class. It remains exploited, in a p o sition of the e la ria t.4 This trend is manifested quite strongly in a growing num ber of bass that overflows the frames of the Work o rg an isatio n s (K opar, R ijeka, Split, L ju b lja n a , etc.).

Over the past few years we have been witnessing more and more fre-

ment in which part of the intelligentsia also takes part, for the most part stu d ia n ts and teachers, which indicates that this social stratum is also , to a large extent, in an em ployee p o sition.

* The dissim u latio n of the class character of power in contemporary society is a general phenomenon of the ad ap ta tio n of the bourgeois system to »new circumstances«. The politico c ra ty includes like the contemporary bourgeoisie.

for which R. Barth es says (in M yth o lo g ies, Seuil, 1957) that the sc déterm m in contemporary ("anonymous") society as "social class who

does not want to be named m će".

For a more detailed explanation of this attitude, see: N. Popov, Š tra jko vi u savrem enom ju g o slo ven sko m d ru štvu (Strikes in contemporary Yugoslav society rain e), Sociologija, B eograd, 1969, n. 4, or the tra d u c tio n en allcm and d otrei i s in d er g ege nw drtigen jugosla w isch e n G esellschaft. P raxis, philosophical review, Z a greb n. 3/4, 1970.

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Pendant les manifestations des étudiants de juin 1968, qui s'étaient transformées, le jour même en une grève des étudiants et des enseignants de l'Université de Belgrade, on avait nettement défini les objectifs substantiels de la mise en place du régime socialiste: socialisation de l'économie et de la politique, instauration du pouvoir de la classe ouvrière à tous les niveaux de la société globale, pouvoir qui se fonderait sur la propriété sociale et la répartition selon le travail, contrôle démocratique public des activités des organes du pouvoir et des mass media et abolition du caractère de classe du système d'enseignement supérieur.

En signe de solidarité avec les étudiants de Belgrade, et mis en mouvement par des impulsions autochtones, les étudiants de Niš, Sarajevo, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Titograd, Split, Rijeka, Maribor, Novi Sad, Cačak, Kragujevac, Mostar, Zrenjanin et d'autres centres culturels de Yougoslavie, entrent en action. Avec des différences plus ou moins grandes, quant aux caractéristiques des actions estudiantines dans les diverses villes, un degré sensible d'unité idéelle s'était réalisée tant à propos de la condamnation du recours à la violence contre les étudiants et en général dans le règlement des contradictions sociales, qu'à propos des efforts pour faire établir des principes de la démocratie socialiste.

Pendant la grève et les autres actions des étudiants, datant des mêmes journées, on a vu se créer des programmes politiques spéciaux, connus comme les »revendications des étudiants«, et aussi des formes autonomes d'auto-organisation (comités d'action et réunions).

D'une façon déterminée le mouvement des étudiants de juin est l'expression d'une position sociale relativement autonome des intellectuels, des étudiants en premier lieu, ce qui se traduit dans une suite d'actions directes (manifestations à Novi Beograd, en 1954, et ensuite à Zagreb, Skopje, et Rijeka en 1959, les actions des étudiants de Ljubljana pendant l'année académique 1963/64). Et encore plus souvent, cette position se traduit par la tentative de former une opinion publique des étudiants et des jeunes (journaux et revues des étudiants et de la jeunesse, réunions, groupes et institutions artistiques). Dans l'ensemble de la période d'après la guerre il y a eu des conflits plus ou moins grands quand on exprimait des positions indépendantes, et les tentatives d'engager des actions directes étaient violemment étouffées (les manifestations mentionnées, par ex.).

Aux actions des étudiants et au mouvement estudiantin en voie de devenir, en juin 1968, s'opposèrent éenergiquement les corps exécutifs des organes dirigeants de la Ligue des communistes (Présidence, Comité exécutif, Secrétariats) et des autres organisations socio-politiques. Pour ce faire, ils en trouvèrent des moyens efficaces dans toute la presse écrite, parlée et télévisée; leur action a été plus périlleuse pour les étudiants que l'intervention de la milice ou des autres appareils de repression, car la désinformation soulevait la condamnation sociale des étudiants. Le travail des organisations politiques, du »parti- plus large« (G. Orwell), n'est pas suffisemment accessible au contrôle de l'o-

4.

Pending the manifestations of the students in 1968, which were transformed, the journey meme a number of these students n a n t s of the U n i v e r s i t e o f B e l g r a d e , he had necessarily defined the substantial ob jects of the list: soc ia lisa tion of the econom y of politics, the ins ta u ra tion of class power ou v rie re a to us at the highest levels of global society, so that it can be founded on sure the proper society will be divided according to labour, democratic public control of the activities of organs of the power of the mass media and abolition ra c te r e of the class of the sign system -

m en t su p e rie u r.

E n sig n e d e s o lid a rite a v e c les e tu d ia n ts d e B e lg ra d e , et m is en m o u v em e n t p a r des im p u lsio n s a u to c h to n e s, les e tu d ia n ts d e N iš, S a r a je v o , L ju b lja n a , Z a g r e b , T ito g r a d , S p lit, R ije k a , M a rib o r, N o v i S ad , Č ačak, K ra g u je v a c , M o s ta r, Z r e n ja n i n e t d 'a u tre s c e n tre s c u ltu -

rels of Yugoslavia, entrepreneurial action W h e n d i f f e r e n c e s more or less large, quantum characteristics distinguish the actions of the diverse cities, undegre sen sib le d'u n ite id e e lle s 'e ta it re a -

s e e d a n t a p r o p o s e s o f t h e c o n d a m n a t i o n d u r e c o u r s a l v i o lence c o n t e r s e t u d i a n t s in general in the regulations of social contradictions, which he proposes ffo rts to establish the principles of democratic socia list.

P e n d a n t t h e g r a v e t les o t h e r a c t i o n s of these students, such as these m e-mes journeys, he o n a v u s e c r e e r des p o l i t i c p r o g r a m m e s p e c i a u x.

co n n u s co m m e les » re v e n d ic a tio n s des e tu d ia n ts «, e t au ssi d es fo rm e s a u to n o m e s d 'a u to - o r g a n is a tio n (co m ites d 'a c tio n e t re u n io n s).

D'u n e fa£ o n d e t e r m i n e e l e m o u v e m e n t of these students is the ex p re ssion of a s o c i a l position relative to oneself in terms of intellectual -

tuels, their students in prime lieu, which translates into a suite of direct actions (manifestation in Novi Belgrade, 1954, et seq.). a Zagreb, Skopje, and Rijeka in 1959, the actions of Ljubljana students

during the academic year 1963/64). Etencoreplussouvent, the positionstraduit parlatentativedeformeruneopinionpubliqued by students and young people (journals of this study youth groups, meetings, groups and artistic institutions). Danslown-

se m b l e d e l e p e r i o u s o f t h e p r e s l a g u e r a l y a e u d e s c o n f l i t e s p l u s o u m o i n s grand s q u a n d e x p r i m a t i o n s p o s i o n s, a n d t e n t a t i v e s to engage in action n s d i r e c t e s e t i e n t vio le m e n t to u ffees (the manifestations mentioned, p a r ex.).

A u x ac tio n s des e tu d ia n ts et a u m o u v e m e n t e s tu d ia n tin e n v o ie d e d e v e n ir, en j u in 1968, s'o p p o s e re n t e e n e rg iq u e m e n t les c o rp s e x e cu tifs des o rg a n e s d irig e a n ts d e la L ig u e des c o m m u n iste s (P re sid e n c e , C o m ite ex e cu tif, S e c re ta ria ts) e t des a u tre s o rg a n is a tio n s so c io -p o litiq u e s .

P o u r c e f i e r , they do not find efficacious means in all the press, parliament and the media; le u r a c t i o n a et6 p l u s p ć rille u s e p o u r le s t u d i a n t s w h e l e 'intervention of milk or other apparatuses of repression, c a r l a d e s in f o r m a t i o n n s o u le v a it la c o n d a m n a t i o n s o c ia le these students. T h e work of political organizations, even "party-plus large" (G. Orwell), is not sufficiently accessible to his control

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pinion publique. Or, il existe des indices que les canaux organisationnels, de production et politiques, des communautés de travail et locales aient été passées sur le coup, sur l'initiative et sous la direction des centres de la puissance politique (»partie restreint«), à une forme d'activité non-publique (état-majors politiques, garde ouvrière, groupe de frappe, etc.). A la repression du mouvement estudiantin collaborent directement les sectaires et les nationalistes, d'habitude irréconciliables. Du point de vue de la logique cela semble paradoxal, mais envisagé du point de vue de l'histoire il est tout à fait compréhensible qu'autour des mêmes positions se retrouvent ceux qui défendent les positions acquises (communauté des intérêts) contre ceux qui préconisent des changements plus ou moins radicaux du statu quo. Cette alliance qui dès lors entre en action publique, n'a pas encore démontré jusqu'au bout ses visées réelles.

Un examen critique du conflit de juin démontrerait certainement qu'il contient, pour ainsi dire, tous les conflits fondamentaux dans la société yougoslave contemporaine. Les proportions véritables des actions estudiantines peuvent être devinées notamment par les tentatives du côté opposé d'en finir le plus vite possible, de les faire revenir dans des cadres journaliers et de brouiller les traces du conflit de juin. On pourrait dire, autant que cela puisse paraître paradoxal à prime abord. qu'il s'agissait du conflit entre ceux qui ne désirent pas conquérir le pouvoir politique et ceux qui veulent le maintenir à tout prix, entre ceux qui font appel au logos de l'histoire contre la volonté de groupe pour la puissance!

Le mouvement estudiantin qui était en création ces jours-là, transcendait par certaines de ses caractéristiques essentielles la conception habituelle de la politique et du pouvoir. Comme objectif de la société socialiste, et pas d'un mouvement séparé, il avançait: liquidation de la pauvreté matérielle et spirituelle, réduction de la stratification profonde de la société, qui exige la domination de la puissance sociale aliénée et de ses tenants dans la mise en marche de l'intégration forcée de la société globale. Partant d'une base nouvelle, il serait possible d'instrumentaliser le pouvoir politique à partir des fondements de la démocratie prolétarienne. La revendication que soient remplacés certains fonctionnaires menaçait de briser le monopole de l'initiative dans la vie politique, et n'était pas une tentative en vue de la conquête directe du pouvoir; on a exigé en fait une discussion publique sur la responsabilité des fonctionnaires politiques. Un tel mouvement politique revêt un caractère transpolitique. Il ne porte pas en soi un régime nouveau, accompli, au sein duquel le mouvement aurait disparu, de même qu'il ne préssuppose pas de nouveaux révolutionnaires professionnels. L'unité d'action fondamentale ont été les réunions qui donnaient des mandats impératifs aux membres des comités d'action qui changeaient, d'habitude, toutes les 48 heures.

Pour des raisons, que nous ne pouvons pas examiner à cette occasion, on brisa au cours des sept journées de juin, le mouvement unique des étudiants yougoslaves. Il a duré un peu plus à Belgrade pour être dissolu peu après le discours du Président de la République.

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public p in ion. However, there are indications that the organizational, production and political channels, of working and local com m unities were passed on the spot, on the initiative and under the direction of

centers of political power ("restricted part"), to a form of non-p u b lic activity (political staff, workers' guard, strike group, etc.). Sectaries and nationalists, who are usually irreconcilable, collaborate directly in the repression of the student movement. From the point of view of logic, this seems p ara d o xal, but from the point of view of history, it is quite understandable that around the same positions those who defend acquised positions (community of interests) against those who advocate more or less radical changes in the status quo. This alliance, which therefore enters into public action, has not yet demonstrated its real aims until the end.

A critical examination of the June conflict would certainly show that it contains, so to speak, all the fundamental conflicts in contemporary Yugoslav society. The v critable prop ortions of student actions m ay be guessed in particular by the attempts on the opposite side to put an end to them as quickly as possible, to make them come back in pleasant frameworks. ur na liers and blur the traces of the June conflict. One could say, as dox as it may seem at first glance, that it was a question of the conflict between those who do not wish to conquer political power and those who want to main tain it at all costs, among those who appeal to the logos of history against the group will for power!

The m o vem ent s tu d ian tin which was in crea tio n those days, transcended by some of its essential characteristics the usual conception of politics and power. As an objective of socialist society, and not of a separate m o vem ent, it advanced: liqu id atio n of m aterial and sp iritual poverty, re u ctio n of deep stratifica tio n of society, which demands the domination of the alienated social power and its supporters in the implementation of the forced integration of the global society. Starting from a new basis, it would be possible to instru m en t alize po litical po w er on the basis of the foundations of pro-terocratic democracy. The demand that certain civil servants be replaced threatened to break the monopoly of initiative in political life, and was not an attempt to view of the direct conquest of power; what was demanded was a public discussion of the accountability of political officials. Such a political movement takes on a trans-political character. It does not in itself carry a new, accomplished regime, within which the m ovement would have disappeared, just as it does not presuppose new professional rev o lu tio n aries. The fundame n t unit of action were meents whon-

n e m p e rative mandates to m em bers of action com m ittees w h a t c h an g e , as usual, every 48 hours.

For reasons that we cannot examine on this occasion, during the seven days of June, the unique movement of Yugoslav students was broken. It took a little longer for B elg rade to be dissolved shortly after the speech by the P resid e n t of the R 6public.

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La dissolution, ou plus exactement l'auto-dissolution, qui était le fruit d'une manipulation plus ou moins subtile, du mouvement estudiantin de juin, était suivi »selon la ligne du pouvoir« d'un effort perseverant d'effacer ses traces et d'empécher son renouvellement éventuel. On a tout d'abord brisé les formes d'auto-organisation (comité d'action), puis on a contesté le caractère particulier des programmes des étudiants (»revendications«) pour interdire ensuite les journaux et les revues des étudiants et de la jeunesse, et remplacer ou remanier les rédactions. A ceci s'enchainèrent les fréquents interrogatoires à la police et autres des participants aux actions de juin (on y chercha notamment, avec importunité, une quelconque organisation illégale?!), les arrestations, peines administratives, prise des passeports, irruption de la police et fouilles des locaux de la Faculté de philosophie à Belgrade... Deux ans après juin 1968, après une suite de petits conflits, une partie des étudiants de l'Université de Belgrade est en grève (deux facultés et deux académies, vers la fin du mois d'octobre 1970).

La grève d'octobre des étudiants, organisée en signe de protestation contre le procès et la condamnation de l'étudiant Vladimir Marjanović, président du comité de l'Union des étudiants à la Faculté de philosophie à Belgrade, confère des contours encore plus nets au mouvement des étudiants. Sans la pompe de juin, sans l'euphorie de masse, la peur et l'angoisse, cette grève n'apporte aucun nouveau programme politique tout en dégageant, avec puissance, l'un des dilemmes fondamentaux du socialisme contemporain: sous-entend-il ou non les processus politiques en tant que moyen légal de règlement des conflits sociaux et politiques? Au cours de cette grève on redonne vie aux formes d'auto-organisation de juin (réunions, comité d'action, convent). Ce fut la première protestation massive à la suite d'un procès politique concret, ce par quoi une génération lève le silence absolu qui accompagnait les procès politiques précédents. Envisagé dans les perspectives de cette grève, le confit de juin, lui aussi, reçoit des contours plus nets.

5.

Dans chaque conflit social on relève aussi des caractéristiques particulières des générations Les conflits des générations ne s'épuisent pas entièrement dans le contexte des conflits hérités, anciens, de classe et d'autres conflits sociaux, mais ils ont une certaine autonomie dans des proportions plus vastes.

La génération qui n'a pris ni dans la guerre mondiale ni dans la guerre civile, n'a pas encore affirmé, pour le moment, tous les potentiels créateurs, de même qu'elle n'a pas encore fait connaître nettement son image du monde. Elle est encore coincée entre les valeurs et rapports traditionnels et l'adoption et l'essor des valeurs universelles et la réalisation des conditions de vie plus humaines.

Les indices pour une image du monde différente, plus humaine, sont contenus, d'ailleurs, dans la resistance à la guerre et ses dévastations et aux fondements sur lesquels repose une civilisation dans laquelle les guerres font partie de la vie quotidienne des hommes; elle se dresse

e r-s e v e r a n t d 'eff a c e r s e s trace set d 'e m p e c h e r s o n renovation even -

you the. On the other hand, forms of self-organization (com ite d' ac tion), putting on contests have particular characteristics ro g r a m m e s of the s tu d i a n t s (» re v e n d i c a t i o n s«) p o u r i n t e r d e r e n s u i t e s t h e j o u n e s e t h e r eviews of the s t u d i e n t s , e t r e m p l a c e r o u r man ie r s re d a c t i o n s A ceci s'ench ain & rent the frequent interrogatories to the police and others who participate in joint actions (on y c h e r c h a n o -

ta m m e n t, av e c im p o rtu n ite, u n e q u e lc o n q u e o r g a n is a tio n ille g a le?!), les a rre s ta tio n s, p e in e s a d m in is tra tiv e s, p ris e d e s p a sse p o rts, i rr u p tio n d e la p o lice e t fo u ille s des lo c a u x d e la F a c u lte d e p h ilo s o p h ic k B e lg r a d e . . . D e u x a n s a p rč s j u in 1968, a p rč s u n e su ite d e p e tits c o n flits, u n e p a rtie des e tu d ia n ts d e l 'U n iv e rs ite d e B e lg ra d e est e n g rev e (d eu x fa c u lte s e t d e u x a c a d e m ie s, v e rs la f in d u m o is d 'o c to b re 1970).

In October these students organized a signed protest against the promise of the condemnation of the student Vladimir M a r j a n o -

vić, president of the committee of the Union of Students at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, conferred contours in core plus a u m o u v e m e n t of these stude nts. Without the juice pump, without the euphoria of the masses, without the fear of anguish, this event brings a new political program to the gage, with power, l'u n the d ile m m e s phone -

d a m e n ta u x d u s o c i a l s m e c o n t e m p o r a i n: s o u s - e n t e n d - i s o u n o n the p o l i t i c p r o c e s s e n t as a means of legally regulating societal and political conflicts? A c c o u r s o f t h i s c r e a s e d f r o m s of self-organization (meetings, committees of action, convents).

The fire massive protestation followed a concrete politic promises, this park ueunegeneration livesilence about com-

p a g n a it the promises of precedent politics E n vis a g e d a n s les p e r p e c t i v e s t h e c e t e r e , t h e c o n fit de ju in , luia u ssi, re £oit des contours plus nets.

Dansaconflitesocialonreliveausiscaracteristiq uesparticuliers des generations Lesconflities g enerations nepusent pasentiere mentinle connot x te des conflits h 6 rites, ancients, de classes and other sociaux con flits, but they ont unecertaineautonomied in the largest proportions.

Lag6n6rationquin'aprisnidanslaguermondian dandcivil war, n'apasencoreaf firme, for the moment, to us les poten -

tie ls c re a te u rs, d e m em e q u 'e lle n 'a p a s e n c o re f a it c o n n a itre n e tte -

m e n t s o n the image of the world. They c o r e c o in cee between the values tra p p o r t i o n s and the adoption of the universal values and the realization of conditions n s d e v i e p l u s h u m a n e s

These indices portray an image of a different, more humane world, which is not contained, on the other hand, in that resistance although its devastation sets up funds ts s u r lesq u els r e p o s e u n e c i v i l a t i o n a n d t h a t w h e r e w a r s f o n t p a r t y o f d o m e ' s life; and the d resse 362

contre la société déshumanisée, anonyme, massive, et contre la violence de classe comme facteur d'intégration de la société, profondément stratifiée, et du monde divisé; elle proteste contre l'instrumentalisation de l'homme par les organisations puissantes. Or, dans le même temps, elle doit affronter les tentations des privilèges attrayants, issues des options en faveur des centres du pouvoir en place, des possibilités de s'enrichir rapidement et d'acquérir le prestige social sans peine.

Pour nos conditions yougoslaves, les caractéristiques des générations revétues par les conflits sociaux ont une importance sociale accentuée pour les deux classes de base, pour la classe ouvrière et la politocratie à la fois, de même que pour les relations de classe en général.

Le cadre politique de l'économie n'a pas rendu possible l'affirmation de la jeune génération comme tenant du savoir moderne des techniques et des valeurs sociales. Un grand nombre d'experts et de travailleurs qualifiés, des jeunes pour l'essentiel, se voient obliger de quitter la Yougoslavie. Le prix social de la survie des »structures« existantes est, de toute évidence, très élevé.

La »relève des générations« dans la classe gouvernante recèle des tensions nombreuses qui ont une importance sociale plus vaste. A ces tensions, comme il nous sera donné de voir plus tard, concourent de nombreuses circonstances (en relation avec le passage précédent, il convient de ne pas perdre de vue que ni les anciens ni les nouveaux membres de cette classe ne quittent le pays). Certaines tensions au sein de cette classe, tout comme dans son rapprochement vis-à-vis de la partie travaillante de la société, laissent supposer un déplacement de plus en plus grand des conflits du plan de classe sur le plan national de la société globale, ce qui a pour résultat le raidissement des rapports nationaux. Pour conclure cette revue des formes fondamentales des conflits sociaux dans la société yougoslave contemporaine, je souhaite faire ressortir que je ne partage pas les convictions tant de ceux qui ont tendance à ignorer le phénomène national et s'empressent de la caser dans les vitrines d'un musée quelconque, que de ceux qui sont prêts à croire que le phénomène national représente dans la société yougoslave d'aujourd'hui une pure invention et se bornent à constater qu'on le manipule dans l'effort de dissimuler des contradictions sociales substantielles. Ceux qui pensent de cette façon négligent les spécificités variées de chacun des peuples yougoslaves, qui se sont créées pendant des siècles d'existence séparée, et oublient à la légère qu'outre les efforts de rapprochement il y a eu aussi fréquemment des conflits, même très tragiques. Les traces des conflits dans la Yougoslavie d'avant la guerre, et encore davantage de ceux pendant la guerre n'ont pas encore disparues et ne peuvent nous permettre de se sentir tout à fait à l'aise. Les options et partages de guerre de nos pères, encore en vie, ne pouvaient, souvent, ne pas avoir une emprise sur leurs enfants (ce qui s'est manifesté, entre autres, dans divers aspects de discrimination: scolarisation, emploi, participation dans la vie publique, p. ex.). Dans ce même ordre d'idées, il nous est impossible de négliger les atavismes balkaniques, et surtout le syndrome que I. Andrić ap-

against the dehumanized, anonym e, m assive society, and against class violence as a factor of in tegration n of the society, deeply stratified, and of the divided world; it protests against the in strum

entalisation of m a n by powerful organizations. However, at the same time, it must face the temptations of attractive privileges, stemming from options in favor of the centers of power in place, the possibilities of getting rich quickly. in t and to acquire social prestige without difficulty.

For our Yugoslav conditions, the characteristics of the generations covered by social conflicts have an accentuated social importance for the two basic classes, for the working class and the politocracy at the same time, as well as for the class relations in general.

The political framework of the economy did not make it possible to assert -

of the young generation as holders of modern knowledge of techniques and social values. A large number of experts and skilled workers, mainly young people, were forced to leave Yugoslavia. The social price of the survival of »structures«

available is obviously very high.

The »succession of generations« in the governing class conceals numerous tensions which have a wider social im p o rtan ce. Many circumstances contribute to these tensions, as we will see later, (in relation to the preceding passage, it should be borne in mind that neither the old nor the new members of this class do not leave the country). C ertain tensions within this class, as well as in its close relationship to the working part of society, suggest a growing d ćp lacem ent great class conflict on the n a tio n a l plan of global society, which has resulted in the stiffening of n atio n a l re p o rts. To conclude this review of the fundamental forms of social conflict in contemporary Yugoslav society, I would like to point out that I do not share the convictions of those who have tended to n o r the n a tio n a 1 p h e n o m and hasten to put it in the showcases of any museum, only those who are ready to believe that the n a tio n a l p h e n o n a l represents in society Yugoslav society today is a pure invention and merely observes that it is being manipulated in an e ffo rt to conceal sub ject social con trad ictio n s substantial. Those who think in this way 5 neglect the varied specificities of each of the Yugoslav peoples, which were created during centuries of separate existence, and rts of c o m e n t there were also frequent conflicts, even very tragic ones. The traces of the conflicts in Yugoslavia before the war, and even more of those during the war, have not yet disappeared and cannot allow us to felt all at ease. The options and w a r shares of our fathers, who were still alive, often could not have a hold on their children (which was

manifested, among others, in an s various aspects of d iscrim inatio n: schooling, em plo yment, p a rticip a tio n in public life, p.

ex.). In this same order of ideas, it is impossible for us to neglect the Balk anic atavisms, and especially the sy ndrom e that I. A n d rić ap-363

pelle – haine endémique –, haine qui est devenue une fin en soi. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue, non plus, les stimulants de la technologie moderne au service des puissances sociales irrationnelles, ni les mécanismes socio-psychologiques actuels de l'»évasion de la liberté« (E. Fromm), de la fuite de la solitude déprimante dans laquelle nous accule la civilisation technique, fuite de la possibilité d'une communauté plus humaine des hommes dans la nation comme société de classes, dans le nationalisme comme refuge le plus proche, défini nettement par la tradition et biologiquement déterminé (par la naissance) (Blut und Boden).

Tout ceci ne veut pas dire que le nationalisme entre dans notre époque sur les ailes de la *destiné*, ce qui nous aurait libéré de la responsabilité de son retour de l'outre-tombe. Au contraire, comme toujours, des causes et des raisons concrètes-historiques déterminées président à

la réapparition du nationalisme.

Encore récemment, on croyait que la question nationale était définitivement résolue en Yougoslavie. Cette croyance se fondait sur l'influence supposée du mouvement communiste dans la transformation de la société; sur la puissance du mouvement qui, en postulant le système social sur l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière, ouvre la perspective réelle de son règlement momentané et durable dans l'horizon de l'abolition de la structure de classe de la société dans laquelle l'émancipation nationale n'est qu'un des moments individuels de la libération de l'homme des limitations de classe. Or, étant donné que les processus sociaux réels passaient à côté de cet objectif et allaient même dans le sens opposé, l'émancipation de classe et par là même l'émancipation nationale se voient comprimées. Le régime édifié sur les fondements de l'idéologie du monolithisme, qui protège les intérêts de ses protagonistes, avec des impulsions et pressions extérieures, ne rendait pas possible la manifestation des contradictions sociales et leur dénouement démocratique.

Dans les années après la guerre, sous la forte pression de l'Occident et dans le conflit ouvert avec le stalinisme extérieur, russe, on cherche à découvrir une voie nationale, yougoslave, vers le socialisme. Ainsi, parallèlement à la politique sectaire (collectivisation forcée de la campagne et règlement de compte cruel avec ceux qui partagent les mêmes opinions, par exemple), on introduit, d'sen haut, l'autogestion ouvrière. Peu de temps après, sont dissoutes les coopératives paysannes et on annonce la libéralisation du système politique et économique, sans changer essentiellement la structure politique «. La politique sectaire, l'économie politique (avec une puissante technocratie) et l'autogestion d'entrepreneur (dans les usines) continuent à exister parallèlement. Ce n'est que dans ce parallèlisme que la politocratie, dans laquelle se renforce le segment de la technocratie (à côté de la bureaucratie classique), assume un rôle intégrationniste décisif.

Alors que pendant vingt ans l'autogestion ouvrière était demeurée dans la corce de l'Etat, une certaine libéralisation de l'action des lois

⁵ I. Andrić, *Pismo iz 1920* (Lettre de 1920), Pregled, T. I, L. I, Sarajevo, mai 1946 (reproduit dans la revue »Kultura«, revue pour la théorie et la sociologie de la culture et la politique culturelle, Belgrade, 1971, n. 18/14).

d r e d v u e , n o m l u s e , t h e s t i m u l a n t s of m o d e r n technology at the service of irrational social powers s , there are no actual socio -psychological mechanisms of the '» evasion of freedom « (E.

Fromm), de la fuite de la solitu de de de primante dans la que lle nous ac-cu le la civilis a tiontechnique, fuite de la possibilite d'une communaute plushumaine des hommes dans la nationcomme societe de classes, dans le nationalisme comme re fuge le plus proche, de finine tte ment par la traditionet biologique ment de terminć (par la naissance) (Blutund Boden).

Tout cecineveut pas direquelenationalismeentredansnotrećpo-

q u e s u r les a ile s of destiny, whoever uses the right to free the respon-

sa b ilite d e so n r e to u r d e l 'o u tre -to m b e . A u c o n tra ire , co m m e to u jo u rs , des causes et des raiso n s c o n c re te s -h is to riq u e s d e t e r m i n e s p r e s id e n t a la r e a p p a r itio n d u n a tio n a lis m e .

 $E\ n\ c\ o\ r\ e\ rec\ e\ m\ m\ e\ n\ t$, he believed that the national question would be finally resolved in Yugoslavia. Thi is belief is founded in -

fluence of the communist movement in the transfor- mation of society; s u r t h e r m o u v e m e n t, e n p o s tu l a t i o n t h e sy -

s ocial stčm e s u r 1'e m a n c i p a t i o n o f t h e ou v rie re class, o u v e r e la p e r s p e c t i v e r e s o u r r e g u l a t i o n m o m e n t a n d durable within the horizon of the V a b o l i o n of str u c tu re of the class of the society in which the 'e m a n -

c i p a t i o n n a t i o n a l n a t e s t h e m o m e n t s in d i v i d u es of the liberation of the home from the limitations of class. Or, e t a n t h e s o c i a u x ree l p r o c e s u s p a s s i e n t a c o n t e r t h e c o b j e c t i f e t a l i e n t m e m e d in the opposite sense, the emancipation of class and parliament eme l 'emanci-patio n nation is the servant comprime es. L e rć g im e d i f i c a t e s u r e f o r d e m e n t s o f t h e ideology of monolithism, which protects the interests of these protagonists, with the impulse set pressure te rie ures, it does not make possible the manifestation of societal contradictions in their democratic denouement.

D a n s a n e s a p r e s l a g u e r , under the strong pressure of the 'West in the con flito overtake with Stalinism m e ex te rier, Russian, on ch e r c h e a d e c o u v e national revolution, Yugoslavia, versus socialism. In other words, in parallel with sectoral politics (colle ctivisatio n fo re ć e d e la c a m -

p a g n e e t r e g l e m e n t d e c o m p t e c r u e l a v e c e u x q u i p a r t a g e n t s m e-meso p i n i o n s, for example), on introducing, d'»enhaut«, l'auto gestion nouvrie re. P e u d e t e m p s a p r e s s , c o o p e r a t i v e s p a y s a n -

it is necessary to announce the liberalization of the political and economic system, without changing the sense of the political structure. Sectarian politics, the political economy (with technocratic power) and the self-management of the entrepreneur (in factories) continue, for example is te r p a r a l l y. It is in this parallelism that politocracy, in which the late technocratic segment (along with classical labor), a ssu m e a decisive role in integration.

Whendependantvingtansl'autogestion ou vrieretait de meured in the corcedel'Etat, a certain liberalization of the Fact of Laws

* I. Andrić, Pismoiz 1920 (Letter of 1920), Pregled, T I, L I, S a r a jevo , May 1946 (reproduced from the review » K u ltu ra « , a review for the theory and sociology of culture and politics lturelle, Belgrade, 1971, n. 13/14).

du marché, au cours de la décennie écoulée notamment, renforce l'entreprise privée. La stratification de la campagne, le renforcement de la position économique des paysans riches et la croissance de l'importance du secteur privé dans le domaine des services, des transports et autres formes de médiation économique, multiplient le nombre et la richesse des couches bien situées tout en les rapprochant des couches qui gagnent leur richesse sur la base de leur position dans l'hiérarchie politique, économique, administrative et technique. L'appropriation de la plus-value, créée par la classe ouvrière, sur la base de la propriété privée, des fonctions gestionnaires, de même que l'appropriation de diverses formes de rentes et de profits de monopole, rend impossible l'établissement du système social sur une base socialiste: propriété sociale, autogestion et répartition selon les résultats du travail. L'intégration sociale doit, en conséquence, être opérée à partir des bases différentes. On aspire à l'intégration nationale de la politocratie et de la classe ouvrière, des riches et des pauvres, sous la domination, évidemment, de la politocratie yougoslave ou nationale, peu importe.

Dans de telles circonstances il ne faut pas que l'on s'étonne de ce qu'une occasion exceptionnelle pour établir la démocratie sur les principes socialistes, telle que fut le débat sur la police politique (juillet 1966, et plus tard), ait été transposée du plan d'examen de principe du système politique sur le plan des relations nationales. D'où la tendance de présenter la police politique comme étant l'instrument de l'hégémonie de toute une nation, la nation serbe en l'occurrence, (le stalinisme est présenté comme le »serbo-communisme«« ce qui, pour sa part, rappelle irresistiblement la politique officielle de la Komintern qui, dans son temps, accusait la même nation d'hégémonie dans la Yougoslavie »de Versailles«!). Depuis, on légalise graduellement la montée du nationalisme. Miracle véritable, les sectaires et les nationalistes, jadis irréconciliables, trouvent un intérêt commun à refouler la »question nationale« sur une voie secondaire. L'antiindividualisme. l'hypostase de la collectivité face à l'individu rapproche les intérêts communs et façonne l'idéologie commune et la plate-forme idéelle. La phraséologie de classe, la transformation de l'autogestion en idéologie, ne sont qu'une mise en scène de leur co-action. Cette alliance était déjà visiblement à l'œuvre pendant l'étouffement, mentionné déjà, du mouvement de juin des étudiants. On s'efforce avec persévérance, d'en détacher une partie pour en faire une masse militante docile (et dans certains cas des unités de frappe).

Sans égard à la durée possible de cette alliance, il est d'ores et déjà clair qu'elle »conserve« les anciens rapports et accroît, dans le même temps, l'instabilité sociale. Outre les sources, déjà bien connues, de raidissement de la »question nationale«, deux moments de date récente sont particulièrement importants dans la considération des dimensions réelles du raidissement des relations nationales.

Tout d'abord, il s'agit de l'effervescence au sein même de la classe au pouvoir. Une couche de politiciens professionnels, jeunes pour l'essentiel, s'efforce de remplacer la génération agée des révolutionnaires professionnels et d'assurer ainsi la continuité de la classe au pouvoir. La question centrale dans cette relève touche au sort du leadership de

of the market, during the past decade in particular, has strengthened private enterprise. The stra tific a tio n of the countryside, the strengthening of the economic position of the rich peasants and the growth of the importance of the private sector in the field of services, transport and other forms in economic m ed iatio n s, m u ltip li es the num ber and wealth of well-located strata while bringing them closer to strata that gain their wealth on the basis of their position in the economy. political, economic, administrative and technical hierarchy. The ap p ro p riatio n of the most valuable, created by the working class, on the basis of private property, of managerial functions, as well as the ap p ro p riatio n of various forms of monopoly rents and profits, makes impossible the establishment of a social system on a socialist basis: social ownership, self-management and distribution according to the results of work. Social integration must, therefore, be carried out from d ifferen t bases. We aspire to the national integration of the politocracy and the working class, of the rich and the poor, under the domination, of course, of the Yugoslav or national politocracy, never mind.

In such circumstances, one should not be surprised at this exceptional opportunity to establish democracy on socialist principles, such as was the debate on the political police (July 1966, and later), has been transposed from the plan of review in principle of the political system to the level of national relations. Hence the tendency to present the political police as the in strum ent of the hegem ony of an entire n atio n, the Serbian n a tio n in this case (Stalinism is presented as »Serbocommunism« which, for its part, is irresistibly reminiscent of the official policy of the Kom intern which, in its time, accused the m em e n ation of hegem ony in Yugoslavia »of V ersailles«!). Since then, the rise of nationalism has gradually been legalized. A veritable miracle, the sectarians and the n ation-lists, once irreconcilable, find a com m on interest in repressing the

»n a tio n al question« on a secondary track. A n liin d iv id u a lism .

The hypostasis of the collectivity vis-à-vis the individual brings the common and fafon interects to the common ideology and the ideal platform.

Class phraseology, the transformation of self-management into ideology, are only a staging of their co-action. This alliance was already visibly at work during the suffocation. We strive with perseverance to detach a part of it to make a docile m ilita n t mass (and in some cases strike units).

Irrespective of the possible duration of this alliance, it is already clear that it »maintains« the old re p o rts and, at the same time, increases social instability . Aside from the sources, already well known, of the

stiffness of the "n a tio n a l question", two m o m ents of recent d ate are par ticularly im p o rtan t in the consideratio n of the real dim ensions of the stiffening of n atio n al relatio n s.

First of all, it is about the effervescence within the ruling class itself. A layer of professional politicians, mostly young, strives to replace the aging generation of professional revolutionaries and thus ensure the continuity of the ruling class.

The central question in this re liv e touches on the fate of the leadership of 365

type charismatique, de ce facteur encore toujours décisif de l'unité de la politocratie et de l'unité d'une société qui repose encore sur la reconnaisance du charisme. Or, le charisme n'est pas chose éternelle, l'on ne peut pas échaper aux actions des lois bio-physiques. Dans la préservation des positions acquises, afin qu'elles ne puissent être exposées aux risques qu'entrainent les actions des lois mentionnées, le système combinatoire nationaliste gagne en importance. Le rassemblement national apparaît subitement comme un refuge certain devant le trouble préssenti (la connaissance des situations historiques analogues ne permette pas que l'on soit optimiste). En relation avec ceci, il serait superflu d'essayer de prouver l'importance primaire des lois historiques sur les lois biologiques pour une société civilisée. J'en parle, toutefois, pour que nous réfléchissions plus sérieusement des alternatives qui s'offrent en ce moment à la société yougoslave.

Le deuxième moment concerne, d'une façon plus directe, le dénouement des circonstances présentes et préssenties. L'absence du pays d'une importante partie de la classe ouvrière, environ un million de travailleurs sont absents, peut devenir le facteur décisif des issues aux conflits sociaux actuels dans la société yougoslave. L'insécurité sociale des couches de petits propriétaires les fait incliner, selon la règle, vers les solutions autoritaires (dictature petit-bourgeoise). Vers le même peuvent tendre, comme ce fut le cas dans de nombreuses occasions historiques, les gens desespérées, sans emploi permanent et sans sources de revenu, les pauvres et ceux qui sont sur les bords du pauperisme (matériel et spirituel).

H

Revenons maintenant à la question posée au début de cet article: Est-ce que les conflits sociaux consolident seulement (ou consolident pour l'essentiel) le système social donné, ou alors peut-on découvrir dans eux des possibilités essentielles pour changer les rapports sociaux existant? Un peu plus concrètement se pose la question suivante: le socialisme tel qu'il a existé jusqu'à présent a-t-il changé le caractère de classe des conflits sociaux? D'après tout ce qui a été dit jusqu'à présent, la réponse serait négative. Entre le système social, fondé sur la propriété privée et la démocratie bourgeoise, et la société, qui repose sur la propriété sociale et la démocratie prolétarienne, s'est formé un système particulier, différent par rapport aux deux précités. Il n'était pas dans mes intentions d'en parler plus en détail, cette foisci, comme d'un système positif.6 Au début même de cet article on a posé une question fondamentale pour cette considération, la suivante: est-ce que dans un tel système il existe quelque chose de communiste, quelque chose qui pourrait dépister la trace d'une communauté d'hommes libres, ce par quoi le socialisme serait quelque chose d'autre et pas seulement une modification de la société bourgeoise?

⁶ Cet article est partie d'une étude plus ample du caractère des conflits sociaux dans la société yougoslave contemporaine.

connaisanceducharisme. Or, le charismenest paschose e ternelle, l'onnepeut pas c'chaperauxactions des lo is bio-phy siques. Dans lapr c's ervation des positions acquises, a finqu'elles nepuiss ent etre ex-

possesses the risks involved in the actions of law enforcement, the system combines to ire national listing of importance. Le rassem -

b l e m e n t n a t i o n a p p a r a t e d s u b i t m e n t as a certain refuge in the face of the present trouble (knowledge of historically rich and analogous situations does not allow T on so it o p time is te). In r elation to this, it would be superfluous to try to prove the primary importance of historical laws over biological laws for civilized society. J 'e n p a rle , all the time, because we reflect on his s s i o n s plus use alternatives that offer momentary confrontation with Slavic society.

L e d u s e m e m o m e n t concern, more directly, let us know -

m e n t of circumstances presents these situations. The absence of an important part of the working class from a country, with approximately one million migrant workers absent, may thus become the decisive fact of the issues aux conflits ciaux actuels in Slavic society. The social security of the small proprietary layers of the fait incliners, according to the regime, versus the solutions of the authors (dictature petit-burgeoise). Versement empeloyment of tender, commecefut lescons of hope, without permanent employment and without sources revenue, the poor who are on the boards of poverty (material and spiritual).

ΙΙ

R e v en on s a m ain te n a n t a l q u e s s i o n b u t d e c e t a r t i c l e : Are s o c i a l c o n f l i t i o n s con s o l i d e n t only (or consolidant for the sake of essence) . le sy ste m e so c i a l d o n n ć , o u a r s p e u t- o n d e c o u r d i n g t h e possibilities of sentimental sport changing the societal reports that exist? A few more concretely ask the following question: the socialism that exists changes the class character of conflicts s o c i a ? D 'a p r e s t o u t ce q u i a ć tć d it as far as it is present, the answer will be nć g a tive. In the social s ystem, it is based on private property and the democratic bourgeoisie, and society, which rests on private society and democracy tic proletarianism, therefore, is a particular system, in different p a r r a p p o r t s of deux p recites.

II n 'ć tait passes through some intentions of p a r l e r plus e d detail, this time, with a positive voice.6 A u d ć b u t m e m e d e c e t a rtic l o n a po sć u n e q u e s t i o n s f o n d a m e n t a l p o u r c e tte c o n s i d ć ra t i o n , t h e f o l l o w i n g : is there anything c o m m u n i s t e d in this system, anything w h i c h wrote d ć p is traced to a c o m m u n a t i o n -

m e s lib e r s , t h e p a r k o i l s o cialism w i l l anything else beyond the m o d i f i c a t i o n of bourgeois society?

• C et a rtic is p a r t y o n e of more than one example of the character of social con fl icts in contemporary Slavic society.

Du point de vue bourgeois, de la perspective du monde d'Arsenije Njegovan, une pareille question ne se pose même pas. Pris de là, tout ce qui change plus essentiellement le monde bourgeois semble être inhumain, contre la nature et vain. Si l'on considérait à partir de ce point de vue les conflits sociaux décrits, on nierait, par la force des choses, la totalité de l'expérience des systèmes socialistes.

D'un autre point de vue, celui qui nous est offert comme l'unique par le *Uainqueur de la révolution*, la question posée serait superflue, sinon »contre-révolutionnaire«, car il est sous-entendu que la communauté socialiste-communiste est chose accomplie, ou presque. Du point de vue du Vainqueur de quelle révolution que se soit, on ne pourrait même pas reseér

la question posée.

Du point de vue du Vainqueur effectif de la révolution, tant bourgeoise que socialiste, tous les conflits sociaux dont les résultats ne peuvent pas s'imbriquer dans le régime existant comme modification fonctionnelle de ce dernier, semblent menaçants, semblent menacer l'existence du monde présent. Aussi les repousse-t-on et étouffe-t-on par tous les moyens possibles, y compris l'ignorance de la part des hommes de science. Je me borne à rappeler, cette fois-ci, la position bien connue sur la conformité de la théorie fonctionnelle aux idéologies officielles des deux systèmes sociaux.⁷

Toutefois, il existe certaines différences quant à l'attitude à prendre à l'égard des conflits et la participation dans ceux-ci entre la classe bourgeoise-économique et la politocratie – classe politique. Grâce à l'enracinement économique (propriété privée et économie politique), la classe bourgeoise délimite avec plus de succès les conflits économiques et politiques. Elle tend à maintenir les premiers et les deuxièmes dans la sphère respective de la vie sociale. Au sein de la sphère correspondante, chacun d'entre eux a un champ d'action libre tant qu'il n'y a pas de dangers que soient mis en questions les fondements du monde bourgeois.

A la différence de la classe économique, la classe politique, dont l'hégémonie dans la société repose sur une organisation politique hierarchisée, qui tend à former l'organisation politique de la société globale d'après ses propres principes organisationnels intérieurs, parvient plus difficilement à séparer les conflits économiques des conflits politiques. Pour elle, tout conflit est plus ou moins conflit politique, lutte pour le pouvoir si bien qu'elle ne peut être tolérante, même pas autant que la bourgeoisie, vis-à-vis des participants aux conflits, de même qu'elle ne peut pas leur donner, avec tant de succès que la classe économique, des cadres légaux. Toute menace de briser quel maillon que ce soit de l'organisation hierarchique, et notamment si l'initiative en vient endehors de l'hiérarchie, est une menace également importante pour la survie des bases de son hégémonie. L'irrationalité accentuée des fondements de cette hégémonie, par rapport à l'enracinement économique relativement rationnel de l'hégémonie de la classe économi-

⁷ Voir: A. W. Gouldner, Crise future de la théorie fonctionnelle, Sociologija, Beograd, 1966, n. 1-2.

seems to be inhuman, against nature and vain. If one were to consider the social conflicts described from this point of view, one would be denying, by force of circumstance, the whole experience of socialist systems.

From another point of view, the one offered to us as the only one by the V ainque r of the revolution, the question asked would be superfluous, if not "counter-rev o lu tio nary", because it it is understood that the socialist-communist com m unity is a thing accomplished, or almost. From the point of view of the winner of any revolution, we could not even identify historical currents that would give meaning to the question posed.

From the point of view of the effective winner of the revolution, both bourgeois and socialist, all the social conflicts whose results cannot be im b icated in the ex ist regim e as a functional modification of the latter, seem to harm, seem to threaten the existence of the present world. So they are repelled and smothered by all possible means, including ignorance on the part of men of science. I will confine myself to recalling, this time, the well-known position on the conformity of functional theory to the official ideologies of the two social systems.7

However, there are certain differences in the attitude of learning towards conflicts and participation in them between the bourgeois-economic class and the politocracy-political class. Thanks to economic roots (private property and political economy), the bourgeois class more successfully delimits economic and political conflicts. It tends to maintain the first and the second in the respective sphere of social life. Within the corresp o n d an t sphere, each of them has a free field of action as long as there is no d an g ers of the foundations of the m bourgeois wave.

Unlike the economic class, the political class, whose hegem ony in society is based on a hierarchical political o rg an isatio n, which tends to form the o rg an isatio n of the g lo b al so ciety according to its own internal o rg an isatio n al p rin ciples, it is more difficult to avert the econom ic conflicts of the political conflicts. For her, any conflict is more or less a political conflict, a struggle for power so that she cannot be tolerant, even not as much as the bourgeoisie, - in the opinion of the p a rticip a n ts in the conflicts, just as it cannot give them, with as much success as the economic class, legal frameworks. A ny threat of breaking any link whatsoever in the hierarchical o rg an isa tio n, and particularly if the in itiative comes from outside the hierarchy, is a threat of equal importance to the survival of the bases

of its hegem ony. The accentuated irra tio n a lity of the fo nd m en ts of this hegem ony, in relation to the rela tiv e t ra tio n al economic roots of the hegem ony of the economy class-7 See: A . W. G ould n e r, Future crisis of functional theory, S ociologija, Beograd, 1966, n. 1-2.

que, confère aux conflits la caractéristique de scandale, d'»affaire«, avec le rituel bien connu. La violence par laquelle la classe politique règle ses comptes avec ses opposants témoignent en même temps des

proportions de sa puissance et de son impuissance.

Or, malgré l'importance de la différence mentionnée, il existe une concordance essentielle entre les positions sociales de ces deux classes — défense des fondements sur lesquels repose leur hégémonie. Cette concordance apparait de plus en plus évidente dans le contexte de l'évolution du capitalisme de l'époque libérale à nos jours, évolution au cours de laquelle s'effectue le déplacement des points d'appui du système de la puissance économique vers la puissance politique. Le capitalisme et le socialisme contemporains, pris dans l'optique du Vainqueur de la révolution, représentent, en tant que système, des modalités différentes de la société bourgeoise, du monde du travail, de la domination de la contrainte sur la liberté.

Les issues drastiques des conflits dans le système socialiste, la liberté refoulée au profit du développement technologique, la conséquence de la base de civilisation sous-développée de la révolution socialiste et de la suprematie du volontarisme politique, font naître dans certaines couches de la société la confiance dans l'utilité du renouvellement du système politique du capitalisme libéral. C'est ce à quoi devrait, sensément, contribuer l'affirmation de la »production socialiste«, la »libération du travail« et d'autres principes caractéristiques pour cette époque. La nationalisation socialiste (dans le sens de progression historique, concrétisation, des tendances communistes) des rapports sociaux, le remplacement du volontarisme politique par une organisation rationnelle de l'économie conduirait, en effet, à la liquidation des fondements de l'hégémonie de la classe politique, sous condition que la classe ouvrière acquière une influence décisive dans la société et que les rapports politiques s'organisent rationnellement selon les modalités de la démocratie prolétarienne. Cependant, le fait même que c'est précisément de la politocratie qu'émanent les impulsions pour l'affirmation, davantage idéologique que pratique, d'une telle conception, nous fait douter de la possibilité qu'elle consente à sa propre démission. Comme s'il aurait été possible de libéraliser l'économie, et que les rapoprts politiques demeurent conservés, inchangés! Les portées réellement possibles de la libéralisation du régime politocratique deviendraient, vraisemblablement, plus certaines si parallèlement à la considération de la possibilité de libéraliser le socialisme on répondait à la question suivante: la libéralisation du capitalisme contemporaine est-elle possible dans les cadres délimités par l'intérêt de la classe au pouvoir?

Quelle est la vision spirituelle et historique du Vainqueur? Si, par exemple, dans la révolution française on ne voyait que Napoléon comme son Vainqueur, et on manquait de se rendre à l'évidence de ceux des courants que symbolisent, disons, Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Hebert, Babeuf, on ne serait pas à même de saisir la complexité des conflits au sein de cette révolution, de même que ses issues plus tard. On s'en rend compte, tout d'abord, en considérant les conflits au sein du »Tiers état« duquel se détache la classe bourgeoise

n t at the same time the proportions of powerlessness and powerlessness

O r, m a lg re l 'i p o rta nce d e la diffe re nc e m e n tio n e e , il e x iste un e c o n c o rd a nce e sse n tie lle e n tre les po s itio n s so ciales d e ces d e u x classes

- d e f e n s e d f o n d e m e n t s upon those who rep ose your hegemony. T h e c o n c o r d a n c e a p p a r a s e d b y t h e r e v i d e n t i n t h e c o n t e x t of the re v o l u t i o n of c a p i t a l s of t h e l e b e r a l age and the evolution in its course lle s'e ffe c tu e d e p l a c e m e n t o f p o i n t s of the econom ic p o i d u s y stem versus political power. C a p i t a l ism and contemporary soci alism, principles of the opti- cal quest for revolution, representatives, as systems, modalities d iffe re n te s of bourgeois society , d u m o n d of labour, of the domination of the opposition to freedom.

The issues leading to conf licts in the societal sys tem are listed, the freedom to re fou le a profit due to technological development, the consequences thereof b a s e d e c i v i l s a t i o n s o u s -development of the societal revolution and the supremacy of political voluntarism, f o n t n o t e r in certain layers of society the c o n f i n c e d a n s l 'u tility during the renovation -

m e n t of the political system of liberal capitalism. T h a t $^{\shortmid}$ s w h y d e v -

ra it, se n se m e n t, c o n t r i b u t the affirmation of the p r o d u c t i o n societal list <math> (t i o n societal list)

» lib e ra tio n d u tra v a il« et d 'other principles characteristic of this epoch. L a n a t i o n a l i s a t i o n s o c i a l e (in the sense of historical progress, concretisation, communist tendencies) reports as follows ciaux , the r e m p l a c e m e n t of voluntarism m o p o l i t y p a r u n e o r g a n i s a t i o n ra tio n n e l of Economy drives it, e n e f f e t , a l l i q u i d a t i o n d e f u n d e m e n t s V h e g e m o n y of the political class, under the condition that the upper class influences decision-making in society and that political reports are organized into it n t according to the m o d a lites of the proletarian democracy. C e p e n d a n t , it is also the fact that it is precisely the politocracy that maintains the impulses for affirmation, the advantage of ideological practice, d u n e t h e c o n c e p t i o n , we doubt the possibility that she conceived of a proper demise. C o m m e s ' s right that it is possible to liberalize the economy, and that political reports remain conserved, in ch ange! T h e r e a l l y p o s s i b l e s o f l e b e

ralisation during the politocratic regime -

 $v\ i\ e\ n\ d\ r\ a\ i\ e\ n\ t$, $v\ r\ a\ i\ s\ e\ m\ b\ l\ a\ b\ l\ e\ m\ e\ n\ t$, plus certainty even a consideration of the possibility of liberalizing socialism replied it is the following question: is the liberalization of contemporary capitalism possible within the limits of the interests of the ruling class?

What is the spiritual vision of this story Vainqueur? If, for example, in this revolution one does not need to see that Napoleon commits Vainqueur, there is no real evidence of these symbolic characters sent, disons, Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Hebert, Babeuf, it is also necessary to describe the complexity of the conflicts in this case revolution, as well as these issues. On s'en rend comptet in the Third Estate due to the involvement of the bourgeois 368 class

victorieuse, et aussi le »Qautrième état«, la classe ouvrière, acteur dans la suite des événements. Si l'on venait à perdre de vue ce fait, on comprendrait avec difficultés l'origine historique de la révolution de 1848, ou la Commune de Paris de 1871.

Quand nous n'acceptons pas de réduire la révolution française à son Vainqueur, qu'on l'appelle Napoléon ou classe bourgeoise, pour quelles raisons le ferions nous avec la révolution socialiste? Qu'est-ce qui nous empécherait, dans ce deuxième cas, de voir dans l'ombre du Vainqueur, et même à l'opposée de ce dernier, dans les conflits nombreux, des tentatives de détruire les fondements de son hégémonie. Peut-on négliger les résistances aux tentatives du Vainqueur de maîtriser la praxis de la révolution, de réduire la révolution au régime du moment?

Il serait pour ainsi dire impossible de négliger les oppositions à une telle issue de la révolution, de laisser s'égarer dans l'oubli les nombreuses tentatives de surdominer des issues pareilles (réduction de la praxis de la révolution), depuis Kronstadt en 1921, jusqu'à Gdansk en 1970. Ce serait étrange que de négliger les nombreuses révoltes contre le stalinisme dans les proportions mondiales, depuis 1948 à 1968, depuis la Yougoslavie, la RDA, la Hongrie, la Pologne, jusqu'à la Tchécoslovaquie. Du point de vue bourgeois, les conflits mentionnés et autres semblables ne sont qu'un témoignage de la défaite du socialisme tandis que du point de vue du Vainqueur de la révolution les mêmes conflits sont contre-révolution.

Ce d'est qu'on troisième point de vue qui pourrait nous permettre de voir que la praxis du socialisme contemporain contient aussi une solution communiste, ce par quoi elle serait en effet le socialisme. Elle est contenue dans ceux des processus sociaux, dans les révoltes, dont les symboles sont Kronstadt et Gdansk, et dans la société yougoslave elle se manifeste, avant tout, dans les grèves ouvrières et le mouvement estudiantin. Il s'agit d'actions sociales qui ont pour objectif la liqui-dation de l'aliénation des conditions de travail, de la plus-value, de la puissance politique et de la culture à l'égard de la classe ouvrière. Non pas parce que cette classe serait le mandataire prodige de l'histoire et que son pouvoir menerait à priori au bonheur de tous, mais parce que l'individu et la société ne peuvent être libérés des conditions de classe de leur existence aussi longtemps que la classe ouvrière ellemême n'aura été abolie. Dans les deux cas, quand il s'agit de la classe ouvrière et des actions des étudiants - des valeurs et des objectifs communistes originels se renouvellent et se créent des formes d'autoorganisation qui ne comportent pas en elle un régime absolu établi d'avance.

Il est une autre question, celle de savoir si le régime est socialiste. Il l'est seulement dans la mesure où il rend possible, s'il n'encourage pas déjà, la légitimité et la légalité de la réalisation de la solution communiste, et si l'on n'espère pas et l'on insiste pas forcément sur la concordance du mouvement et du régime. Dans la mesure où cette solution se réalise avec autant de mal que possible et avec moins de victimes humaines et matérielles que ce ne fut le cas avec les révolutions antérieures, et que pourrait être le cas avec les tendances person-

victorious, and also the »Q other state«, the working class, actor in the sequence of events. If we were to lose sight of this fact, it would be difficult to understand the historical origin of the revolution of 1848,

or the Paris Commune of 1871.

When we do not agree to reduce the French revolution to its winner, whether we call it Napoleon or the bourgeois class, why would we do it with the socialist revolution? What would prevent us, in this second case, from seeing in the shadow of the Winner, and even in the opposite of the latter, in the conflicts

breux, attempts to destroy the foundations of his hegemony.

Can we neglect the resistance to the V ain c u r's attempts to master the p raxis of the revolution, to reduce the revolution to the regime of the moment?

It would be, so to speak, impossible to disregard the opposition to such an outcome of the revolution, to allow the many attempts to overdominate similar outcomes (reduction of the p rax is of the revolution), from K ro n stad t in 1921, to Gdansk in 1970. It would be strange to neglect the many revolts against Stalinism in the pro w orld p o rtio n s, from 1948 to 1968, from Y ugoslavia, the GDR, H ungary, Poland, to Czechoslovakia. From the bourgeois point of view, the mentioned and other similar conflicts are only a testimony to the defeat of socialism, while from the point of view of the winner of the revolution the same conflicts are against rev o lu tio n .

This is because there is a third point of view which could allow us to see that the p rax is of contemporary socialism also contains a communist solution, which is why it would be in effect socialism e. It is contained in those of social processes, in revolts, the symbols of which are K ronstadt and G d a n sk, and in Yugoslav society it manifests itself, above all, in workers' strikes and the m ou vem en t estu d ia n tin. These are social actions which have as their objective the liq u id a tio n of the Valienation of the working conditions, of the plus-value, of the po litical power and of the culture. towards the working class.

Not because this class would be the prodigal m a n d a tary of This-t ory and that its po w e r would lead a priori to the happiness of all, but because in d e Individuals and society cannot be freed from the class conditions of their existence until the working class itself has been abolished. In both cases, when it comes to the working class and the actions of the students - original communist values and objectives are renewed and forms of self-organization are created which do not contain within them an absolute regime established in advance.

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There is another question, that of knowing if the regime is socialist.

II Tests only to the extent that it makes possible, if it does not already encourage, the legitimacy and legality of the realization of the communist solution, and if You do not hope and You do not insist on the concordance of the m o v e m en t and the regime. To the extent that this solution is achieved with as much difficulty as possible and with fewer human and material victims than was the case with previous revolutions, and than could be the case with personal tendencies

nelles dans le monde capitaliste moderne ou le »tiers« monde, c'est dans la même mesure, que ces révolutions auront eu vraiment un caractère socialiste.

L'attachement véritable à l'idée de l'autogestion ne conteste pas encore la légalité de l'autogestion ouvrière, de même que la continuité dans le temps de certaines formes de conscience révolutionnaire. Tout ceci donne certains avantages au socialisme yougoslave par rapport à certains autres systèmes semblables (mais tout ceci peut en même temps se préter à une mystification des rapports réels).

Relever la solution communiste dans le socialisme contemporain et la penser, c'est ce qu'on parviendra à faire à partir du troisième point de vue. On pourrait l'appeler, sans craindre d'être soupçonnés de »propagande communiste«, point de vue communiste. Ce point de vue nous permet de se faire une idée des différentes direction des changements sociaux, tant de ceux qui confirment l'état de choses donné, que de ceux qui le transcendent, mais en venant de lui-même, de la totalité de la réalité concrète-historique.

Le sens historique des différentes directions des changements sociaux peut être découvert en premier lieu par la recherche concrète-historique (sociologique) des conflits sociaux, car elle nous découvre la structure verticale (hiérarchique) de la société et met à jour les facteurs fondamentaux et la procédure de l'intégration, de la désintégration et de la réformation du système social. C'est autour de ce point que certaines parties de la société entrent en conflit. Une fois qu'on le découvre, alors on se rend nettement compte des différences essentielles entre les formes particulières des conflits sociaux.

Ainsi, par exemple, les conflits au sein de la sphère politique (organisation du parti et de l'Etat) et les conflits nationaux non seulement qu'ils n'aboutissent pas à des changements essentiels dans la société, mais freinent d'habitude ces changements. Dans le premier cas, la sphère politique continue d'être dominante, comme jusqu'à présent; et c'est seulement dans la sphère de l'organisation hiérarchique, pendant la lutte pour le pouvoir, que s'opèrent des remanîments de personnel, tandis la socialisation de la politique devient encore plus incertaine. Dans le deuxième cas, on renouvelle le principe territorial-national de l'organisation de l'Etat, et les divergences nationalistes refoulent la manifestation des différences de classe au sein de chaque nation, ce qui est contraire au principe opérationnel-fonctionnel de l'intégration et de l'organisation sociales. Cependant, il ne s'agit pas seulement de la différence entre deux principes d'organisation sociale, mais aussi de vérités vécues essentiellement contraires. Je me borne cette fois-ci, de rappeler seulement une expérience que la société yougoslave a vécu, il n'y a pas longtemps depuis, quand le nationalisme a manifesté ses impulsions déchainées: au cours de la dernière guerre plus de personnes avaient péries dans les conflits nationalistes que dans les conflits avec l'occupant. D'autre part, des conflits sectaires, dans tous les pays où il y en a eu, étaient issus les camps de concentration et leurs méfaits. Les conflits de ce genre, par les issues vécues et possibles, renouvellent dans le meilleur des cas le statu quo, s'ils ne représentent pas une ra ctere so cia lists.

The attachment veritable al'idee of self-management tests the legality of self-management nouvre, even though it continues at certain times esformes of revolutionary consciousness. Thout cecidonecertains avantages ausocials meyougoslaveparportacertancere in other similar systems (but the cecipe uten meme temps sepretraune mystificates tion des raports reels).

R e l e v e r t h e c o m m u n i s t s o l u t i o n i n contemporary s o c i a lism and thought is what makes affairs apart from this point of view. On pour right 1'a p p e l e r, sans crain d re d 'e tre so up g o n n e s d e

» communist propaganda « , communist point of departure T h i s p o i n t allows us to define an idea of the d ifferents d i ferents dec a n g e m e n t s o c i a u x , s o f t h e o f t h e o f t h e state of things given, which o f those who le transcendent, but belonging to the luimeme, of the total -

lite d e la re a lite c o n c re te -h isto riq u e.

L e sense history of the different directions of societal changes can be covered and first lie u p a r l a r e r e c h e r e c o n c r e t e -

h i s t o r i c (sociological) of societal conflicts, we discover the revertic a l (hierarchical) structure of society and its metaphor the fundamental factors $u \times e t$ the procedure of integration, for e s in te-

gratitude for the reform of the social system. C ertain parties of society entered into conflict. U n e fo i s q u 'on le d e c o u v e , a l o r s o n ser d n e tte m e n t c o m p t e d the differences central between the particular forms of social conflict.

I see, for example, those who con flits out of the political sphere (organization of the state) and those who conflict nations with each other 'a b o u t i s s e n t p a s a d e s c h a n g e m e n t s e s s e n t i e l s in society, but free from 'habit de cess changes. In the first case, the political sphere continues to be dominant, as it is present; e t c 'est s e u l m e n t in the hierarchical sphere of the organization, during the struggle for power, which operates the remaining departments, ta n d is la s o c i a l s a t i o n o f p o l i t i c becomes increasingly repulsive.

In this case, we renew the principle of the ritorial-national

organization of the 'State, and its national divergences they re f o u l e t h e m a n i f e s t a t i o n o f c l a s s d i f f e r e n c e s within e a c h n a t i o n , w h i c h is contrary to the ope ra tional-functional principle of integration n e t of social organizations. C e p e n d a n t , it does not acknowledge the difference between the principles of social organization, but also de verite s vecues are sentimentally contradictory ire s J e m e b o r n e c e tte fo is-ci, d e r a p p e l e r s u l e m e n t u n e x p e r i e n c e that your society has had, not long ago, when nationalism manifested itself P u lsio n s d e c h a in e e s: a u c o u s d e d e d e r rr e p lus d e p e rso n e v a v a ie n t p e rie s d a n s les c o n flits n a s q u d a n s les c o n flit av ec l 'o c u p a On the other hand, sectarian conf licts, in all our countries, are the c a m p s of c o n c e n t r a t i o n e t l e u r méfa its.

Theconflities of theconflects, parthereis sump osesandpossibles, renoulation-lent in the worst of the status quo cases, they do not represent pas une involution sociale. Selon la règle, ils ne font que renforcer les bords de la non-liberté de l'homme au sein des réserves de classe, autonomes

en apparence, dans la société.8

A la différence des conflits sectaires et nationaux, les grèves ouvrières et les actions des étudiants, donc, les conflits dans lesquels prennent part, et en masse, les travailleurs et les intellectuels, actualisent la solution communiste. Et ils le font, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, non seulement par le renouvellement des valeurs et des objectifs du mouvement communiste, mais en concevant des formes nouvelles d'organisation sociale (ce dont on a déjà parlé). Au cas où cette solution s'articule plus nettement et s'affirme sur le plan de la société, on espère pouvoir trouver une issue du cercle vicieux des réformes simulées, aux fins d'éviter que se répètent les moments de violence du passé récent et lointain. Nous nous trouvons devant un choix. Devant le choix des thèmes que nous allons rechercher, devant le choix des points de vue à partir desquels nous les aborderont, et aussi devant le choix des formes de comportement politique.

Ш

Les possibilités de choix d'un intellectuel d'aujourd'hui ne sont pas tant nombreuses comme elles sont différentes. Depuis toujours, et aujourd'hui encore, il existe des différences dans les options des intellectuels: les uns écrivent des biographies, d'autres des apocryphes, et d'autres encore font de la »science pure«. Comme s'il serait possible d'être en marge des événements politiques, et surtout dans une société explicitement politique! Si l'on ne participe pas directement dans la prise de décision, cela ne veut nullement dire que l'on puisse éviter les conséquences de la politique agissante.

Etre sans option signifie être du côté du plus fort. C'est ce que démontre, entre autres, les aspirations communes des intellectuels de l'»appareil« et des »cabinets« à promouvoir une science qui serait éloignée autant que possible de la politique et des valeurs humaines en général. La véritable option des intellectuels »neutres« se laisse deviner dans leur participation aux attaques fréquentes, voire aux chasses, de l'intelligentzia humaniste. Et on ne mentionnera pas le rôle des »scientifiques pures« dans les discussions linguistiques ou sur certaines autres questions de la politique courante. Il me semble qu'on aurait appauvri, essentiellement, le caratère véritable de ces options si on les réduisait au niveau éthique.

L'option qui consiste à écrire des apocryphes n'est pas du tout un idéal. Même certains ouvrages parmi les plus importants dans ce genre littéraire pourraient difficilement être pris comme un idéal vers lequel il faudrait tendre sans réserves.

Et certaines portées de l'intelligentzia humaniste n'atteignent, elles non plus, les problèmes essentiels de notre époque. Prouver le vide d'esprit et de temps, disons, du sectarisme et du nationalisme, ou le

⁸ Voir: M. Mirić, Rezervati, (Reserves), Razlog, Zagreb, 1970.

Unlike sectarian and national conflicts, workers' strikes and student actions, therefore, conflicts in which

on the other hand, and en masse, the workers and the intellectuals, actualized the communist solution. And they do so, as we have already said, not only by renewing the values and objectives of the communist m ovement, but by conceiving new forms of social organization (this of which we have already spoken). In case this solution is more clearly articulated and asserts itself on the plan of society, we hope to be able to find a way out of the vicious circle of simulated reforms, at the in order to avoid a repetition of the moments of violence of the recent and distant past. We are faced with a choice. Before the choice of the themes that we are going to research, before the choice of the points of view from which we will approach them, and also before the choice of the forms of political behavior.

T 11

The possibilities of choice of an intellectual today are not so numerous as they are different. Since always, and still today, there have been d ifferences in the options of in te llectuals: some write biographies, others apocrypha, and others still a matter of »pure science«. As if it were possible to be on the margins of political events, and especially in an explicitly political society! If one does not participate directly in decision-making, this does not mean that one can avoid the consequences of acting policy.

To be without options means to be on the side of the strongest. This is what is demonstrated, among other things, by the common aspirations of intellectuals in the »apparatus« and »cabinets« to promote a science that would be remote as much as possible of politics and h um an v alues in general. The v e ritab le o ption of »neutral« intellectuals can be guessed in their p a rticip a tio n in the frequent attacks, even in the hunts, of the in te llig en tz ia hu m an ist. E t on n e m en tio n will not be the role of

»pure scientists« in linguistic discussions or on certain other issues of current policy. It seems to me that we would have impoverished, essentially, the true character of these options if we reduced them to an ethical level.

The option of writing apocrypha is by no means ideal. Even some of the most important works in this literary genre could hardly be taken as an ideal towards which we should aim without reservations. And certain aspects of humanistic in te llig en tzia do not reach the essential problems of our time either. To prove the emptiness of spirit and time, say, of sectarianism and nationalism, or 8 See: M. M irić, R ezerva ti, (Reserves), R azlog, Z a g reb , 1970.

caractère inadéquat du socialisme existant par rapport à l'œuvre de Marx, est un pas important, mais seulement un premier pas dans la compréhension du monde contemporain. Le renouvellement de l'anthropologie philosophique de Marx et de l'orientation critique de sa dialectique sont les conditions essentielles pour une connaissance approfondie de la totalité concrète-historique. Il reste à découvrir les sources de l'efficacité des »phénomènes survécus« et aussi des possibilité de réalisation des formes humaines de sociabilité. A ceci contribue la découverte des processus, formes et »mécanismes« de médiation, cachés et complexes dans l'instauration et l'action des diverses possibilités de sociabilité. Une attitude marxienne à l'égard de la totalité concrète-historique peut nous rapprocher d'un pas du »troisième point de vue« mentionné. Dans une telle optique, la sociologie aurait restitué, ou mieux dit encore, aurait acquis la dignité intellectuelle.

Les communistes-intellectuels, dont l'engagement intellectuel n'est pas limité de l'extérieur et n'est pas synchronisé avec les mutations de la politique dues aux congrès et plénums, se trouvent encore confrontés au dilemme de leur attitude à l'égard de l'organisation de la puissance. En ce sens on peut parler de l'actualité de nos jours de l'histoire du sort des gauchistes d'avant la guerre, de laquelle je vous fais souvenir d'un seul épisode. 10 La polémique qu'ont menée pendant des années Ognjen Prica et Zvonimir Rihtman, en suivant leurs convictions et connaissances autonomes, avait été interrompue du temps de la monolithisation du parti dont la direction se rangea du côté de O. Prica, si bien qu'il devint en ce moment l'exécuteur dans la liquidation d'un interlocuteur égal jusqu'à lors. Communistes, ils sont arretés tous deux par les autorités de la Banovine croate, plus tard Etat indépendant croate, et remis au Allemands. Ils ne s'étaient jamais réconciliés, ni même avant leur exécution. Après la guerre, les Vainqueurs louent Prica et critiquent Rihtman, tout en gardant le silence au sujet de de deux autres éminents gauchistes d'avant la guerre; à l'époque, l'un d'eux, M. Krleža se plonge dans le »silence éloquent«, et le deuxième, M. Ristić, est nommé Ambassadeur à Paris.

Dans les conditions actuelles, les stimulations extérieures pour la création spirituelle sont modestes. Seulement une véritable catharsis pourrait libérer les potentiels créateurs de la société yougoslave, mais de tels moments historiques sont quelque chose d'exceptionnel, une rarité. Coinçée entre le déshonneur et la dignité de la vocation d'intellectuel, la lutte pour les fondements de la liberté de l'individu et de la société, et par la même pour la liberté de la création, n'est qu'un côté de l'engagement des intellectuels. S'ils ne s'efforcent pas de participer à l'établissement de fondements pour leur propre création, individuelle, ils se placeront dans la dépendance des puissants, ils se retrouve-

⁹ Sur les conséquences théoriques et d'expérience de l'»abolition de la médiation« dans le stalinisme, voir G. Lukács, Lettre sur le stalinisme, parue pour la première fois dans Nuovi argomenti, n. 57/58, 1962; le texte original en allemand dans »Forum« n. 115/116/117, 1963, et en Yougoslavie, dans la revue »Naše teme«. Zagreb, 1962, n. 12.

¹⁰ Voir: S. Lasić. Sukob na književnoj levici (1928-1952), (Conflit à la gauche littéraire, 1928-1952), Liber, Zagreb, 1970.

1 y o f the -

th ro p o lo g ie p h ilo so p h iq u e d e M a rx e t d e l 'o r ie n ta tio n c ritiq u e d e sa d ia le c tiq u e so n t les co n d itio n s e sse n tie lle s p o u r u n e c o n n a issa n ce a p -

the pro fon d of the total conc r^ te -h is to riq u e. II remains to discover the sources of the e fficacy of the » phenomena su rvecus« and also the possibilities of realization of human forms of sociability This contributes to covering processes, forming » mechanisms« of mediation, caches and complexes in the inst ature of various Fac tio ns p o ssib ilites of sociability .9 A Marxist attitude towards concrete - historical to ta lity may approach us without passing a » tro isič m e point of view« mention. D a n s u n e t e l op t i c e , the socio logy has its own re s ti-tue, or m ie u x d it en co re, and it acquires intellectual dignity

The scommunistes-intellectuals, for intellectual engagement is not limited by the exterior and is not synchronized with the mutations of the politiqueduesauxcongretplenums, there is acoreconfrontofaudilemmedoftheir attitude towards the organization of power. Encesensonpeutparlerdelactualitedenosjourdlibistoiredusort des gauchists d'avantlager, of which you make a souvenir of a single Episode. 10 Lapolemicsontmene ependant desannees OgnjenPričaet Zvonimir Rihtman, followed by their conviction set with autonomous knowledge, avaite te interrompuedutines of the monolithis ation dupartionthe direction a range of O coate.

P ric a , although the executioner's moment in the liquidation of an interlocutor becomes more regal than lo rs. C o m m u n i s t e s , they arrested us from the parliament of the Croatian authorities in Bano, plus the Croatian dependent State, and handed it over to the Germans. T h e s e ta ie n t is never reco n cilied, not even a v a n t l e u r e x e c t i o n . After the war, the V a inquirers lou nt Prica and critic Rih tman, to utengard and the silence on the subject of the last seven minutes of avant-garde gauchists ; a l 'ep oq u e, the end of them, M K rle ž a p l o n g e n s the » eloquent silence« , and de u x i m e , M R istić, is named Ambassador of Paris.

In a c t u l a t i o n c o n d i t i o n s, se x t e r i a l s t i m u l a t i o n s f o r spiritual creation are modest. S e u l e m e n t is a n e v e r i t a b l e c a th a rsis p o u r right to liberate the creative poten tials of Slavic society, but such historical moments are nothing u e

exceptional, u n e r a -

right C o ingee e n tre le d e s h o n n e u r e t la d ig n ite d e la v o c a tio n d 'in te lle c -

tu el, the struggle for the foundations of the freedom of the 'individual of society, and parliament for the freedom of creation, n 'e st q u u n cote of the engagement of the intellectuals. S 'ils n e s'e ffor c e n t p a s d e p a r t i c i p e r a l 'e ta b l i s m e n t de f o n d e m e n t s for their proper creation , i n d i v i d u -

she, they will place themselves in the dependence of the powerful, they find themselves -

® On the con sequences required by the experience of the » abolition of the media « in Stalinism, see G L u k acs, Letters on Stalinism, see for the first time in New Arguments, n. 57/58, 1962; the theoretical text in all but »F orum « n. 115/116/117, 1963, and in Yugoslavia, in the review »Nai etheme«.

Z a g re b, 1962, n. 12.

10 See: S. Lasić. Sukobnak n již evnoj levici (1928-1952), (Literary Conflict, 1928-1952), Liber, Zagreb, 1970.

ront dans une position de vassal. Tout en respectant l'importance des fondements élémentaires mentionnés de la création, néanmoins, les résultats plus substantiels et durables de la création spirituelle dépendent, au fond, des stimulations de l'intérieur, spirituelles, de l'acte de ceux qui sont portés par la passion de la recherche de la vérité sur soi, sur la société, et les temps présents. Les deux côtés mentionnés de l'action publique des intellectuels sont inséparables. Consentir à les voir séparés, au divorce insensé de la perception des possibilités historiques de la vie de l'homme et de la volonté de les mettre en valeur, équivaudrait à s'abandonner à la simple durée dans le temps et au tâtonnement dans des conditions incomprises. C'est dans la mesure dans laquelle cette passion, originelle, des intellectuels sera toujours plus présente dans la vie publique, que s'accroîtront les chances de préserver, plus exactement, d'acquérir la dignité humaine et intellectuelle, sans égard à la certitude des louanges et des blâmes.

¹¹ Pour plus de détails sur le rapport de la volonté et de la conscience dans le logos, sur la perception et l'interessement pour les événements historiques, sur le rapport de l'autoreflexion« et de l'aintérêt émancioant de la perception«, ainsi que sur l'attitude des intellectuels vis-à-vis de la politique, voir: J. Habermas, Erkenntnis und Interesse, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1968, et Technik und Wissenschaft als »Ideologie«, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1969.

on the stimuli from within, spiritual, from the act of those who are driven by the passion of seeking the truth about themselves, about society, and about the present times. The two mentioned sides of the public action of the intellectuals are inseparable. To agree to see them separated, to the senseless divorce of the perception of the historical possibilities of the life of m a n and the will to highlight them, is what b a n d o n n e to the sim ple of the ree in time and au tato n -

ment under misunderstood conditions.11 It is to the extent to which this original passion of the intellectuals will always be more present in public life, that the chances of preserving, more exactly, of acquiring human and intellectual d ign ity, without regard to the certainty of praise and blame.

11 For m o re d e ta il on the rela tio n of will and consciousness in the logos, on our perc ep tio n and interest in historical events, on the re p o rt of (' »self-reflection« and the »in tćrčt ćm an cio an t de la perception«, as well as on the a ttitu d of intellec tu als towards politics, see: J. H a berm as , Er-kenn tn is u n d In te r esse, S u hrkam p V c rlag , F ra n k fu rt am M ain, 1968, and T ech n ik un d W issenschaft als »Ideologic«, S u hrkam p V Erlag, 1969.

SOME CONTRADICTIONS AND INSUFFICIENCIES OF YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGING SOCIALISM

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The Yugoslav workers Self-management System has completed its 21st anniversary. It has come of age. In the life of an individual this usually means that he is capable of managing his own affairs. Is this the case with our self-managing society? We will try to give a critical answer. As we are self-managers, it is appropriate for us to answer this question now during the second Congress of Self-Managers. Whether our answer will differ from others answers is uncertain, but it will have something in common with them, i. e. the awareness of certain difficulties and of the need for changes. We will disregard here some specific conditions and incidents that are so typical of our country and which could ruin the best conceived system. We will look for what is rationally, even ideally conceived, in spite of all the subjective shortcomings and misfortunes and examine it on the basis of the inherent logic of its functions. Thus, we shall rid ourselves in advance of the reproach that we have offered an unconstructive criticism of our system. A critical examination of our system is imposed upon us, not only by our momentary situation, but even more so by the growing interest of the contemporary workers movement and of the progressive thinkers all over the world for participatory democracy or self-management as up to now the only alternative to the statism concept of socialism.

WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT AND THE WORLD AROUND US

In spite of the fact that it has originated under conditions of an intense political and ideological isolation, workers self-management has proved to be the most successful weapon for the affirmation of the policy of ideological alignment on the basis of the development of the socialist society itself, as opposed to the policy of alignment based on the division into blocks.

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O F Y U G O S L A V S E L F -M A N A G IN G S O C IA L IS M

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The Yugoslav workers Self-management System has com pleted its 21st an n iv e rsary. It has come of age. In the life of a n in d iv id u al this usu ally m eans th a t he is cap able of m an a g in g his own affairs. Is this the case with our self-managing society? W e w ill try to give a critical answ er. As we a re se lf-m an ag ers, it is a p p ro p riate for us to answ er this question now d u rin g th e second Congress of Self-M an ag ers. W h e th er o u r an sw er will d iffe r from others answ ers is u n certain, b u t it will h a v e som eth in g in com m on w ith them, i. e. the aw areness of c e rta in difficulties and of the need for changes. We will disregard h ere some specific conditions a n d in cidents th a t a re so ty p ical o f our co u n try a n d w hich could ru in th e best conceived system . W e will look fo r w h a t is ratio n ally, even id ea lly conceived, in spite of all the sub jectiv e shortcom ings a n d m isfortunes a n d ex am ine it on the basis of the in h ere n t logic of its functions. Thus, we sh all rid ourselves in ad v a n ce o f th e rep ro a c h th a t w e h a v e o ffe re d a n unco n stru ctiv e c riticism o f ou r system . A c ritical e x a m in a tio n o f ou r system is im posed up o n us, n o t on ly b y o u r m o m e n tary situ atio n, b u t even m ore so by the g ro w in g in te rest of the contemporary workers movement and of the pro g ressiv e th in k ers a ll ov er th e w o rld fo r p a rtic ip a to ry dem ocracy or se lf-m a n a g em e n t as u p to now the on ly a lte rn a tiv e to the statism concept of socialism.

WORKERS SELF-M ANAGEMENT AND THE WORLD AROUND US

In spite of the fact that it has origin a tedunder conditions of an intense political and ideological isolation, workers self-management has proved to be the most successful weapon for the affirm a tion of the policy of ideological alignment on the basis of the development of the socialist society itself, as opposed to the policy of alignment based on the division in to blocks.

The concept of a »special way into socialism«, seemingly accepted by all communist parties, has not thus restricted itself to a neutral pluralism of ways into socialism and socialist models of society, but has acquired a markedly aggressive characteristic as a means to overcome a socialism which does not deserve this name, as the rejection of a certain socialist practice and an alternative to statiste and bureaucratic socialism.

In the criticism of statist socialism and Stalinism, its best known deformation, we can distinguish a minimalistic and a maximalistic approach in the contemporary workers movement.

- 1. The minimalistic approach stresses the principle of the "special way into socialism". That means in other words to remonstrate against the negative developments in some other socialist countries, a promise that we will try to solve the same problems in our own country in a more satisfactory way, but it also implies different models of socialism or a certain pluralism in the Marxist interpretation of political and social reality. The majority of communist parties have adopted this principle, but refuse to take the corresponding theoretical consequences because of the "unity of the workers movement".
- 2. The maximalistic approach consists of a theoretical endeavor to overcome the statist socialism on the basis of Marx's theory of the withering away of the state and his theory of alienation (political and state institutions become alienated forms of social life, etc.). This actually happened in Yugoslavia. In this framework the workers' self-management concept becomes inevitable.

While the minimalistic approach remains on the level of political tactics and tries to justify its opportunism with political and tactical reasons, the maximalistic approach represents a consequent theoretical criticism that questions the nature of socialism itself, the true content of socialist revolution and the modes of its realisation, and thus has a general theoretical, political and strategic character. Therefore, it is no wonder that leading Marxist theoreticians from G. Lukács to R. Garaudy have discarded the dogmatic and apologetic philosophy that under the name of »Marxism-Leninism« serves as the basis of statist socialism, and thus necessarily represents a revision of Marx' thought. The frequent attacks, especially after the occupation of Czechoslovakia. by the official Soviet ideologists against the so called »revisionism« in Marxism, represented by the leading Marxist philosophers such as E. Bloch, E. Fromm, G. Lukács, E. Fisher, H. Lefebvre, J. Habermas, K. Kosik, L. Goldmann, H. Marcuse, and recently R. Garaudy, and many others (among whom also the Marxists gathered around the periodical »Praxis«) clearly show that statist socialism has lost the battle on the grounds of Marxist theory, at least on this old continent where it was born.

The philosophical criticism of the theoretical basis of statist socialism appeared simultaneously with the strengthening of the idea of workers self-management, which was a logical consequence of already existing forms of workers participation, and it has imposed itself as a request for qualitative changes in the syndical movements in Westo c ia list m o d els o f so ciety, b u t h as a c q u ire d a m a rk e d ly a g g re ssiv e c h a ra c te ristic as a m ea n s to o v e rcom e a so cialism w h ic h does n o t d e serv e th is n a m e, as th e r e je c tio n of a c e rta in s o c ia list p ra c tic e a n d a n a lte rn a tiv e to s ta tis te a n d b u re a u c ra tic so cialism.

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European countries. The idea was accepted by the student movement, a lot of the New Leftists and some other categories of intellectuals, especially representatives of the so called »intellectual proletariate«. Thus, the workers movement converged with that of the leftist intellectuals on the idea of workers self-management.

If we want to give a short explanation as to why workers selfmanagement has become the topic of the day in the workers movement, among left-wing intellectuals, and even in the progressive part

of the liberal middle class, we can list the following reasons:

1. With the discovery of the »human factor« in industrial production, modern sociology and social psychology have dedicated innumerable theses to the problem of workers' and employees motivation in production, and, quite independently from Marxism, have stressed the need for participation in decision-making in industrial enterprises. From participation to self-management there is only one (revolutionary) step.

2. After the workers syndicates through collective agreements have achieved the right to participate in some decision-making in industrial enterprises, (Mitbestimmungsrecht, joint consultation, comité d'enterprise), chiefly as regards working conditions and employment, the next step was naturally the demand for a transition from quantitative rewards (increase of salaries) to qualitative rewards (broadening of participation up to self-management). Since 1968 these tendencies

have been especially strong in France.

3. The development of tertiary activities, the formation of the intellectual proletariat, the syndicalism in technologically highly developed industries with new forms of integration of manual and intellectual workers, the increasing anonimity of the corporative capital (the so called »manager revolution«), all this brought about the imposition of the idea of self-management as a logical consequence of the democratization and normalization in the management of industries.

- 4. As the dictatorial and despotic character of statist socialism became more and more obvious, as evidenced by penalties for opposing views, absence of civil rights, confinment in lunatic asylums of critically disposed scientist, antisemitism, the occupation of Czechoslovakia, etc., a need arose for an alternative to this kind of socialism, which would not lead into bourgeois democracy, i. e., social-democracy, but into a truly new form of socialist democracy.
- 5. Ther is a growing conviction that the highly developed countries that have found themselves under the impact of statism and centralism, i. e., a increasing centralization of social decision, will try to find a way out in forms of participative or direct democracy. The scientific and technological revolution along with the development of cybernetics, automatization, and modern means of communication makes possible far more decentralization than was the case in undeveloped systems. At the same time, technology is becoming the »infrastructure of society« freeing it from its economic and technical determinism and providing greater possibilities for the organization of society in accordance with man's real needs.

3 PRAXIS 377

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3 PRAXIS

- 6. The idea of workers self-management has given a new offensive strategy to the workers movement in highly developed countries, which although nor fully developed at the moment, means a decisive break with a certain passivity that meant waiting for the forces of the Third World or for the Soviet army to free Europe. This offensive strategy shows itself in the convergence of aspirations towards self-management as well among workers as among the intellectual proletariat. It is regrettable that those two factors have not yet found a corresponding synchronization in their ideas and actions, and thus the workers movement is still under the influence of dogmatism, while the intellectual movement is influenced by "gauchism", radical "leftism" without a clearly defined goal or strategy (which would link it more closely to the workers movement) in spite of the ideological backwardness of the leadership of some Communist parties.
- 7. There is a growing awareness among the Marxist intellectual avangarde that the idea of self-management is the keystone in the forming of an offensive strategy, and does not care very much about the never-ending attacks against it by the bureaucratic leaderships, some of whom in the socialist block even more and more openly try to rehabilitate Stalinism, the continuous attacks not being able to diminish any of their convictions and morale. As before, the Marxist avangarde knows that the historical truth is on its side, and that it is their responsibility to bring about a harmony between contemporary socialism and the most progressive aspirations of contemporary mankind.

Without any exaggeration, we can maintain that many political, scientific and humanistic-philosophical reasons in Europe are favourable to self-managing socialism. These reasons are so strong that they could not be shaken eventually by a complete failure of the Yugoslav self-managing socialism. In this regard, we can paraphrase a wellknown situation: as the »truth about Stalin« could not shatter the belief in socialism, but only posed the question about its content and goals in a more definite way, so the »truth about Yugoslav workers self-management« cannot shatter the belief in workers self-management, but can only raise questions about the modes of its realization. But, are we today in a position to give the »truth about Yugoslav workers self-management«, i. e., do we command a broad enough historical perspective to visualize clearly its »good and bad points«, that which should be rejected and that which should be kept, both in our country and in other countries that will work on its realization? It seems that some problems have by now become clear and oblige us to define them clearly for the benefit of others and ours as well.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE CONCEPT OF SELF-MANAGEMENT?

Evidently the principles on which it is based are not wrong; that man as the producer has the right to make decisions about the results of his work, that the state cannot appropriate and dispose of the work surplus, that the right to manage an enterprise is shared by all workers and employees who work in it. Its shortcomings might only be the modes of its realization and that it had not been worked out in detail.

"W orld o r fo r th e S o v iet a rm y to f re e E u ro p e . T h is o ffe n s iv e s tra te g y show s its e lf in th e c o n v e rg e n c e o f a s p ira tio n s to w a rd s s e lf -m a n a g e m e n t as w e ll a m o n g w o rk e rs as a m o n g th e in te lle c tu a l p r o le ta r ia t. I t is re g r e tta b le th a t th o se tw o fa c to rs h a v e n o t y e t fo u n d a c o rre s p o n d in g sy n c h ro n iz a tio n in th e ir id ea s a n d a c tio n s, a n d th u s th e w o rk e rs m o v em e n t is still u n d e r th e in flu e n c e o f d o g m a tism , w h ile th e in te lle c tu a l m o v em e n t is in flu e n c e d by » g a u c h ism « , r a d ic a l » leftism « w ith o u t a c le a rly d e lin e d g o a l o r s tr a te g y (w h ich w o u ld lin k it m o re c lo sely to th e w o rk e rs m o v em e n t) in sp ite o f th e id e o lo g ic a l b a c k w a rd n e s s of th e le a d e rsh ip o f som e C o m m u n ist p a rtie s .

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B ut, a re w e to d a y in a p o s itio n to g iv e th e » tru th a b o u t Y u g o sla v w o rk e rs se lf-m a n a g e m e n t«, i. e., d o w e c o m m a n d a b ro a d e n o u g h h isto ric a l p e rs p e c tiv e to v isu a liz e c le a r ly its » g o o d a n d b a d p o in ts«, t h a t w h ich sh o u ld be re je c te d a n d th a t w h ich s h o u ld b e k e p t, b o th in o u r c o u n try a n d in o th e r c o u n trie s t h a t w ill w o rk o n its re a liz a tio n?

I t seem s t h a t som e p ro b le m s h a v e b y n o w b eco m e c le a r a n d o b lig e us to d e fin e th em c le a rly fo r th e b e n e fit o f o th e rs a n d o u rs as w e ll.

W H A T IS W R O N G W IT H T H E C O N C EP T OF SELF-M A N A G E M E N T?

E v id e n tly th e p rin c ip le s o n w h ic h it is b a s e d a re n o t w ro n g; th a t m a n as th e p ro d u c e r h a s th e r ig h t to m ak e d e c isio n s a b o u t th e re s u lts o f his w o rk, t h a t th e s ta te c a n n o t a p p ro p r ia te a n d d isp o se o f th e w o rk s u rp lu s, t h a t th e r ig h t to m a n a g e a n e n te rp ris e is s h a re d b y a ll w o rk ers a n d em p lo y ees w ho w o rk in it. Its sh o rtc o m in g s m ig h t o n ly b e th e m o d es o f its re a liz a tio n a n d th a t it h a d n o t b e e n w o rk e d o u t in d e ta il.

It seems that the implementation and the realization of our workers self-management was chiefly governed by a democratically liberal or "proudhonistic" concept. What are the basic outlines of this concept?

First of all, the basis of society is represented by voluntary associations of producers (mutualistic organizations) which do not need political mediators in the form of state or political parties (the state is withering away). These organizations must have at their disposal a certain amount of "property" which is a synthesis of private and group ownership. Proudhon has difficulties as do our lawyers in the definition of the legal status of such organizations. This "legal status" is best explained by today's concepts of group ownership i. e. a mixture of private and collective ownership (private especially as regards usi et frui, and collective as regards abuti).

Secondly, production relationships between associations of producers are based on a free exchange of products which presupposes relations based on agreements or contracts between interested parties without the intervention of a third party. The society based on mutualistic associations is directed by the principle »service for service. product for product loan for loan, insurance for insurance, credit for credit and guaranty for guaranty... In this system the laborer is no longer a serf of the State, swamped by the ocean of community. He is a free man, truly, his own master, who acts on his initiative and is personally responsible«. (P. G. Proudhon).²

Thirdly, by putting the emphasis on free exchange as a principle of personal freedom and autonomy of association, the market appears as a basic medium of exchange, with the laws of supply and demand as regulators of production. »The advocates of mutualism are as familiar as anyone with the laws of supply and demand and they will be careful not to infringe them. Detailed and frequently reviewed statistics, precise information about needs and living standards, an honest breakdown of cost prices, the foreseeing of all eventualities, the fixing after amicable discussion of a maximum and minimum profit margin, taking into account the risks involved, the organizing of regulating societies: these things, roughly speaking, constitute all the measures by means of which they hope to regulate the market. There will be as much liberty as you like, but more important than liberty are sincerity, reciprocity and enlightenment for all.« (ibid. p. 70). It is not necessary to explain how the Yugoslav practice of »selfmanagement discussions«, establishing profit margins, sincerity and reciprocity work in reality. Proudhon's outlook on the market system was that of a bourgeois liberal in spite of the fact that he realized that the market should be controlled by a constant analysis of economic

¹ A more detailed description of this concept can be found in my book »Power and Socialism«, that will be in print soon. There I am discussing other types of productive organizations, also the democraticalv-humanist or the functionalistic concept of workers self-management on which I am basing the criticism of our System.

² P. J. Proudhon, Selected Writings, Doubleday, 1969, page 59-60.

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Secondly, pro d u ctio n relatio n sh ip s betw een associations of p ro d u cers a re based on a free exchange of p roducts w hich presupposes r e la tions based on ag reem ents or co n tracts betw een in terested parties w ith o u t the in te rv en tio n of a th ird p arty . The society based on m u tu alistic associations is directed by the principle service for service, product, loan for loan, insurance for insurance, credit for credit and guaranty for guaranty... In this system the laborer is no longer a serf of the State, swamped by the ocean of community. He is a free man, truly, his own master, who acts on his in itia tive and is personally responsible (P. G. Proudhon).

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* P. J. P ro u d h o n , S elected W ritin g s, D o ubleday, 1969, page 59-60.

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processes, and appropriate interventions. Our practice in this respect is even more liberal than Proudhon's concept and about the conse-

quences we will say something later.

Fourth point, contractural relations govern not only in the economic sphere but in the political sphere of social life as well. »Instead of laws we would have agreements. No laws would be passed, either by majority vote or unanimously. Each citizen, each community or corporation, would make its own laws.« (p. 99) A literal enactment of the principle of political de-centralization eliminates general laws.

Additionally, society's integration will start from below on the basis of economical relations and not on the basis joint political decisions: »Instead of political power we would have economic forces.« (p. 99)

Then the division of society into classes will be replaced by socioprofessional and corporate divisions. »Instead of the old class divisions of citizens into nobility and commoners, bourgeoisie and proletariat, we would have categories and classes relating to various functions:

agriculture, industry, trade, etc.« (p. 99)

Lastly, Proudhon was enough of a dialectician and sufficiently devoid of any political pragmatical capabilities for »zigzag-politics« to realize that his society based on self-managing voluntary associations would not be able to avoid inner conflicts. Upon having equalized the democratic liberal trade exchange with free and independent activity, he realized that the market exchange necessarily destroys the equality among producers and their solidarity. That is why it seemed to him impossible to realize equality without the use of laws, that is to say certain general regulations which regulate exchange. »The community seeks equality and law. Property, which is born of autonomy of reason and respect for individual merits wants above all things independence and proportionality.

But the community, mistaking uniformity for law, and leveling down for equality, becomes tyrannical and unjust. Property, through its despotism and its infringement of rights, soon becomes oppressive

and works against the interests of society.

What the community and property intend is good, but what they both in fact produce is bad. Why should this be so? It is because each is exclusive and each overlooks two elements in society. The community rejects independence and proportionality, while property does not fulfill the conditions of equality and law.« (ibid. p. 92–93).

Proudhon suggests that the following four mutually exclusive elements should be distributed proportionally: equality, law, ownership, and proportion. In our workers self-management system we find the same paradox and the same dilemma: on the one side the granting of full operational autonomy, which in the market economy necessarily leads to inequality in profit and salaries, resistance against levelling, i. e., respecting »proportion«, rewarding as to the overall effectiveness of the enterprise and not as to the individual work; on the other side, there are the working people pressing for equality of rewards and social position in the name of society. Our system has given full freedom to market money goods relationships: we are not taking into account thoses limitations which arise from the giving of a part of the

la te r.

Fourth point, contractural relations governnotonly in the economic sphere but in the political sphere of so cial life as well. » In stead of law swewould have agreem ents. No law swould be passed, either by majority voteorunanimously. Each citizen, each community or corporation, would make its own laws.« (p. 99) A literal enactment of the principle of political de-centralizationelim in a tesgeneral laws.

A d d itio n a lly, s o c ie ty 's in te g r a tio n w ill s ta r t fro m b elo w o n th e basis o f e co n o m ical re la tio n s a n d n o t o n th e basis jo in t p o litic a l decisio n s:

» In ste a d o f p o litic a l p o w e r w e w o u ld h a v e e c o n o m ic fo rces.« (p. 99) T h e n th e d iv isio n o f so ciety in to classes w ill b e r e p la c e d b y so cio p ro fe s s io n a l a n d c o rp o ra te d iv isio n s. » In s te a d o f th e o ld class d iv isio n s o f citizen s in to n o b ility a n d co m m o n ers, b o u rg eo isie a n d p r o le ta r ia t, w e w o u ld h a v e c a te g o rie s a n d classes r e la tin g to v a rio u s fu n ctio n s: a g ric u ltu re , in d u stry , tra d e , etc.« (p. 99)

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Proudhon suggests that the following four mutually exclusive elements should be distributed proportionately: equality, law, ownership , and proportion In our workers' self-management system we find the same paradox and the same problem: on the one side the granting of full operational autonomy, whi ch e m a r k e t economy necessarily leads to inequality in profits and salaries, resistance against st leveling, i. e., respecting » proportion « , rewarding as to the overall effectiveness of the enterprise and noting as to the individual work ; o n t h e o t h e r side, there are the working people pressing for requ ality of rewards and social position in the name of society. Our sy stem has given full freedom to market money goods relation ships: we are not taking into account those limitations which arise from the giving of a part the 380

surplus work to the state because it is a question of principle. There has even been formed a special ideology of »socialist money/goods relationships« and »the theory of a socialist market«, in spite of the fact that the market laws work in the same way in capitalism and socialism and in any other society that is based on a money/goods exchange. There is no doubt that this democratic-liberalistic type selfmanagement organization resembles our workers self-management and points out some problems and contradictions that can also be found in our system. Let's try now to look in a more concrete way at the types of problems and results that had to arise from the application of democratic-liberal concepts of workers self-management in our society. Above all, in the spirit of middle-class liberalism, the concept of social organization is individualistic or atomistic, so that all economic associations are equalized in their legal status and are on an ideal social plane (as was the case of the middle class as owners of the means of production in classical democracy). Production organization is defined primarily politically and not functionally in an economic sense with regard to the complexity of the social divisions of labor and the differing roles in the economic system. So it happened that a certain type of political democracy defined the nature of »economic democracy«; furthermore, the legal/political equality quickly led to economic inequality among the producing organizations. In our country, it has been conditioned the same as in classical middle-class liberalism with a low level of development of social organization in general and especially by division of labor (and with this the corresponding concepts of »societal work«) the same as with legal formalism legally equalizing all productional or economic organization is not capable of grasping their basically different functions in society. In our country this legal formalism is a consequence of the still dominant role of the »shyster« as opposed to the professional intelligentzia especially the part linked to social organization: economists, sociologists, engineers.8

The freedom of social activities is first of all regarded as a free agent's liberty, the main role of which is the exchange of production in a competitive market with the assumption that supply and demand best regulate industrial development. It is not assumed that the determining factor for economic growth is the development of modern technology, possession of a developmental strategy or principles in regard to the distribution of personal and collective incomes. Furthermore, even though it is nowadays recognised that the market no longer plays the same role that it did in the last century, and that it has experienced various limitations and is no longer the regulator of economic development, we can derive a sort of »socialist ideology« where

The author of these lines has been living for quite a while in the illusion that the markedly economic orientation of our political leadership has drawn into the state the most prominent economic experts but the economists themselves have dissuaded him from this belief. The economists have already for ten years been advising the establishment of a separate economic body working in conjunction with the government but the politicians have been actively rejecting this. It seems that this appears to them to be a form of *technocracy*.

fact that the mark et law s work in the same way in capitalism and socialism and in any oth er society that is based on a money/goods e x change. The re is no doubt that this democratic-lib eralistic type selfm an ag em en t organ izatio n resem bles our w orkers self-m anagem ent and points out some problem s an d co n tradictions th a t can also be found in our system . Let's try now to look in a m ore concrete w ay at the types of problem s and results that h a d to arise from the ap p lication of d e m o cratic-lib eral concepts of w orkers self-m an ag em en t in our society. A bove all, in the sp irit of m id dle-class liberalism, the concept of social organization is in divid u alistic or atom istic, so th at all econom ic associations a re equalized in their legal status and are on an ideal social plane (as was the case of the m id d le class as owners of the m eans of prod u ctio n in classical dem ocracy). Pro d u ctio n o rg anization is d efin ed p rim a rily p o litically a n d not fu n ctio n ally in an economic sense with reg and to the complexity of the social divisions of labor a n d the d iffe rin g roles in the economic system. So it h a p p en ed th a t a certa in ty p e of p o litical dem ocracy defin ed the n a tu re of »economic dem ocracy«; fu rth erm o re, the leg al/p o litical eq u ality quickly led to economic in eq u ality am ong the p ro d u cin g organizations. In our country, it has been conditioned the same as in classical m iddle-class liberalism w ith a low level of d ev elopm ent of social organ ization in general and especially by division of lab o r (and w ith this the corresp o n d in g concepts of »societal work«) the sam e as w ith legal fo rm a lism leg a lly eq u alizin g all p ro d u ctio n al o r economic organ izatio n is not cap ab le of g rasp in g th eir b asically d iffe re n t functions in society.

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ideology« w here a T h e au th o r of these lines has been liv in g fo r quite a w hile in the illusion th a t the m ark e d ly econom ic o rie n ta tio n of our political lead ersh ip has d raw n into the stale the m ost p ro m in e n t econom ic exp erts bu t the econom ists them selves have dissuaded him from this belief. T h e econom ists have alre a d y lo r ten years been advising the establishm ent of a se p arate econom ic body w orking in conju n ctio n w ith the govern m en t bu t the politic ian s have been actively re je c tin g this. I t seems th at this a p p ears to them to be a form of »technocracy«.

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the money/goods relationships are transformed into »socialist money/ goods relationships«, and the market is changed into a »socialist market«, so that the capital, with its profit logic, is transformed into »socialist capital«. Such nonsense is stressed so as to make everybody forget that the capital market, with its laws of supply and demand, has already undergone important limitations not only because of socialization (societal control of the means of production) of production and distribution, but rather and because of the rofe of worker's svndicates (control of so called »indirect wages« and social contributions). Social intervention which fundamentally differs when we speak about the production of consumers goods or of production of the means of production and especially when we speak of the development of the labor force in the form of a scientific-technological factor (education of cadres, organization of production, etc.) has already brought about a polymorphic economic structure, so that the market (even if we disregard the role of contemporary arms production in the development of the labor force and research) has acquired a secondary importance.4

Political decentralization had not only been recognized as identical with the abandonment of centrally administrated planned economics, but also with every planned developmental concept (regardless of whether it will be realized from either above or below), that is to say whether on the level of »self-management conferences« or on the level of »representatives of self-management enterprises«, planned with regard to a long term social development, which under the conditions of modern technological development is a condition sine qua non of a harmonious and speedy social development. Naturally, the submission of economic development to the inherent logic of the market cannot prevent the occurence of a whole series of internal contradictions and irregularities in the development of various enterprises and branches of production, and of various forms of disloyal competition and conflicts, especially under our »Balkan conditions«, which will constantly search for compromises and a single arbiter in the settlement of resulting disagreements. Who will assume the role of this arbiter? Will a certain »coordinating organization« composed of producers, as Proudhon already suggests, or a political representative of society's long-term interest, that is the communist party, as has been suggested in our country, or will it be a »mediator bureaucracy« whose precondition for existence is political, economic and cultural atomization of society? It should be openly said that behind Yugoslav self-management there is hidden a vertical organization of societal power, which is represented by the communist party, which is trying to play all three of the above mentioned roles. With what success we will see.

⁴ Several years ago a representative of the British liberal party wanted to become acquainted with our workers' self-management because he had received an assignment to modernize his party's social program and social philosophies. He returned disappointed after having been told by the district leaders that we are trying to prepare our workers to increase their income by means of market competition, and having found out that they were implementing obsolete capitalistic notions.

g oods re la tio n s h ip s «, a n d th e m a rk e t is c h a n g e d in to a » so c ia list m a r k et«, so t h a t th e c a p ita l, w ith its p r o fit logic, is tra n s fo r m e d in to »soc ia list c a p ita l« . S uch n o n se n se is s tre sse d so as to m ak e e v e ry b o d y fo rg e t th a t th e c a p ita l m a rk e t, w ith its law s o f s u p p ly a n d d e m a n d, h a s a lr e a d y u n d e rg o n e im p o r ta n t lim ita tio n s n o t o n ly b ec au se o f so c ia liz a tio n (so cietal c o n tro l o f th e m ea n s o f p ro d u c tio n) of p ro d u c tio n a n d d istrib u tio n, b u t r a th e r a n d b e c au se o f th e ro fe o f w o rk e r's s y n d ica te s (co n tro l o f so c a lle d » in d ire c t w a g e s« a n d so cial c o n tr ib u tions). S o cial in te rv e n tio n w h ic h f u n d a m e n ta lly d iffe rs w h e n w e sp eak a b o u t th e p ro d u c tio n o f c o n su m ers goo d s o r o f p ro d u c tio n o f th e m ea n s o f p r o d u c tio n a n d e sp ec ia lly w h e n w e sp e a k o f th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f th e la b o r fo rc e in the form of a scientific-technologicalfactor (educatio n o f c a d re s, o rg a n iz a tio n o f p ro d u c tio n, etc.) h a s a lr e a dybroughtaboutapolymorphiceconomicstructure, so th a t th e m a r k e t (ev en if w e d i s r e g a r d th e ro le o f c o n te m p o ra ry a rm s p ro d u c tio n in th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f th e la b o r fo rc e a n d rese a rch) h a s a c q u ire d a s e c o n d a ry im p ortance.4

Political decentralization hadnoton ly beenrecogniz ed as id en tical with theabandonmentofcentrally ad m in is tr a te d p la n n e d econom ics, b u t also w ith e v e ry p la n n e d d e v e lo p m e n ta l c o n c ep t (re g a rd le s s o f w h e th e r it will be realized fromeitheraboveorbelow), that is to say whetheronthelevelof» self-managementconfe re n c es« o r o n th e lev el o f » re p re s e n ta tiv e s o f s e lf-m a n a g e m e n t e n te rp ris e s«, p la n n e d w ith r e g a r d to a lo n g te rm so cial development, whichundertheconditions of m o d e rn tec h n o lo g ic a l d e v e lo o p m e n t is a c o n d itio n sin e q u a n o n o f a h a rm o n io u s a n d sp e ed y so cial d e v e lo p m e n t. N a t u r a l ly, th e su b m issio n o f eco n o m ic d e v e lo pment to the inherent logic of themarketcannotpre v e n t th e o ccu re n c e o f a w h o le series o f in te r n a l c o n tra d ic tions and irregularities in thedevelopment of vario u s e n te rp ris e s a n d b ra n c h e s of p ro d u c tio n, a n d o f v a rio u s fo rm s o f d islo y a l c o m p e titio n a n d c o n flicts, e sp ec ia lly u n d e r o u r » B a lk a n c o n d itio n s«, w h ic h w ill c o n s ta n tly se a rc h fo r co m p ro m ises a n d a sin g le a r b ite r in th e s e ttle m e n t o f re s u ltin g d isa g re em e n ts. W h o w ill a ssu m e th e ro le o f th is a rb ite r?

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4 Several years ago a representative of the British liberal party wanted to be acquainted with workers' self-management becau se he had received an address assignment to modernize his party's social program and social philosophy. Here turned out to be disappointing after having been told by the district leaders that we were trying to prepare our workers to increase their in come by means of market competition, and having found out that they were implementing obsolete capitalistic notions.

If we would like to give a short characterization of the contemporary workers self-management system in our midst, we would say that it has the characteristics:

- a) legal formalism
- b) anti-functional as regards the social function of productive organizations
- c) middle class liberalism regarding the market and self-regulation of economic development
- d) combination of self-managing organizations on a horizontal plane with an statist power structure on a vertical plane.

Generally we are speaking here of a concept that remains in the framework of democratic-liberal theory, which has not as yet reached the level of a democratically humanistic and functional organization of producers. (In the near future I will deal with this matter more extensively.)

WHEN WORKERS SELF MANAGEMENT TURNS AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS

One of the most obvious (negative) consequences of legal formalism for the workers self-management was the legal and business-like equalization of productive and mediating organizations, that is to say, those who produce the surplus of wealth and those who have this surplus at their disposal in the form of working capital (banks, trade, foreign trade enterprises). This legal equalization has quickly brought about a state of affairs where mediator organizations under the conditions of the market economy assumed the control of the producing organizations and started to mercilessly exploit them. Economic reform brought many producing organizations into difficult positions and made it easy for financial organizations to assume monopoly positions. While banks and trading served in an earlier period in the development of industrial production, now industrial production serves the strengthening of the power of financial centers, naturally against the interests of the working class and a healthy economic development policy. The results of dysfunctional and legal-formalistic equalization of producing and mediating organizations were as fol-

- a) that mediating organizations acquired a monopolistic relationship towards producing organizations;
- b) that monopolistic mediating organizations started to illegaly draw off profits from the producing organizations (a legislature report from Federal Assembly commission states that the financial trade capital »brutally exploits the existing shortage of money for regeneration and acquires an usurious crude, early capitalistic profit logic. In some places it assumes such dimensions and forms that it astounds businessmen from contemporary capitalist economies«);

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I f we would like to give a short characterization of the contemporary workers self-management system in our midst, we would say that it has the characteristics:

- a) legal form alism
- b) a n ti-fu n c tio n a l as reg ard s the social fu nction of productive o rg a nizations c) m id d le class liberalism re g a rd in g the m ark et a n d self-reg u latio n of econom ic developm ent
- d) com bination of se lf-m an ag in g o rg anizations on a horizontal p lan e w ith an statist pow er stru ctu re on a vertical plane.

Generally we are speaking here of a concept that remains in the framework of democratic-liberal theory, which has not as yet reached the level of a democratically humanistic and functional organization of producers. (In the near future I will deal with this matter more extensively.)

W H E N W O R K E R S S E L F M A N A G E M E N T T U R N S A G A IN S T

THEWORKING CLASS

O ne o f the m ost obvious (negative) consequences of legal form alism for the w orkers se lf-m an ag em en t was the legal an d business-like eq u alizatio n o f pro d u ctiv e an d m ed iatin g o rg anizations, th at is to say, those w ho pro d u ce th e su rp lu s of w ealth a n d those who have this su rplus at the ir disposal in the form of work in g cap ita l (banks, trad e, fo reig n tra d e en terprises). T h is leg al eq u alizatio n has quickly b rought ab o u t a state of a ffa irs w h ere m ed ia to r organ izatio n s u n d e r the cond itions o f th e m ark et econom y assum ed th e control of the p ro d ucing org an ization s a n d s ta rte d to m ercilessly ex p lo it them. Econom ic re form b ro ug h t m an y p ro d u cin g org an izatio n s into d iffic u lt positions a n d m ad e it easy fo r fin a n c ia l org an izatio n s to assum e m onopoly po sitions. While banks and trading served in an earlie r p eriod in the dev elo p m en t of in d u stria l pro d u ctio n, now in d u stria l pro d u ctio n serves the s tre n g th e n in g of th e p ow er of fin a n c ia l centers, n a tu ra lly ag a in st th e in terests of the w o rk in g class a n d a h e a lth y economic d ev elo p m en t policy. T h e results of d y sfu n ctio n al a n d leg al-fo rm alistic eq u alizatio n of p ro d u cin g a n d m ed ia tin g organ izatio n s w ere as fo llows: a) that mediating organizations acquired a monopolistic rela tio n ship to w ard s p ro d u cin g o rg an izatio n s; b) th a t m onopolistic m ed ia tin g org an izatio n s sta rte d to illegaly d raw o ff profits from the p ro d u cin g org an izatio n s (a leg islatu re rep o rt from F e d e ra l A ssem bly com m ission states th a t the fin an cial tra d e cap ital » b ru ta lly exploits th e ex istin g sh o rtag e of m

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- c) that they stifled the normal expanding reproduction of producing organizations, by investing financial resources using a speculative logic in places where a profit could be quickly realized, and especially the modernization of producing in harmony with the development of modern technology (which works with shortened amortization cycles and cannot successfully progress without the help of state subsidies, in other words a developmental strategy of the whole economy);
- d) that with their investment orientation successfully blocking economic development (however, the so-called economic reform is also to blame), brought about a mass emigration of our workers, inflation and negative trade balance due largely to the importation of largely unnecessary consumer goods (this import serves and enriches a small sector of the population);
- e) that they brought about in recent years a financial boom for the so-called middle class and a certain elite linked to financial and trade capital, but at the same time brought about the impoverishment and emigration of large portions of the working class;
- f) with regard to the fact that the new centers of financial power located mainly in the place where the de-nationalized state capital was located, its liberation and »style of business activity« immediately sharpened the internal national relationship in Yugoslavia (some representative from Dalmatia were speaking of signs of »colonialistic exploitation«).

All of these indicators show in the last several years that the working class was economically exposed to great difficulties which is also demonstrated by the more than 1000 strikes during the past two years while at the same time our streets choked by automobiles, expensive imported goods (a pair of shoes for 30,000 dinars which represents one half of some workers salaries), a deluge of weekend houses, etc. show that one part of society got very rich. People who visit our country are often of the impression that it is not a country of workers and workers self-management, but of nouveau riche. A great segment of our press, perhaps the part that is most read, has greatly contributed to not only the creation of an »enterprising spirit« but also to the creation of a »consumer's culture« with all of its' petite-bourgeois stupidity and snobbism. We have already mentioned that the democraticliberal concept of worker's self-management is based on a certain atomization of society. This also applies to the working class. The working class was put into self-managing organizations which seemingly had the same rights and liberties but which in the market situation proved to be unequals and dependent. Besides, they were taught an enterprising spirit for competitive market relations which meant approval of the differences in salaries and uneven compensation for the same work (for the same work in one enterprise a worker was receiving two to three times as much salary as a worker performing the same work in another factory). Worker's syndicates were forbidden to fight for a uniform standard by which laborers were to be compensated. As this would oppose the logic of the realization of profit through competition, which was euphemistically called »according to the refit co u ld be q u ick ly r e a liz e d, a n d e sp ec ia lly th e m o d e rn iz a tio n o f p r o d u c in g in h a rm o n y w ith th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f m o d e rn tec h n o lo g y (w h ich w o rk s w ith s h o rte n e d a m o rtiz a tio n cycles a n d c a n n o t su ccessfu lly p ro g re ss w ith o u t th e h e lp o f s ta te su b sid ies, in o th e r w o rd s a d e v e lo p m e n ta l s tr a te g y o f th e w h o le e co n o m y); d) t h a t w ith th e ir in v e s tm e n t o r ie n ta tio n su c ce ssfu lly b lo c k in g e co n o m ic d e v e lo p m e n t (h o w ev er, th e s o -c a lle d e c o n o m ic re fo rm is also to b lam e), b ro u g h t ab o u t a m ass e m ig ra tio n o f o u r w o rk e rs, in fla tio n a n d n e g a tiv e tra d e b a la n c e d u e la r g e ly to th e im p o r ta tio n o f la r g e ly u n n e c essa ry c o n su m e r goods (th is im p o rt se rv e s a n d en ric h e s a s m a ll se cto r o f th e p o p u la tio n);

e) that they broughtabout in recentyears afinancial boomfortheso-called middle class and acertaine lite linked to financial and tradecapital, but at the sametime broughtabout the impoverishmentandemigration of largeportions of the work ing class; f) with regard to the fact that he newcenters of financial power located mainly in the place where the de-nationalized statecapital was located, its liberationand » style of business activity « immediately sharpened the internal national relationship in Yugoslavia (somerepresentative from Dalmatiawerespeak ingofsigns of » colonialisticexploitation «).

All of these in dicators show in the lastseveralyears that th e w o rk in g class w as e c o n o m ic ally e x p o sed to g r e a t d iffic u ltie s w h ic h is also d e m o n s tra te d by th e m o re t h a n 1000 strik e s d u r in g th e p a s t tw o y e a rs w h ile a t th e sam e tim e o u r stre e ts ch o k ed b y a u to m o b ile s, e x p e n siv e im p o rte d goods (a p a ir o f shoes fo r 30,000 d in a r s w h ic h re p re s ents one half of som ew ork ers salaries), adeluge of wee k e n d h o u ses, etc. show t h a t on e p a r t o f so ciety g o t v e ry rich. Peoplewhovisitourcountry a reoften of the imp re ssio n th a t it is n o t a c o u n try o f w o rk e rs a n d w o rk e rs s elf-management, but of nouveauriche. Agreat seg mentofour press, perhaps the part that is most read, h asgreatly contributed to not only the creation of an » e n te rp ris in g s p irit« b u t also to th e c re a tio n o f a » c o n su m e r's c u ltu re « w ith a ll o f its ' p e tite -b o u rg e o is s tu p id ity a n d sn o b b ism. We have a lreadymentioned that thedem o c ra tic -

lib e ra l concept of work er's self-management is based on a certa in a tom iz a tion of so ciety. This also applies to th e w o rk in g class. T h e w o rk in g class w as p u t in to s e lf -m a n a g in g o rg a n iz a tio n s w h ic h se em in g ly h a d th e sa m e rig h ts a n d lib e rtie s b u t w h ic h in th e m a r k e t s itu a tio n p ro v e d to be u n e q u a ls a n d d e p e n d e n t. B esides, th e y w e re ta ughtanenterprisingspirit forcompetitivemarketrela tionswhichmeantapprovalofthedifferencesinsala rie s a n d u n e v e n c o m p e n s a tio n f o r th e sa m e w o rk (fo r th e sa m e w o rk in o n e e n te rp ris e a w o rk e r w a s r e c e iv in g tw o to th re e tim es as m u ch s a la r y as a w o rk e r p e rf o r m in g th e sa m e w o rk in a n o th e r fa c to ry). W o r k e r 's s y n d ic a te s w e re f o rb id d e n to fig h t fo r a u n ifo rm s ta n d a r d b y w h ic h la b o re rs w e re to b e c o m p e n s a ted. A s th is w o u ld opp o se the logic of the realization of profit throughc o m p e titio n, w h ic h w as e u p h e m is tic a lly c a lle d » a c c o rd in g to the re-384

sults of one's work« on the competitive market (not taking into account the monopolistic positions of certain enterprises, non-equivalent exchanges and so forth), so the working class remained fragmented, bound to the interest of its groups' capital taught the profit logic of money/goods relations, and furthermore the working class was made to believe according to the same logic that its exploiters are »workers« and »self-managers«. The atomization had two consequences. The first less important is that the working classes do not appear as an economic factor in the equalization of average market levels that is to say as a stimulus of economic development. This was also attempted by means of economic reform. The second consequence was that the workers became disorganized because the roles of the syndicate became irrelevant. In the same way as the vertical organization of political power has retained the features of etatist socialism so the syndicate has in our country kept the typically etatistic socialist role, namely that it be the working classes teacher of discipline. There was no longer anything that the syndicate could teach the workers because this role had been taken over by the experts of enterprise. Under the new conditions the syndicates did not retain their traditional role as defenders of the working classes' immediate interests, that is why the numerous strikes appear as wildcat strikes, without the participation and against the will of the syndicate leadership. The absence of the syndicate class role brought about not only a dimishing of its influence but the formation of cliques in enterprises so that the workers selfmanagement existed more on paper than in reality.5

While Shlapnikov in a discussion in 1921 demanded that the worker's syndicates take over control not only of entire enterprises (in these syndicates there were not only factory workers but office personnel as well) but that these syndicates should control all branches of production and the whole economy, in the Yugoslav system the worker's councils and councils of producers are given precedence over the syndicates, though the producers counciles have no directive power in the economy because this power has been retained by the state apparatus (no matter on a federal or republic level). The idea that the Congress of Self-managers could become a supreme law-making body has not as yet been seriously considered. Regardless of how far the vertical organization of power of self managers and self-managing organizations may go there is no doubt that the syndicates have lost their role: to defend the worker's immediate class interests in this society which has not lost the characteristics of a class society, but has even strengthened them due to its market economy. If, in the near future the present concept of workers self-management undergoes some improvement to the effect that the self-managing enterprises actually get control not only of widened reproduction of capital but also the cir-

^{*} Sociological resarch that I conducted in 20 factories in 1966, while the situation was better than it is today, showed that the workers repeatedly listed the power and influence of the syndicate as the least important or next to the least important. The standing as far as influence is concerned is reflected in the following listing: 1. director, 2. management committees, 3. technical council, 4. workers council, 5. communist party, 6. workers, 7. foremen, 8. syndicate, 9. administration.

fragm ented, bound to the in terest of its gro u p s' cap ital tau g h t the p ro fit logic of m onev/goods relations, an d fu rth erm o re the w orking class was m ade to believe accord in g to the same logic that its exploiters are "workers"

an d »self-m anagers«. The atom ization had two consequences. The first less im p o rta n t is th at the w orking classes do not ap p e ar as an economic fac to r in the eq u alization of av erag e m ark et levels th a t is to say as a stim ulus of economic developm ent. T h is w as also a tte m p ted by m eans of economic reform. The second consequence was that the workers becamed isorganized because the roles of the syndicate b ecam e irre le v a n t. In the sam e w ay as th e vertical organ ization of p o litical power has retained the features of etatist socialism so the sy ndicate has in ou r co u n try kept the tv p ically etatistic socialist role, n a m ely th a t it be the w o rking classes teach er of discipline. The ere was no longer any thin g th a t th e sy n dicate could teach the w orkers because this role h a d been tak en over by the experts of en terprise. Under the new conditions the syndicates d id not reta in th eir tra d itio n a l role as defen d ers of the w o rking classes' im m ediate interests, th at is w hv the num erous strikes a p p e ar as wild cat strikes, with o u t the pa rticip a tio n an d ag ain st th e will of the sy n d icate leadership. T h e absence of the syn d icate class role b ro u g h t about n o t only a dim ish in g of its influence but the form atio n of cliques in en terprises so that the workers selfm an agement existed more on p aperthan in reality.5

While Sh lap n ik o v in a discussion in 1921 dem and ed that the w o rk e r's sy ndicates tak e over control not only of en tire en terprises (in these syn d icates there were not only fac to ry workers but office personnel as well) but that these syndicates should control all b ranches of p ro d u c tion an d the w hole econom y, in the Y u g oslav sysfem the w o rk er's councils a n d councils of prod u cers are given precedence over the sy n dicates, though the prod u cers counciles h av e no d irectiv e pow er in the econom y because this p ow er has been reta in e d by th e state a p p a ra tu s (no m a tte r on a fed eral or rep u b lic level). The id eath at the Congress of Self-m a n a g e rs could becom e a suprem e law -m a k in g body has not as yet been seriously considered. R egardless of how far the vertical org an izatio n of p ow er of self m an ag ers a n d se lf-m a n a g in g o rg an iz a tions m ay go there is no do u b t that the syndicates have lost the ir role: to defend the work er's immediate class interests in this society which has not lost the characteristics of a class society, b u t has even stre n g th en ed them du e to its m ark e t econom y. If, in the near future the present concept of workers

se lf-m a n a g em e n t u n dergoes some im p ro v em ent to th e effect th a t th e s e lf-m a n a g in g enterp rises actu ally get co ntrol not only of w id e n e d rep ro d u c tio n of c ap ital b u t also the cir-

 ${\mathbb R}$ Sociological resarch th a t I conducted in 20 factories in 1966, w hile the situation was b e tte r th an it is today, show ed th a t the w o rkers rep eated ly listed the pow er an d influence of the synd icate as the least im p o rtan t or nex t to the least im portant.

The standing as far as influence is concerned is reflected in the following listing: 1. director, 2. management committees, 3. technical council, 4. workers council, 5.

com m unist party, 6. workers, 7. foremen, 8. syndicates, 9. admin istrations.

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culation of state capital (that means also the means for education of highly-specialized cadres and for the promotion of scientific and technological inovations) then one of the first tasks will be the rehabilitation of the role of the syndicates.

This is necessary because of the atomization of the workers class on the one side and the unification and alliance of the managerial and financial circles. The workers are conscious of the fact that under the conditions of the market economy their influence on the management is far less vital than the connections and »resourcefulness« of the marketing apparatus. Thus, the workers are relegated even more to a role of passivity and subordination to the experts and directors who have the »connections«⁶ because these »business connections« are often the basis of their existence. The majority of »wild-cat« strikes are not aimed, as is most often maintained by the press, against the »bureaucratic management of the enterprise« but rather against the entire situation in which public enterprise found itself, so that the disorganization of the workers class often lends a desperate and Luddist appearance to the strikes (the destruction of equipment, violence against the directors).

If we consider that the non-functional definition of the status of business organizations (giving the status of independent self-managing organizations to retail sales organizations, in spite of the fact that our constitution contains a definition of State management which has until now been applied only to universities and meaningless organizations such as museums and public schools because the political leadership was more interested in controlling the intelligentsia than in watching the businessmen and bankers) brought about exploitative relationship between the business organizations. At the same time they were telling the workers that we accept such events as a result of the law of supply and demand, and this brought about a loss of the feeling of unity and equality among the workers. They stressed the true spirit of market (read: capitalist) concurrence, but this necessarily gave rise to group egoism in the spirit of petty capitalist business methods. Under such conditions the impoverishment of the working class, and thereby the enrichment of the mediating classes of society has to be taken as normal phenomenon of our social system. And so our worker's self-management began to produce instead, though it might seem paradoxical to those who are not acquainted with the logic of the democratic-liberalistic and Proudhonistic type of self management, not a »self-managing socialism« but something quite the opposite, namely »petty-bourgeois capitalism«. (Even though this capitalism has acquired forms of »big capital« as regards the concentrations of financial

⁶ In my previously mentioned research it is clearly shown that the ordinary workers and workers who are members of the workers' council are similarly aware of the fact that the financial success of their enterprise depends much more on outward factors than on their own actions. They answered the question »Are the difficulties of your enterprise brought about by bad management or mostly by uncontrollable outside influence?« in the following percentages: bad management – 6.7%; outside influences – 26.1%; both – 34.6% (the remaining answers being »no opinion«).

n o n e o f th e f ir s t task s w ill b e th e r e h a b ilita tio n o f th e ro le o f th e s y n d ic a tes.

This is necesary because of the a tomization of the wo rk e rs class on th e on e sid e a n d th e u n ific a tio n a n d a llia n c e of the managerial and financial circles. The workers a re conscious o f th e f a c t th a t u n d e r th e co n d itio n s o f th e marketeconomytheir in fluenceonthemanagement is f a r less v ita l t h a n th e co n n e ctio n s a n d » reso u rc e fu ln e ss« of the marketing apparatus. Thus, the workers are r e le g a te d e v e n m o re to a ro le o f p a s siv ity a n d s u b o rd in a tio n to the experts and directors whohave the »conne ctio n s« 0 b ecau se th ese »bu sin ess c o n n e ctio n s« a re o fte n th e basis of the ir ex istence. The majority of wild-cat« strik es a re n o t a im e d as is m o st o fte n m a in ta in e d by th e p ress, a g a in s t th e » b u r e a u c r a tic m a n a g e m e n t o f th e e n te rp ris e « b u t r a t h e r a g a in s t th e e n tir e s itu a tio n in w h ic h p u b lic e n te rp ris e f o u n d itse lf, so t h a t th e d iso rg a n iz a tio n o f th e w o rk e rs class o fte n le n d s a d e s p e r a te a n d L 11 d -

d ist a p p e a r a n c e to th e strik es (th e d e s tru c tio n o f e q u ip m e n t, v io le n c e a g a in s t th e d ire c to rs).

If we consider that the non-functional definition of th e s ta tu s o f b u sin ess o r g a n iz a tio n s (g iv in g th e sta tu s o f in dependentself-managingorganizations tore tail sales organizations, in spite of the fact that our constitu tioncontainsade finition of Statemanagement which h a s u n til n o w b e e n a p p lie d o n ly to u n iv e rs itie s a n d m e a n in g le s s o r g a n iz a tio n s su ch as m u seu m s a n d p u b lic schools because the political leadership was more in te re s te d in c o n tro llin g th e in te llig e n ts ia th a n in w a tc h in g thebusinessmenandbankers) broughtaboutexplo ita tiv e r e l a tio n s h ip b e tw e en th e busin ess o rg a n iz a tio n s . At the same time they were telling the workers that we a c ce p t su ch e v e n ts as a re s u lt o f th e la w of s u p p ly a n d d e mand, and this broughtaboutaloss of the feeling of un ity a n d e q u a lity a m o n g th e w o rk e rs. T h e y stre sse d th e tru e s p irit o f m a rk e t (re a d : c a p ita lis t) co n c u rre n c e, b u t th is n e c e s s a rily g a v e rise to g ro u p eg o ism in th e s p ir it o f p e tty c a p ita lis t b u sin e ss m eth o d s.

Under such conditions the impoverishment of the work ing class, and the reby the enrichment of the media tin

g classes of so c ie ty h a s to be ta k e n as n o rm a l p h e n o m e n o n o f o u r so cial sy stem. A n d so o u r w o rk e r's s e lf-m a n a g e m e n t b e g a n to p ro d u c e in ste a d, th o u g h it m ig h t seem p a ra d o x ic a l to th o se w h o a re n o t a c q u a in te d w ith th e lo g ic o f th e d e m o -

c ra tic -lib e ra lis tic a n d P r o u d h o n is tic ty p e o f se lf m a n a g e m e n t, n o t a

» s e lf-m a n a g in g so cialism « b u t s o m e th in g q u ite th e o p p o site , n a m e ly

» p e tty -b o u rg e o is c a p ita lism « . (E v e n th o u g h th is c a p ita lis m h a s a c q u ir e d fo rm s o f » b ig c a p ita l« as r e g a rd s th e c o n c e n tra tio n s o f fin a n c ia l

• In my previously m entioned research it is clearly shown that the ordinary workers and workers who are members of the workers' council are similarly aw are of the fact that the financial success of their enterprise depends much more on outward factors than on their own actions. They answered the question »Are the difficulties of your enterprise brought about by bad management or mostly by uncontrollable outside influence?« in the following percentages: bad management -

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means, it is far below the level of contemporary corporation capital in capitalist countries, because of its entire lack of any sense for modern organization and developmental policies, i. e., an understanding of modern technology, and so its characteristics remain a petty-bourgeois sense of usury and momentary profit according to the logic »take it while you can get it!«)

The mediums of mass communication helped to form the pettybourgeois mentality. They quickly oriented themselves towards the logic of market »money/goods relations«, and they considered themselves progressive if they began to develop their readers taste for West-European »consumers society«. They believed that the same laws are applicable to culture and »sausage sales«. Consequently everything reminiscent of Marxism soon disappeared from their pages (actually the political bureaucracy set the example of how to fight the Marxists). »New values« appeared - sensationalism, pathological forms of social behaviour, eroticism, pop music, fashion snobbery, nude models on new models of automobiles - everything that would appeal to the petty-bourgeois parvenue. Just try putting a photopgraph of a working girl in a red kerchief or crowd scenes in the Mao-Tse-Tung manner on one of our newsstands amid the display of bare female breasts and bodies, you will immediately notice that you are confronted with two different cultures that exclude each other, and which are easily defined. These are extremes, but just let anybody try to define what values exist between these extremes in our country.

If we try to compare the style that has taken over in our society with the western »consumer society« we must note that we are below the level of that society. The bourgeois society never really made an ideology of the money/goods relationship, but rather attempted to present »higher values« which it stressed as vital to the common interest (as opposed to particular interests), as »honest business methods« and »legal competition« (different than our Balkan moneygrubber orientation towards unearned profits), as the stress on puritan morals in public business life, and religious moderation and an »ethical sense of duty« in private and administrative life, so that the principles of morality and socialization always went against the logic of the capitalist market. These paradoxes in the capitalist or bourgeois personality are well known from frequent analysis of the capitalist society. The strict ideological thinkers in our country tried to solve this »bourgeois controversy« on an ideological plane, stressing not what is positive in the bourgeois (their business and social morality) but what is negative (wealth accumulation and increasing class distinction). That explains why some otherwise very temperate criticisms (by our philosophers and Marxist-sociologists) of our society and the consequences of competition and a consumers attitude were vigorously attacked by the »official« ideologists of our society.

It is evident that such social processes brought about a disolution of class consciousness in the workers, and a strengthening of class consciousness among the middle class. It is becoming more and more evident, especially in the area of social awareness and those forces that shape it (mass media, official ideology, culture creation) that our

d erstan d in g of m odern technology, a n d so its characteristics rem ain a petty-bourgeois sense of usury a n d m o m en tary p ro fit according to the logic »take it while you can get it!«)

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If we try to co m pare the style th a t has tak en over in our society w ith the w estern »consum er society« we m ust note th a t we are below the level of that society. The bourgeois society never really m ade an ideology of the m oney/goods relation ship, but rather attem p ted to p resen t » h igher values« w hich it stressed as v ita l to the comm on in terest (as opposed to p a rtic u la r interests), as »honest business m ethods« a n d »legal com petition« (d iffe re n t th an ou r B alkan m oney-gru b b er o rie n tatio n to w ard s u n e a rn e d profits), as the stress on p u rita n m orals in p u blic business life, a n d religious m o d eratio n a n d an »ethical sense of d uty« in p riv a te a n d a d m in istrativ e life, so th a t the p rin c ip les of m o ra lity and socialization always went against the logic of the capita list m ark et. Th ese p ara dox e s in the cap ita list or bourgeois p e rso n ality a re w ell know n from freq u en t an alysis of the cap italist society. The strict ideological thin kers in our country trie d to solve this

»bourgeois controversy« on a n ideological p lan e, stressing not w hat is positive in the bourgeois (th eir business a n d social m o rality) but w hat is n e gativ e (w ealth accu m u latio n a n d in creasin g class

distinction).

That explains why some otherwise very temperate criticisms (by our philosophers and Marxist-sociologists) of our society and the consequences of competition and a consumers attitude were vigorously at tacked by the »official« ideologists of our society.

It is ev id en t th a t such social processes b ro u g h t about a disolution of class consciousness in the w orkers, a n d a stre n g th e n in g of class consciousness am o n g th e m id d le class. It is becom ing m ore an d m ore evident, especially in th e a re a of social aw areness an d those forces th at shape it (mass m edia, o fficial ideology, cu ltu re creation) th a t our 387

society posesses less and less of a »socialist consciousness«, and that it, in fact, even refuses to have it. Recently, ideologists of the revived petty-bourgeois outlook have intimated that socialist consciousness and marxism are even a threat to this society and should be more thoroughly eliminated. Who could, on the basis of a serious sociological analysis, maintain that, on the universal level of our society, self-management has not turned against the working class?

POLITICAL DECENTRALIZATION AND THE FUTURE OF SMALL NATIONS

The recent measures toward political decentralization, the shifting of the majority of the responsibility from the Federation to the Republics, have aroused much »concern« among well-meaning West-European circles, not only because they are well-acquainted with the shortcomings and misfortunes of our economic system: galloping inflation, stagnation of economic growth, mass emigration of workers, continual growth of the deficit in the export-import trade balance, etc. Actually the reason for their concern is that Yugoslavia, through its internal difficulties, might lose its role as a bridge between East and West, as a factor of neutralization in the policy of the great powers and in block policy, which it has until now successfully performed. It is a well known fact that these measures have given rise to various plots and to »underground forces« which count on the further development of Yugoslav separatism, though the present situation of European politics does not favor them. From the standpoint of our own internal development, political decentralization should be regarded as the natural course of certain political processes, that have been defined by the theory of the withering away of the state«, i. e., by the strengthening of the self-managing basis of our society. That would have also included the integral processes of its foundations, had it not been for strong affirmation of contrary tendencies: public antagonism between the Republics, the publication of economic reports that revealed the unequal relations among the Republics, the stressing of the need for »Republic sovereignty«, without a corresponding change in the self-management system, mobilization of »national interests« along with political tensions used as a means of pressure on others, the revival of nationalism in one part of the intelligentsia (probably also in one part of the disorganized workers), manipulation of rumors, and irrational factors - all this clearly shows that the leadership of this country is not sufficiently familiar with the »strategy of social innovation«, which presupposes a sober and thoughtful introduction of changes, but uses the old methods of creating psychoses, confusion, mutual blackmailing, shocking the public, the procedure of »cold and hot showers«, so as to make the troubled and perplexed public realize that there fortunately exists a »deux ex machina« who is by his improsivations the only one capable of settling our situation and that is the narrow circle of our »political vertical«, the bureaucratic élite whose political pragmatism reveals in such situations its true vitality and raison d'etre.

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so ciety posesses less a n d less o f a » so cialist conscio u sn ess«, a n d t h a t it, in fac t, ev e n refu ses to h a v e it. R e c e n tly, id eo lo g ists o f th e re v iv e d p e tty -b o u rg e o is o u tlo o k h a v e in tim a

te d th a t so c ia list con sciousness and marx ismare even a threat to this so ciety and should be more thoroughly eliminated. Who could, on the basis of a serious sociological analysis, maintainthat, on the universallevelofour society, selfmanagementhas not turnedagainst the working class?

POLITICALDECENTRALIZATIONANDTHEFUTU REOFSMALL

NATIONS

The recent measures to ward political decentralization, the shifting of the majority of the responsibility from the Federation to the Republics, have aroused much wconcern «among well-meaning West-Europeancircles, not only because the yare well-acquainted with the shortcomings and misfortunes of oureconomic system: galloping inflation, stagnation of economic growth, massemigration of workers, continual growth of the deficit in the export-import trade balance, etc.

A c tu a lly th e re a s o n fo r th e ir c o n c ern is t h a t Y u g o s la v ia, th ro u g h its in te r n a l d iffic u ltie s, m ig h t lose its ro le as a b rid g e b e tw e e n E a s t a n d W e st, as a fa c to r o f n e u tr a liz a tio n in th e p o lic y o f th e g r e a t p o w e rs a n d in blo ck p o licy, w h ic h it h a s u n til n o w su c ce ssfu lly p e rfo rm e d.

It is a well k nown fact that these measures have given rise to v a rio u s p lo ts a n d to » u n d e rg ro u n d fo rces« w h ic h counton the fur therdevelopment of Yugos lavsepa ra tis m, though the present situation of Europeanpo litic s does notfavorthem. From the standpointofouro w n in te r n a l d e v e lo p m e n t, p o litic a l d e c e n tr a liz a tio n sh o u ld b e re g a r d e d as th e n a tu r a l co u rse o f c e rta in p o litic alprocesses, thathavebeendefinedbythetheoryo f th e » w ith e rin g a w a y o f th e sta te «, i. e., b y th e s tre n g th e n in g o f th e s e lf -m a n a g in g basis o f o u r so ciety. T h a t w o u ld h a v e also in c lu d e d th e in te g ra l p ro cesses o f its f o u n d a tions, had it not been for strong affirm a tion of contra ry te n d e n c ie s : p u b lic a n ta g o n is m b e tw e en th e R ep u b lics, the public a tion of e conomic reports that revealed th e u n e q u a l re la tio n s a m o n g th e R e p u b lic s, th e stre s sin g o f th e n e e d fo r » R e p u b lic so v e re ig n ty «, w ith o u t a correspondingchangeintheself-managementsy

stem, mobiliz a tion of » na tion a l in te rests«

a lo n g w ith p o litic a l ten sio n s u se d as a m ea n s o f p re s s u re o n o th ers, th e r e v iv a l o f n a tio n a lis m in on e p a r t o f th e in te llig e n ts ia (p ro b a b ly also in on e p a r t o f th e d iso rg a n iz e d w o rk e rs), m a n ip u la tio n o f ru m o rs, a n d irr a tio n a l fa c to rs - a ll th is c le a rly show s th a t th e le a d e r s h ip o f th is c o u n try is n o t s u ffic ie n tly f a m ilia r w ith th e » s tra te g y o f so cial in n o v a tio n «, w h ich p resu p p o se s a so b e r a n d th o u g h tf u l in tr o d u c tio n o f c h an g es, b u t uses th e o ld m eth o d s o f c re a tin g p sy ch o ses, co n fu sio n, m u tu a l b la c k m a ilin g, sh o c k in g th e p u b lic, th e p ro c e d u re o f » co ld a n d h o t sho w ers«, so as to m ak e th e tro u b le d a n d p e rp le x e d p u b lic rea liz e th a t th e re fo rtu n a te ly ex ists a » d e u x ex m a c h in a « w h o is b y h is im -

p ro siva tio ns are the only one capable of settling our situation and that is the narrow circle of our » political vertical«, the bureaucratic lite w hose political pragmatists m re v e a l s in such a situation its true vitality and reason for being.

As was previously mentioned, political and economic decentralization are in the true spirit, not only of our theory of the withering away of the state, but also with the modern concept of a more dynamic and immediate way to govern the development of society. Of course, under one condition: that we know and rationally and clearly state what exactly should be de-centralized, in what manner and with what goals in the conditions of the extremely complicated organization of our modern society, and which, besides, wants to accelerate its development, so as to take its place among the industrially developed countries. We are missing exactly such a concept and that is the reason why rational argumentation is replaced by cheap demagogery. It is evident that it was impossible to find a common dialogue in a multi-national society, while the newly created centers of financial and trade power threatened to destroy the balance of inter-national relationships. So, in reality, the »national problem« was resurrected along with the class problem, and the further development of our inter-national relations will greatly depend on the manner in which the class relations are solved. Naturally, those who presently try to solve this situation with political means do not want to speak about how it was brought about. How did it happen that the surplus value of labor was first taken away from the working class to form »state capital«, and how could this »state capital« again be taken away by a political decision to be turned into »group capital«, i. e. twice- alienated capital, into capital that has been »normalized« in its functions in the traditional capitalist form.7

It is very symptomatical that when some politicians have suggested a »nationalization of financial/trade capital« they encountered the strongest opposition from other politicians, although nationalization is

⁷ In connection with the problem of de-governmentalize financial and trade capital from the state, we read in the mentioned Assembly report from last year the following: »Well known are the discussions about the alienated fluid capital; about the unique positions in which three federal banks found themselves thanks to state capital, the positions of a few big export-import houses in the capital (Belgrade) who took the torch from the state monopoly in foreign trade, including some insurance companies. Such a distribution of free money resources was effected by many circumstances in which cycles of social reproduction under the conditions of the centralistic state administered economy and the cycles of the transformation of alienated state property, most of all money resources, into resources that are now at the disposal of specific organizations of associated work (sic!). This concerns resources which under centralistic administrative administration alienated the state from the economy and from the work (complete amortization funds, pension funds, fluid reserves) and which it according to the logic of state property, placed in processes of reproduction that it might later reproduce as alienated money substance, as financial capital«.

This situation is well-known and a lot has been said about it in the most know-ledgeable places, but the question remains open: have these resources been the first of all separated from the working class and producers with the help of the state, transformed into resources of *associated (financial trade) work* that is to say transformed into independent centers of financial/trade power, according to the logic of state administered economy*, or according to the logic of de-government-alization, namely giving these centers of financial power the status of independent self-managing organization. It seems to us that this latter instance is the case, and that means that it is not a problem of etatism, but a specific concept of self-management.

ore dynam ic a n d im m ediate w ay to g o vern the d evelopm ent of society. O f course, u n d e r one condition: th a t we know a n d ratio n ally a n d clearly state w h at ex actly should be de-cen tralized, in w h at m an n e r an d w ith w hat goals in the conditions of the ex trem ely com plicated o rg anization of o u r m o d ern society, a n d which, besides, w an ts to accelerate its d ev elopm ent, so as to tak e its p lace am ong th e in d u stria lly developed countries. W e a re m issing ex actly such a concept an d th at is the reason w hy ratio n al arg u m e n ta tio n is rep laced by cheap dem agogery.

It is ev id en t th a t it w as im possible to fin d a comm on dialogue in a m u lti-n a tio n a l society, w hile the new ly created centers of financial a n d tra d e p ow er th re a te n e d to destroy th e balan ce of in te r-n a tio n a l relatio n sh ip s. So, in rea lity , the » n atio n al problem « was resurrected alo n g w ith the class problem , a n d the fu rth e r d evelopm ent of our in te r-n a tio n a l relatio n s w ill g rea tly dep en d on the m an n e r in which th e class relatio n s a re solved. N a tu ra lly , those who presen tly try to solve this situ a tio n w ith p o litical m eans do n o t w an t to speak about how it was bro u g h t about. H o w d id it h ap p e n th a t the surplus value o f lab o r was first tak en a w ay from th e w o rk in g class to form »state cap ital« , a n d how could this »state cap ital« ag a in be tak en aw ay by a p o litical decision to be tu rn e d into »group cap ital« , i. e. tw ice- a lie n a te d ca p ita l, into ca p ita l th a t has been »norm alized« in its functions in th e tra d itio n a l ca p ita list fo rm .7

It is v e ry sy m p to m atical th a t w hen some p o litician s h av e suggested a » n atio n a liz a tio n of fin a n c ia l/tra d e cap ital« th ey en co untered the strongest opposition fro m o th er politicians, a lth o u g h n atio n a liz a tio n is 7 In connection w ith the problem of de-gov e rn m en talize finan cial an d trad e cap ita l from the state, we re a d in the m entio n ed A ssem bly rep o rt from last year the follow ing: » W ell know n are the discussions about the a lien ated tlu id cap ital; about the unique positions in which there e fed era l banks found them selves thanks to state c ap ital, the positions of a few big e x p o rt-im p o rt houses in the capital (B elgrade) who took th e torch from the state m onopoly in foreign trad e, including some in surance com panies. Such a d istrib u tio n of free m oney resources was effected by m an y circum stances in which cycles of social rep ro d u ctio n u n d er the conditions of the c e n tralistic state ad m in iste re d econom y and the cycles of the tran sform a tio n of a lie n a ted state p ro p erty, m ost of a ll m oney resources, into resources th a t are now at the disposal of specific organization s of associated w ork (sic!). T his concerns resources w hich u n d e r c e n tralistic ad m in istra tiv e a d m in istra tio n a lie n a te d the state from the

econom y an d from the w ork (com plete a m o rtizatio n funds, pension funds, flu id reserves) an d w hich it acc o rd in g to the logic of state pro p erty , placed in p ro cesses of re p ro d u ctio n th a t it m ight la te r rep ro d u c e as a lie n a te d m oney substance, as fin an c ial c apital«.

This situation is well-known and a lot has been said about it in the most know ledgeable places, but the question remains open: have these resources been the first of all separated from the working class and producers with the help of the state, transformed into resources of sassociated (fin ancial trade) work that is to say transformed into independent of in ancial trade power, according to the logic sof state administered economy, or according to the logic of de-government-alization, namely giving these centers of financial power the status of independent self-managing organization. It seems to us that this latter instance is the case, and that means that it is not a problem of etatism, but a specific concept of selfmanagement.

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no longer considered a revolutionary measure in capitalism. Here we must raise the question of how some political circles come to be the "political service" of the new centers of financial/trade capital in our society? Besides the idea of Republic "statehood" we have also a thesis of "national economies" within the individual Republics, while the unity of the economic system is still stressed, at least declaritively. It is not out of the question that tendencies toward enclosure into Republic boundaries will be present in this phase, and that they will be prompted by pressures from nationalist and separatist circles. When we speak about small nations and such are all the nations which constitute present day Yugoslavia, we must see, clearly, the developmental alternatives imposed by each step of political and economic decentralization.

Firstly, we must make it clear that the idea of decentralization of the economic system represents a very common practice in the highly developed capitalistic countries, the goal being the increase in efficiency of the production potential. Therefore we cannot represent any form of decentralization as a weakening of this potential. The decentralization of economic decision is carried out, however, under the conditions of an increasing integration (a more developed division of labor, increased coordination in production) of the economic system. Decentralization by no means contradicts the above mentioned increased integration of the economic system. We must not forget that the contemporary economic system is a heterogenous and polymorphous creation, which approaches highly integrated »big systems« - for instance, in the field of energy, telecommunications, and the transport system - comes down to the moderately integrated systems of production in the greater part of basic industry, and even slightly integrated systems (production of consumers goods). The true integration of the system is chiefly carried out by control and regulation of the whole economic system by means of special functional interventions by state and social funds, whose aim is not to preserve a certain balance of economic processes, but also to prepare and ensure developmental processes in those technologically most important sectors of the overall economic development. Here we encounter the dilemmas of the small nation: it is obvious that decentralization can be a success, even when tolerating the »national« and the »regional« and the narrowed forms of production, in those sectors of economy, that can do without a high integration percentage and big investments and also without a highly developed scientific and technological basis (here I mean also the education of highly qualified cadres). However, such is not the case with an economy with a high integration and a developed scientific/technological basis. In this case some of the rules of the »big system« must be obeyed. This does not exclude a decentralization of decision making in a factory or its sections, after the whole development has been carefully planned, because we should not mix the planning of developmental processes with a centralized, statist, administrative way of decision making. Workers self-management can function very well in those branches of economy that are otherwise very dependent of a well planned developmental policy.

» p o litic a l serv ice« *of th e n e w c e n te rs o f f in a n c ia l/tr a d e c a p ita l in o u r so ciety? B esides th e id e a o f R e p u b lic » s ta te h o o d « w e h a v e also a th esis o f » n a tio n a l eco nom ies« w ith in the in d iv id u a l R ep u b lic s, w h ile the u n ity of the eco nom ic sy stem is s till stre sse d, a t le a s t d e c la ritiv e ly. I t is n o t o u t o f th e q u e stio n th a t te n d e n c ie s to w a rd e n c lo su re in to R e p u b lic b o u n d a rie s w ill be p re s e n t in th is p h a se, a n d t h a t th e y w ill be p ro m p te d b y p ressu re s fro m n a tio n a list a n d s e p a r a tist circles. Whenwespeak abouts m a ll n a tio n s a n d su ch a re a ll th e n a tio n s w h ic h c o n stitu te p re s e n t d a y Y u g o s la v ia, w e m u st see, c le a rly, th e d e v e lo p m e n ta l a lte rn a tiv e s im p o se d b y e a ch s te p o f p o litic a l a n d e c o n o m ic d e c e n tra liz a tio n, F irs tly, w e m u st m ak e it c le a r t h a t th e id e a o f d e c e n tr a liz a tio n o f th e eco n o m ic sy stem re p re s e n ts a v e ry co m m o n p ra c tic e in th e h ig h ly d e v e lo p e d c a p ita lis tic c o u n tries, th e g o a l b e in g th e in c re a se in e ffic ien cy o f th e p ro d u c tio n p o te n tial. Thereforewecannotrepresentany form of dec en tra liz a tion as a weakening of this potential. Thedec e n tra liz a tio n o f eco n o m ic d e c isio n is c a rr ie d o u t, h o w e ver, under the conditions of a n in creasing in tegration (a m o re d e v e lo p e d d iv is io n o f la b o r, in c re a se d c o o rd in a tio n in p ro d u c tio n) of the e c o n o m ic system.

Decentralizationbynomeanscontradictstheabovem e n tio n e d in cre a se d in te g r a tio n o f th e eco n o m ic sy stem. We must not forget that the contemporary economicsy stem is a h e te ro g e n o u s a n d p o ly m o rp h ous c re a tio n, w h ic h a p p ro a c h e s h ig h ly in te g r a te d » b ig sy stem s« - fo r in stance, in the field of energy, telecommunications, and the transport system - comes down to the moderately in te gra te d sy stem s o f pro d u c tio n in the gre a terpart o f b a sic in d u stry, a n d e v e n s lig h tly in te g r a te d system s (p ro d u c tio n o f co n su m ers go o d s). T h e tr u e in te g r a tio n o f th e sy stem is c h ie fly c a rr ie d o u t by c o n tro l a n d r e g u la tio n o f th e w h o le econ o m ic sy stem b y m ea n s o f sp e cia l f u n c tio n a l in te rv e n tio n s b y s ta te a n d so cial fu n d s, w h o se a im is n o t to p re s e rv e a c e rta in b a la n c e o f eco n o m ic p rocesses, b u t also to p r e p a r e a n d e n s u re d e v e lo p m e n ta l p ro cesses in tho se te c h n o lo g ic a lly m o st im p o r ta n t secto rs of the overall economic development. Hereweenc o u n te r th e d ile m m a s o f th e sm a ll n a tio n : it is obv io u s t h atdecentralizationcanbeasuccess, evenwhentolera tin g th e » n a tio n a l« a n d th e » re g io n a l« a n d th e n a rr o w

e d fo rm s o f p ro d u c tio n, in th o se secto rs o f e co n o m y, t h atcandowithoutahighintegrationpercentageandb ig in v e s tm e n ts a n d a lso w ith o u t a h ig h ly d e v e lo p e d sc ie n tific a n d te c h n o lo g ic a l b asis (h ere I m e a n also th e e d u c a tio n o f h ig h ly q u a lif ie d c a d re s). H o w e v e r, su ch is n o t th e case w ith a n eco n o m y w ith a h ig h in te g r a tio n a n d a d e v e lo p e d s c ie n tif ic /te c h n o lo g ic a l b asis. I n th is case som e o f th e ru le s o f th e »big sy stem « m u st be o b ey ed . T h is d oes n o t e x c lu d e a d e c e n tr a liz a tio n o f d e c isio n m a k in g in a fa c to ry o r its sections, a f terthewholedevelopmen thasbeencarefullyplanned,becauseweshouldnot m ix th e p l a n n in g o f d e v e lo p m e n ta l p ro cesses w ith a c e n tra liz e d, s ta tis t, a d m in is tra tiv e w a y of d e c isio n m ak in g. Work ers self-management can function very well in tho se branches of economy that are otherwisevery d ependentofawellplanneddevelopmentalpolicy.

Accordingly where does the danger lie in the development of a small nation's economy? It lies in the enclosing of the entire economy into regional units following the example of parts of that economy which can successfully do so, which means seeking optimal independence and autarch on the level of a technically weakly developed economy. (Such as, for instance, tourism which some limited economists like to parade.) Naturally, some of the defenders of the policy of enclosure in one's national boundaries stress the possibility of cooperation with more developed economies outside of Yugoslavia (namely with strong industrial corporations), which we know give their partners full licenses or that level of technological development that cannot be competitively dangerous. The suggestions of the foreign capital in our country are often well received. It is not necessary to prove that such »independence« would mean the continuation of dependence on foreign capital: i. e. returning to the situation of pre-war Yugoslavia. There is no doubt that the only healthy developmental alternative for a small nation is to find the optimal developmental possibilities for the technologically well developed branches of the economy (not all of them can be well developed, it is necessary to create priorities for the more dynamic or propulsive branches), expanding accross the boundaries of national economy, first in the area where there already exists a common market, that is - in Yugoslavia, but also outside of Yugoslavia, that is by integration into the European economy; that is, integration where it is of a technological nature and not by selling our small difuse capacities.

I stress this because it is the problem of highly educated cadres and of scientific technological policy in general, which I consider of the greatest importance in the development of small nations. The Western European nations which used to be the »Great Powers« - Germany, France, Italy have realized that they are too small in spite of the fact that they have fifty to seventy million inhabitants, each of them realizes as far as the development of the most modern industries is concerned as well as the liberation of economic potentials for the technologically most significant and most developed enterprises (for instance, the production of computers which is a monopoly of the U. S. A.) that they have to undertake certain measures to intergrate their economies. This problem is in greater relief in the case of small nations who simultaneously want to keep a certain independence of their economies. This problem is in greater relief in the case of small temporary economic and scientific development. They cannot forsake such ambitions, in as much as they do not want the most gifted and talented cadres to leave the country because they do not have the possibilities for personal advancement. Regarding one's self as a province or appendix of more developed economies means openly admitting to your best minds that the doors are open for them to go to the stronger and more developed who anyway are the stimulators of our development - our masters!

So that we might be able to retain our best and most gifted cadres in small nations we must blaze the trail for a healthy developmental economic and social policy, establish which are the most dynamic ineconomy w hich can successfully do so, w hich m eans seeking optim al in d ep en d ence a n d au tarch on the level of a tech nically w eakly developed economy. (Such as, for instance, tourism w hich some lim ited economists like to parad e.) N a tu rally, some of the d efenders of the policy of en closure in one's n a tio n a l bou n d aries stress the possibility of cooperation w ith m ore developed economies outside of Y u goslavia (nam elv -

w ith stro n g in d u stria l corporations), w hich we know give th eir p a rtners full licenses or that level of technological developm ent that c an not be competitively d angerous. The suggestions of the foreign capital in our co untry are o ften w ell received. It is n ot necessary to prove that such »independence« would mean the continuation of dependence on fo reign cap ital: i. e. re tu rn in g to the situ atio n of p re -w a r Y u g o slavia. T h e re is no do u b t th a t the only h e a lth y d ev elopm ental a lte rn ativ e fo r a sm all n a tio n is to fin d th e o ptim al d evelopm ental possibilities for the tech n ologically well developed b ranches of the economy (not all of them can be well developed, it is necessary to create p rio rities for the m ore dy n am ic or p ropulsive branches), e x p an d in g accross the bou n d aries of n a tio n a l economy, first in the a re a w here th ere a lready exists a com m on m ark et, th a t is - in Y u g oslavia, b u t also outside of Y ugoslavia, th a t is by in te g ratio n into the E u ro p ean economy: th a t is, in te g ratio n w here it is of a technological n a tu re a n d n o t by selling ou r sm all difuse capacities.

I stress this because it is the problem of high ly edu cated cadres and of scientific technological policy in gen eral, w hich I consider of the g reatest im po rtan ce in the d evelopm ent of sm all nations. The We ste rn E u ro p ean n atio n s w hich used to be the » G reat Pow ers« -G erm any, Fran ce, Ita ly h av e realized th a t they a re too sm all in spite of the fact th a t th ey h a v e fifty to seventy m illio n in h ab itan ts, each of them re a lizes as f a r as th e dev elo p m en t of th e m ost m o dern industries is concern ed as w ell as the lib e ratio n of econom ic po ten tials for the tech nolo g ically m ost sig n ific a n t a n d m ost d eveloped en terprises (for in stance, the p ro d u ctio n o f com puters w hich is a m onopoly of the U.S.A.) that they have to u n d e rta k e ce rta in m easures to in te rg ra te th eir economies. Th is problem is in greater relief in the case of small nations w ho sim u ltan eo u sly w a n t to keep a ce rta in in dependence of th eir economies. This problem is in greater relief in the case of small tem p o rary econom ic a n d scientific d evelopm ent. T h e y cannot forsake such am bitions, in as m uch as they do not wan t the most g ifted and ta le n te d cadres to leave the co u n try because they do n o t h av e th e possibilities for perso n al a d v an cem en t. R e g a rd

in g one's self as a province o r a p p e n d ix o f m ore dev elo p ed econom ies m eans o p enly a d m ittin g to yo u r best m inds th a t th e doors a re o pen fo r them to go to the stro n g er a n d m ore d ev eloped w ho a n y w a y a re the stim u lato rs of o u r dev elo p m en t - o ur m asters!

So th a t we m ig h t be ab le to re ta in ou r best a n d m ost gifted cadres in sm all n ation s we m ust blaze th e tra il fo r a h e a lth y d ev elopm ental econom ic a n d social policy, establish w hich are the m ost d y nam ic in

dustries possessing the most highly developed technology as opposed »to economic hodge podge«, to fully exploit the production potentials of the Yugoslav sphere, insure integration under conditions of an equal footing as concerns technological development with European countries, develop a wide network of European educational institutions (with an exchange of university cadres) in our own country and finally create confidence among the producers and intelligentsia that personal sacrifice for our country has its rewards, and this, in my opinion, can only be achieved if small and undeveloped nations have a developed social consciousness that in some respects they are ahead of the developed nations and that can in our case only be our concept of socialist revolution with its aspiration to create a self-managing socialism. That is exactly what has up to now, in spite of all our typical economic and social failures brought us prestige and good will among the progressive part of humanity. Naturally, there are at large in our country the forces of our traditional backwardness which would like to destroy all of this. Our recent and earlier history has shown that there exists a certain kind of »patriot« who is most satisfied when he can serve a foreign master.

TO BE A COMMUNIST IS NEITHER A CLASS NOR NATIONAL – BUT AN EXISTENTIAL CHOICE

Every social revolution has its internal dynamics, and the socialist revolution is no exception. It can be concisely described as a phase of totalization during which identification with the goals of the revolution is at its maximum, when the individual »I« becomes one with the new social »We«, when the utopian ideal is closest to the social reality and the phase of de-totalization, when the zeal of identification with the goals of revolution is diminishing, when the individual »I« starts differing from the new social »We« (when »We« becomes »They«), when a gap appears between the utopian ideal and the social reality (the gap between Words and Deeds), when the real structure of society with its social and ideological stratifications rises to the surface (structures appear when movements are weakening), when in place of joint goals there arises more and more talk of the proper and improper nature of society's institutions. The future is becoming ever more distant on the horizon, and the past is burdened with horrible memories, which once again seek a right to live.

Naturally, in the phase of de-totalization it becomes evident to what extent the revolutionary changes are really changes, to what extent the new social consciousness is really a »socialist consciousness« and not only an empty phrase behind which are masked old and familiar forms in new attire: petit bourgeois mentality, individual and collective egotism, social backwardness, bigotry, nationalism, chauvinism... Paraphrasing Nietzsche we could say that socialism apepars as that force that steadily aspires the new but hears forth the old. Conservatives are naturally pleased with this discovery. Surprised, these conservative elements, who in our country swore in 1945 that they would

»to eco n o m ic h o d g e p o d g e«, to f u lly e x p lo it th e p ro d u c tio n p o te n tia ls o f th e Y u g o s la v sp h e re, in su re in te g r a tio n u n d e r c o n d itio n s o f a n e q u a l fo o tin g as c o n cern s te c h n o lo g ic a l d e v e lo p m e n t w ith E u ro p e a n c o u n tries, developawidenetworkofEuropeaneducationa l in s titu tio n s (w ith a n e x c h a n g e o f u n iv e rs ity c a d re s) in o u r o w n c o u n try a n d fin a lly c re a te c o n fid e n c e a m o ng the producers and in telligents iathatpersonal sac rific e fo r o u r c o u n try h a s its re w a rd s, a n d th is, in m y o p in io n, c a n o n ly be a c h ie v e d if sm a ll a n d u n d e v e lo p e d n a tio n s h a v e a d e v e lo p e d so cial co n sciousness th a t in som e respects they are aheadofthedevelopednations an d that can in our case only be our concept of socialist re v o lu tio n w ith its a s p ir a tio n to c re a te a s e lf -m a n a g in g so cialism. That is exactly whathas up to now, in spite of all o u r t y p ical eco n o m ic a n d so cial fa ilu re s b ro u g h t us p re s tig e a n d g o o d w ill a m o n g th e p ro g re ssiv e p a r t o f h u m a nity. Naturally, thereareatlargeinourcountry the fo rces o f o u r t r a d itio n a l b a c k w a rd n e s s w h ic h w o u ld lik e to d e s tro y a ll o f this. O u r re c e n t a n d e a rlie r h is to r y has shownthat the reexists a certaink indof» patriot« w h o is m o st s a tis fie d w h e n h e c a n se rv e a fo re ig n m aste r.

T O B E A C O M M U N I S T IS N E I T H E R A C L A S S N O R N A T I O N A L - B U T

ANEXISTENTIALCHOICE

E v e ry so cial r e v o lu tio n h a s its in te r n a l d y n a m ic s, a n d th e so c ia list r e v o lu tio n is no ex c ep tio n. I t c a n b e c o n c ise ly describedasaphaseoftotalizationduringwhich id e n tific a tio n w ith the g o a ls o f the r e v o lu tio n is a t its m ax im u m, w h e n th e in d iv id u a l » I« b eco m es o n e w ith th e n e w so cial » W e «, w h e n th e u to p ia n id e a l is clo sest to th e so c ia l r e a lity a n d th e p h a se o f d e -to ta liz a tio n, w h e n th ezealofidentificationwiththegoalsofrevolutionisd im in is h in g, w h e n th e in d iv id u a l »I« s ta r ts d iff e rin g fro m th e n e w so cial » W e « (w h e n » W e « b ecom es » T h e y «), w h e n a g a p a p p e a rs b e tw e en th e u to p ia n id e a l a n d th e so c ia l r e a lity (th e g a p b e tw e en W o rd s a n d D e e d s), w h e n therealstructure of society with its social and ideo log ica l s tr a tif ic a tio n s rises to the s u rfa c e (stru c tu re s a p p e a r w h e n m o v em e n ts a re w e a k e n in g), w h e n in p la c e o f jo in t g o a ls th e re a rise s m o re a n d m o re ta lk o f th e p r o p e randimpropernature of society's in stitutions. The fu

tu r e is b ec o m in g e v e r m o re d is ta n t o n th e h o riz o n, a n d th e p a s t is b u r d e n e d w ith h o r rib le m em o ries, w h ic h on ce a g a in seek a r ig h t to liv e.

N a tu r a lly, in th e p h a se o f d e -to ta liz a tio n it becom es e v id e n t to w h a t e x te n t th e r e v o lu tio n a ry c h a n g es a re r e a lly c h a n g es, to w h a t e x te n t th e n e w so cial con sciousness is r e a lly a » s o c ia list conscio u sn ess« a n d n o t o n ly a n e m p ty p h ra s e b e h in d w h ic h a re m a sk e d o ld a n d f a m ilia r fo rm s in n e w a ttire: p e tit b o u rg eo is m e n ta lity, in d iv id u a l a n d c o lle c tiv e eg o tism, so cial b a c k w a rd n e ss, b ig o try, n a tio n a lis m, c h a u v in is m...

Paraphrasing Nietzschewecould say that socialism a pepars as that forcethat steadily aspires thenew but hears forth theold. Conservatives are naturally pleased with this discovery. Surprised, theseconservative elements, who in ourcountry swore in 1945 that they would 392

no longer pronounce the word »socialism« found themselves surrounded by those who during the time of their retiscence were unusually vocal. Are not revolution destroyers of human élan and illusions and do they not leave behind countless living human skeletons who frightened by their own appearance flee into the garb and armor of medieval knights? But, it is obvious that there are no such shining and historically decorated garbs which could cover the nakedness of spirits who have lost youthful illusions. The loss of illusions can only be hidden by attainment of social power – the hiding of helplessness by illusory power.

The psychology of »fellow travellers of the revolution«, their zeal and downfall, pose the question of choice, as regards revolution and communism. As for revolutions, they evidently cannot be measured by the aforementioned oscillations because they contain epochal dimensions which escape superficial revolts. As far as communism is concerned, for the man who cares call himself a communist, it does not only exist as a class confrontation, as a conflict between communist and capitalist and does not vanish with the disappearance of class struggle, with the defeat and disappearance of capitalism, with the conversion of all people into working people. Communism does not exist because of its opposition to nationalism, as a bourgeois ideology, because of the battle against Kys' and Lon Nols' mercenaries in the service of imperialism and against many other and similar nationalists, not even for those who would extend the party membership card to »progressive nationalism« (which up to now has not succeeded in defining itself as such). It is obvious that communism surpasses both class and national alignment, that it carries in itself a dimension which is neither one nor the other in spite of being closely linked to class struggle and appears in class society as its negation. But this is not a negation, as some think, which loses its meaning with the disappearance of class struggle, when the working class is in the process of formation or just a new kind of national solidarity among all social strata. Communism carries in itself a positive, truly humane existential choice which can be realized only with the disappearance of class and other social antagonisms. Some of our preachers of »national communism« teach us that which Hegel very accurately described in the bourgeois society, that is, that it aspires social harmony within its own boundaries, but wars with everyone outside its boundaries. While communism represents the effort to overcome these Darwinistic characteristics of society, so as to bring the human species from the animalistic (or more precisely from the sub-animal level, because no animal species wars against its own kind) to a truly human level of existence. This is not a new aspiration of mankind, but communism expresses it more clearly and consistently than any other philosophy or ideology. That which represents the existential choice in communism is the desire for an authentic human society, a community of equal and free people. The modes of realizing it, the ways to achieve it are the subject of historical, political and sociological research.

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The psychology of »fellow travelle rs of the revolution«, their zeal a n d do w n fall, pose the question of choice, as reg ard s revolution and com m unism. As for revolutions, they evid ently cannot be m easured by the afo rem en tio n ed oscillations because th ey co ntain epochal d im ensions w hich escape su p erficial revolts. As fa r as comm unism is concerned, for the m an who cares call h im self a com m unist, it does not only exist as a class con fro n tatio n, as a conflict betw een comm unist a n d c ap italist a n d does not v anish w ith the d isap p earan ce of class struggle, with the d efeat and d isap pea rance of capitalism, with the conversion of all people into wo rking people. Com m unism does not exist because o f its opposition to natio n alism, as a bourgeois ideology, because of the b attle again st Kys' a n d L on N o ls' m ercenaries in the service of im p erialism a n d ag ain st m any o th er an d sim ilar n a tio n a lists, n o t even fo r those w ho w ould ex ten d the p a rty m em bership card to »progressive n atio n alism « (which up to now has not succeeded in d efin in g itself as such). It is obvious that com m unism surpasses both class a n d n a tio n a l alig n m en t, th a t it carries in itself a dim ension w hich is n e ith e r one n o r th e o th er in spite of b eing closely linked to class stru g g le a n d ap p e ars in class society as its n egation. But this is n ot a negation, as some think, which loses its m ean in g w ith the d isa p p ea ra n c e of class stru g g le, w hen the w o rking class is in the process of fo rm atio n o r ju st a new kind of n a tio n a l so lid a rity am ong all social stra ta . C om m unism carries in itself a positive, tru ly hu m an e ex iste n tial choice w hich can be realized only with the disappe arance of class and other social antag o n ism s. Some of ou r p reachers of »national com m unism « teach us th a t w hich H eg el v ery accu rately described in the bourgeois society, that is, that it aspires social harmony w ithin its own bo u n d aries, b u t w ars w ith everyone outside its b o undaries. While communism represents the effort to overcome these D arw in istic c h a racteristics of society, so as to b rin g the h u m an species from the a n im alistic (or m ore p recisely from the su b -an im al level, because no a n im al species w ars ag a in st its ow n kind) to a tru ly h u m an level of existence. T h is is n o t a new asp ira tio n of m an k in d, but comm unism expresses it m ore cle a rly a

n d co n sisten tly th a n an y o th er philosophy or ideology. That w hich rep resents the existential choice in communism is the desire for an authentich um an society, a community of equal and free people. The modes of realizing it, the ways to achieve it are the subject of historical, political and sociological research.

5 PRAXIS

Nowadays many refer to national feelings as a basic element not only of national but also of social identification. They are using it in an irrational and undefined form so that it might be used to defend the most disparate positions from extreme left to extreme right. In reality, it is most often used to hide and mystify the real positions and ideas which need the support of national feelings. However, from the view point of psychology and sociology the national feeling is no mystery. Many studies of a theoretical and experimental character have been dedicated to nationalism, so that nowadays we can very precisely state when it carries progressive tendencies and when it carries reactionary tendencies and positions. Namely, as all the other group identifications nationalism can rest upon two modes of identification between which the individual can oscillate, which lends to nationalism a markedly multiple and ambivalent meaning. In other words, it rests upon the mechanism »inter-group« solidarity and »extra-group« antagonism. The individual identifies with his group, feels that he belongs to it, feels that he is included in the group in intergroup relations regardless of whether this group is a family, tribe, nation or race. He notices and stresses the differences between himself and those outside his group. Some authors whose viewpoint is societal Darwinism, such as Felix Le Dantec, think that every social unit from family to nation can exist only if the unit has a common enemy, that means that antagonism toward someone outside one's group is a pre-condition for intra-group identification. So that the group might feel solidarity it must be conscious of its enemies. Machiavelli already knew the trick that by creating a »common enemy« it is possible to achieve group or national solidarity and by this means dispose of inner conflict and class struggle in society. This political trick has been used many times in history from antiquity to Hitler's time (who created the common enemy of the German nation in Jews and communists). Here the question arises whether intra-group identification can exist at all without an outside enemy, whether national feeling can be realized without animosity towards another nation. Research shows that there exists intra-group identification that does not necessarily create antagonism towards outer group elements. This is especially the case when intra-group identification extends to include all of mankind. The Romantic movement, which brought to life national feelings, also tried to develop this intra-group feeling for all of mankind (Hölderlin: »My love is all mankind«). When »in the national feeling« as a pre-condition of national identification hatred reigns against other nations or other social groups then we speak of ethno-centrism, about the continuous tendency to stress the advantages of one's own nation and blacken and destroy the values of another nation.

This kind of ethno-centrism is the essence of nationalism and therefore nationalism can never be progressive as is maintained by certain ignorant individuals. Ethno-centrism is the cause of national and group prejudices, systematic mis-representation of another nation, blind partiality, a continuous unfriendly disposition that easily takes on a form of verbal or even physical violence. Ethno-centrism has its

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g ro u p re la tio n s re g a rd le s s o f w h e th e r th is g ro u p is a fa m ily, trib e, n a tio n o r rac e. H e n o tices a n d stresses th e d iffe re n c e s b e tw e e n h im se lf a n d th o se o u tsid e h is g ro u p. Som e a u th o rs w h o se v ie w p o in t is so c ie tal D a rw in is m, su ch as F e lix L e D a n te c, th in k t h a t e v e ry so cial u n it fro m fa m ily to n a tio n c a n e x is t o n ly if th e u n it h a s a co m m o n e n em y, t h a t m ea n s t h a t a n ta g o n is m to w a rd so m e o n e o u tsid e o n e 's g ro u p is a p re -c o n d itio n fo r in tr a -g r o u p id e n tific a tio n . So th a t th e g ro u p m ig h t feel s o lid a rity it m u st b e conscio u s o f its e n em ies. M a -

c h ia v e lli a lr e a d y k n e w th e tric k t h a t b y c r e a tin g a » c o m m o n en em y «

it is p o ssib le to a c h ie v e g ro u p o r n a tio n a l s o lid a rity a n d b v th is m ea n s d isp o se of in n e r c o n flic t a n d class s tru g g le in so ciety . T h is p o litic a l tric k h a s b e e n u se d m a n y tim es in h is to ry fro m a n tiq u ity to H i t le r 's tim e (w ho c re a te d th e c o m m o n e n e m y o f th e G e r m a n n a tio n in J e w s a n d co m m u n ists). H e r e th e q u e stio n a rise s w h e th e r in tr a - g r o u p i d e n tific a tio n c a n e x ist a t a ll w ith o u t a n o u tsid e e n e m y , w h e th e r n a tio n a l fe e lin g c a n b e re a liz e d w ith o u t a n im o s ity to w a rd s a n o th e r n a tio n .

R e se a rc h show s th a t th e re ex ists i n tr a - g r o u p id e n tific a tio n t h a t does n o t n e c e ssa rily c re a te a n ta g o n is m to w a rd s o u te r g r o u p e le m e n ts. T h is is e sp ec ia lly th e case w h e n in tr a -g r o u p id e n tific a tio n e x te n d s to i n c lu d e a ll o f m a n k in d . T h e R o m a n tic m o v em e n t, w h ic h b ro u g h t

to life n a tio n a l fee lin g s, also trie d to d e v e lo p th is i n tr a - g r o u p fe e lin g fo r a ll o f m a n k in d (H o ld e rlin: »M y lo v e is a ll m a n k in d «). W h e n » in th e n a tio n a l fee lin g « as a p r e - c o n d itio n o f n a tio n a l id e n tific a tio n h a tr e d reig n s a g a in s t o th e r n a tio n s o r o th e r so c ia l g ro u p s th e n w e sp e a k o f e th n o -c e n tris m, a b o u t th e c o n tin u o u s te n d e n c y to stre ss th e a d v a n ta g e s o f o n e 's o w n n a tio n a n d b la c k e n a n d d e s tro y th e v a lu e s o f a n o th e r n a tio n.

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roots in a kind of primitive and infantile mentality, it is very stubborn so that the beginnings of culture coincide (appearance of morality, religion, philosophy, humanism,) with the fight against ethno-centrism. We can find it already among cannibal tribes but this does not mean that highly developed nations cannot descend to that level. Therefore, the struggle against ethno-centrism is a permanent mission of human culture, a continuous effort to raise man from a sub-human to a human level.

What are the obvious characteristics of ethno-centrism? For instance, a nationalist cannot comprehend that he can simultaneously be loyal to a narrower social creation and towards a wider one as well, that one can be a good Croat or Serb and at the same time a good Yugoslav or good European or good citizen of the world.8 Ethnocentrism creates all kinds of social prejudices which form all types of boundaries and obstacles for relations with other groups and nations. There are differing degrees of negative behavior towards other social groups, nations and national minorities that vary in intensity from mild to brutal: 1. gossip (a man burdened with prejudices can find special satisfaction if he can say something negative about the other nation; with the almost pleasure he spreads all sorts of rumors which destroy the prestige of the other nation and strengthened the antagonisms felt against it, this is not expressed solely in public but also in »entrance tickets to high society«: some time ago one could often hear lame jokes about the intelligentsia to show that wwe are among ourselves«, and now we hear such remarks directed against our »brotherly nations«); 2. avoidance (the individual avoids members of the national group he dislikes, breaks off normal human relationships and wants to have dealings with them only from a position of strength); 3. discrimination (efforts made to establish a certain way of treating various social groups - communists, national minorities, other nationalities, Jews, etc., - it first starts by not greeting the representatives of these enemy groups, then you make social activities impossible for them, subsequently they are branded and deprived of their civil rights); 4. physical assault (when the emotional and irrational

⁸ The well-known psychologist J. Piaget researched how Swiss children experience group identification. He discovered that children of seven years of age were not able to relate one group identification with another under group identification: *Have you heard of Switzerland? Yes. / What is it: One canton / What is Geneva? A town. / Where is Geneva? In Switzerland (but the child kept drawing one circle beside the other) Are you Swiss? No, I am from Geneva. /. Children between eight and ten managed to place the smaller circle within the larger one but some nationalists do not manage to do so even when they are forty.

In the official document of the U. N. 1949 discrimination is defined as follows: Discrimination includes all the forms of behavior based on differences which are based on natural and social categories which do not have any connection with individual abilities, merits or behavior. After this follows a long list of all forms of social discrimination that we meet in different societies. Among the different types of inequality they mention the ≠inequality of enjoying national rightss. This inequality caused lively reaction in our country during the recent census. Yugoslavia is also one of the signatories of the Declaration of Human Rights of the U. N. and is has naturally committed itself to fight against various forms of discrimination. Nevertheless, discrimination appeared in two parts of our census. The national identification ≠Yugoslave although existing for fifty years was proclaimed as

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» b ro th erly n atio n s«); 2. a voidance (the in d iv id u al avoids m em bers of the n a tio n a l gro u p he dislikes, breaks o ff n o rm al h u m an relationships a n d w ants to h av e dealin g s w ith them only from a position of stre n g th); 3. discrim in a tio n (efforts m ad e to establish a c ertain w ay of tre a tin g v arious social g roups - com m unists, n a tio n a l m inorities, o ther n a tio n alities, Jew s, etc., - it first sta rts by n o t g ree tin g th e rep re se n tatives of these enem y groups, the n you m ake social activities im p o ssible fo r them, subsequently they a re b randed activities im p o ssible for them; subsequently they a re b randed and deprived of their civil rights); 9.4. physical assault (when the emotional and irrational 8 The well-known psychologist J. Piag et researched how Swiss child renex perience groupide n tification. He discovered that child renes seven years of age were not able to relate one groupide n tification with an other under groupidentification:

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/ W h a t is G eneva?

A town. / W h e re is G eneva? In S w itzerlan d (but the child keot draw in g one circle beside the other) A re you Swiss? N o, I am from G eneva, f. C h ild ren betw een eight an d ten m anage d to place the sm aller circle w ithin the la rg e r one but some n a tio n alists do not m anage to do so even w hen th ey a re forty.

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an d is has n a tu ra lly com m itted itself to fight again st various form s of d iscrim in ation. N evertheless, d isc rim in atio n a p p e a re d in tw o p arts of our census. T h e n a tio n al id e n tific a tio n »Y ugoslav« a lth o u g h existing fo r fifty years was p roclaim ed as 395

impulses reach a certain intensity the verbal aggressiveness is transformed into physical violence, rumors are transformed into rebellion and chattering into genocide); ¹⁰ 5. slaughter (lynching, pogroms, massacres are consequences of a belief in that a biological threat exists, social Darwinism, the successe of a »final solution« for a nation whose presence is undesirable).

In spite of the fact that differences within a society or nation are greater than the differences between two nations after they have reached a similar level of development, nationalists try to stress the difference between nations and their culture (which is universal) and want to diminish the differences within their own nation. They are convinced that the differences within their own nation are not the consequences of real social relations but the consequences of some imported ideas. Xenophobia, hatred of all foreigners and their influence and against everybody who wants to speak in the name of something supra-national and universally huma is construed to be a destruction of national identity and existence. Ethno-centrism expresses its patriotism as hatred against foreign ideas and agents who import foreign ideas. It is obvious that the strangers and foreign ideas are used as a scapegoat of one's own misfortunes. The mechanism for the transfer of hate into outer elements, due to inner conflicts and frustrations, has been explained by psychoanalysis a long time ago. Nationalism and chauvinism in a developed society are recognizable as a collective neurosis and it is no wonder that it gathers a great number of imbalanced an immature personalities and often there occurs an unexpected fusion of »primitive mentality« or »primitive types with tribal dispositions« with intellectuals who are frustrated in their ambitions, torn by their unsolved conflicts, wavering in their goals, yearning for strong social authority and a strict social order. When social movements veer to the right, there is a reduction of the I. O. factor and a weakening of moral integrity among the adherents as was experimentally proved. This is the reason why we find among them so many prestigious plagerists, falsificators and card cheats. Numerous researches have confirmed the desire for authoritarian government among right wing intellectuals. The impotence of their personal polit-

nationally uncommital, and the religious identification was completely excluded from the form even though it is a guaranteed right and religious affiliation represents a very important social aspect for all kinds of scientific analysis. The citizens who have been affected by this discrimination had a perfect right to protest to the U. N. and to draw attention to the fact that the Yugoslav government does not abide by its commitment.

¹⁰ At the Nuremberg trial Rosenberg and Streicher the ideologists of the Nazi party defended themselves saying that they were not responsible for the deaths of two and one half million Jews at Auschwitz because they did not assume that their writings could cause such evil. However, the commander of the concentration camp Colonel Hoess said in his defense that such writings induced him to consider the exterminations of Jews a "normal things" in the interest of the German nation. French law courts punished collaborating intellectuals more severely than common collaborators because they were viewed as instigators of collaboration more responsible than common collaborators. Such an outlook is justified and this example should be kept in mind.

e) ;10 5. sla u g h te r (ly n c h in g , p o g ro m s, m a s sacres a re conseq u en ces o f a b e lie f in t h a t a b io lo g ic a l th r e a t exists, so cial D a rw in is m , th e successe o f a » fin a l s o lu tio n « fo r a n a tio n w h o se p rese n c e is u n d e s ira b le).

In spite of the fact that differences with in a society or n a tio n a re g r e a te r t h a n th e d iffe re n c e s b e tw e e n tw o n a tionsaftertheyhavereachedasimilarlevelofdevelo p m e n t, n a tio n a lis ts tr y to stress th e d iffe re n c e b e tw e en n a tions and their culture (which is universal) and want to d im in ish the d ifferences with in their ownnation. The v a re c o n v in c e d t h a t th e d iffe re n c e s w ith in th e ir o w n n a tio n a re n o t th e co h seq u en ces o f r e a l so cial re la tio n s b ut the consequences of some importedideas. Xenophob ia, hatredofall foreigners and their influenceandag a in s t e v e ry b o d y w h o w a n ts to sp e a k in th e n a m e of so methingsupra-nationalanduniversallyhumaiscon s tru e d to be a d e s tru c tio n o f n a tio n a l id e n tity a n d existe n ce. E th n o -c e n tris m e x p re s s es its p a trio tis m as h a tr e d against fore ignideasandagentswhoimport fore ign id ea s. I t is o b v io u s t h a t th e s tr a n g e rs a n d f o re ig n id ea s a re use d as a s c a p e g o a t o f o n e 's o w n m is fo rtu n e s. T h e m e c h a n ism fo r th e tr a n s f e r o f h a te in to o u te r e le m e n ts, d u e to in n e r c o n flicts a n d f ru s tra tio n s, h a s b e e n e x p la in e d b y p s y c h o a n a ly s is a lo n g tim e ago.

N a tion a lis m a n d c h a u v in is m in a d e v e lo p e d so c ie ty a re re c o g n iz a b le as a c o lle c tiv e n eu ro sis a n d it is n o w o n d e r t h a t it g a th e r s a g r e a t n u m b e r o f im b a la n c e d a n im m a tu re p e rs o n a litie s a n d o fte n th e r e o c cu rs a n u n e x p e c te d fu sio n o f » p rim itiv e m e n ta lity « o r » p rim itiv e ty p es w ith trib a l d isp o sitio n s« w ith in te lle c tu a ls w h o a re f r u s tr a te d in th e ir a m b itio n s, to rn by th e ir u n s o lv e d c o n flicts, w a v e r in g in th e ir g o als, y e a rn in g fo r s tro n g so cial a u th o r ity a n d a s tr ic t s o c ia l o rd e r. W h e n social m o v em e n ts v e e r to th e rig h t, th e re is a r e d u c tio n o f th e I. Q.

a d h e re n ts as w as e x p e rim e n ta lly p ro v e d . T h is is th e re a s o n w h y w e f in d a m o n g th em so m a n y p restig io u s p la g e ris ts , fa ls ific a to rs a n d c a rd ch e ats. N u m e ro u s rese a rch e s h a v e c o n firm e d th e d e s ire fo r a u th o r ita r ia n g o v e rn m e n t a m o n g r ig h t w in g in te lle c tu a ls. T h e im p o te n c e o f th e ir p e rs o n a l p o lit-n a tio n a lly u n c o m m ita l, a n d th e re lig io u s id e n tific a tio n w as c o m p le te ly ex c lu d e d fro m

fa c to r a n d a w e a k e n in g o f m o ra l in te g r ity a m o n g th e

th e fo rm e v e n th o u g h it is a g u a ra n te e d r ig h t a n d re lig io u s a f f ilia tio n r e p re se n ts a v e ry im p o rta n t so c ial asp e c t fo r a ll k in d s o f s c ie n tific a n a ly sis. T h e c itizens w ho h a v e bee n a ffe c te d b y th is d is c rim in a tio n h a d a p e rf e c t rig h t to p r o te s t to th e U . N . a n d to d ra w a tte n tio n to th e f a c t th a t th e Y u g o sla v g o v e rn m e n t d oes n o t a b id e b y its co m m itm en t.

10 A t th e N u re m b e rg tr ia l R o se n b e rg a n d S tre ic h e r th e id e o lo g ists o f th e N azi p a r ty d e f e n d e d them selv es sa y in g th a t th e y w e re n o t re sp o n sib le fo r th e d e a th s of tw o a n d one h a lf m illio n Je w s a t A u sch w itz b ecau se th e y d id n o t a ssu m e th a t th e ir w ritin g s c o u ld cause such ev il. H o w e v e r, th e c o m m a n d e r of th e c o n c e n tra tio n cam p C o lo n el H oess sa id in his d e fe n se th a t su c h w ritin g s in d u c e d h im to c o n s id e r th e e x te rm in a tio n s of Je w s a » n o rm a l th in g « in th e in te re s t o f th e G e r m a n n a tio n .

French law courts punished collaborating intellectuals more severely than common collaborators because they were viewed as ins tigators of collaboration more responsive than common collaborators. The such anouk is justified and this example should be kept in mind.

ical affiliation turns them into worshippers of social power and violence. In the tirades of nationalist demagogues we can find expressed hatred against everything universal and international.

»When will the normal, orderly, sincere sheeplike American (Croatian, Serbian, etc.) peoples awake and realize that their affairs are run by communists, outcasts, foreigners, renegades, socialists, termites and traitors.« (cit. in G. W. Allport)

They try to convince people that the ideas of communism and socialism are anti-nation. Mussolini and Hitler considered it their main duty to turn the class workers syndicates into national syndicates that is to free them from proletarian internationalism. The Nazis believed that the main enemy of the German nation was the internationalism of the working class and the Catholic Church. Some nationalists in our country propose that class syndicates be abolished so as to rid them of internationalism; the same people propose to fight against international communism as well as international Catholicism, so that they may be replaced by national communism and national Catholicism. Many of these ideologists are members of the Yugoslav League of Communists. Their suggestions are not very original because this ideology has already been preached by fascists and nazis, but these ideologists of extreme forms of nationalism were more consistent and intelligent because they stressed like A. Rosenberg (»Myth of the 20th Century«) that this internationalism had its roots in the rationalism, universalism, and individualism of the French Revolution, that it is necessary to liquidate the whole humanist tradition of European culture. That is exactly what nationalists have aspired to since their appearance on this continent because humanism means the proclamation of equal rights for all men regardless of their outward or incidental characteristics which arise from the accident of birth. Humanism overcomes every ethno-centrism, every stressing of one's own social group or nation at someone else's cost and it also overcomes a certain mentality which Hegel called »the spiritual animal kingdom«. History demonstrates that nationalists are not capable of solving the problem of equality among peoples and it is now clear why it is so. It is possible to solve them only from an international standpoint, from the standpoint of a huge communion of peoples from whom should be expelled every ethno-contrism, international hatred and prejudice. In a world where the national interests are subject to the egoistic interests of capital, in which imperialistic aspirations rule, the only solution comes from the standpoint of an international workers movement. It is sufficient to go to the battlefield - in Viet Nam, so that we might be convinced, if we do not believe in the reality of the events which took place in our country in the period 1941-1945.

ical affilia tio n also turned them into worshipers of social power and violence. In the tirades of nation alists they agogues we can find expressed hatred against everything universal and international.

» When will the normal, orderly, sincere sheeplike American (Croatian, Serbian, etc.) peoples awake and realize that their affairs are run by communists, outcasts, foreigners, renegades, socialists, termites and traitors.« (cit. in G. W. Allport)

The y try to convince people that the ideas of communism and socialism a re a n ti-n atio n . M ussolini an d H itle r considered it th eir m ain d u ty to tu rn the class w orkers syndicates into n atio n a l syndicates th at is to free them from p ro le tarian intern atio n alism. The Nazis believed that the main enemy of the Germannatio n was the in tern atio n alism of the w o rking class a n d the C atholic C hurch. Some natio n alists in our co un try propose th a t class syndicates be abolished so as to rid them of in tern atio n alism: the sam e people propose to fig h t against in te rn atio n al com m unism as well as in tern ation al Catholicism, so that they may be rep laced by n a tio n a l com m unism a n d n a tio n a l C ath o licism. M an y of these ideologists are m em bers of the Y ugoslav League of Com m unists. The ir suggestions are not very origin al because this ideology has a lre a d y been p reach ed by fascists a n d nazis, b u t these ideologists of ex trem e form s of n atio n alism w ere m ore consistent and in tellig en t because they stressed like A. R osenberg (»M yth of the 20th Century«) that this in ternation alism h a d its roots in the rationalism, un iversalism, an d in d iv id u alism of the Fren ch R evolution, th a t it is necessary to liq u id a te th e w hole h u m an ist tra d itio n of E u ro p ean culture. T h a t is exactly w h at n atio n alists hav e asp ired to since the ir a p p ea ra n c e on this co n tin en t because h um anism m eans the pro clam atio n of equal rig h ts fo r a ll m en reg ard less of th eir o u tw a rd o r in ciden tal ch aracteristics w hich arise from the accident of b irth. H u m an ism ov ercomes every eth n o -cen trism, ev ery stressing of one's own social group or n a tio n a t som eone else's cost a n d it also overcom es a certain m en ta lity w hich H eg el called »the s p iritu a l a n im al kingdom «. H isto ry d e m o n strates th a t n a tio n a lists are n o t cap ab le of solving the problem of eq u ality am o n g peoples a n d it is now c le a r w hy it is so. It is possible to solve them only from an in tern ation al standpoint, from the standpoint of a hu g e com m union of peoples from w hom should be expelled every eth no-con trism, in ternation al hatred and prejudice. In a w orld w here the n a tio n a l in terests a re su b ject to the egoistic interests of cap ital, in which imp erialistic aspirations rule, the only solution comes from the sta n d p o in t of a n in te rn a tio n a l w orkers m ovem ent. It is su fficient to go to the b attlefield in V iet N am, so that we m ight be convinced, if we do not believe in the rea lity of the events w hich took place in our country in th

e p e rio d 1941-1945.

SOCIALIST IDEAS AND REALITY

Zagorka Pešić-Golubović

Belgrade

1.

The problems of socialism nowadays do not concern socialist countries alone; the contemporary world has become increasingly aware of the issues of human existence that had been noted and emphasized by the original Marxist thought. This fact makes it that much more compelling for socialism to confront these problems that are simultaneously old and new, and to engage in self-analysis in the light of its ability and resourcefulness to offer solutions expected by the contemporary world. All events since 1968 – both in the socialist and the capitalist worlds – confirm such a view.

Explicit or implicit, as the case may be, the question is as follows: Is socialism (as an idea, as a movement) superior to capitalism in the search for solutions to the increasingly numerous problems of man, the problems of the contemporary technical civilization? Is socialism capable, which capitalism obviously is not, to transform the social potentials discovered by the contemporay civilization into real conditions for the development of all the peoples of the world and of the majority of individuals, and in this way to solve the fundamental historical problem of abolition of the monopoly in the utilization of social and cultural potentials - the monopoly of certain strata of society (and, increasingly, of large nations)? Will the creation of equal social conditions for all members of society be the outcome of this process? This basic idea of socialism - equality of social conditions for all members of society - was not relevant only in the epochs of social deprivation, but is an imperative in the epoch of social affluence of a consumer civilization also. Keeping these facts in mind, one asks whether socialism is capable of leading the »consumer society« out of the narrow unidimensional system of needs and human aspirations which threatens to transfer the social and cultural opportunities created by modern man from the path of humanization to the irreversible and fateful forms of dehumanization and depersonalization.

B elgrade

The problems of socialism now ad ay s do not concern socialist countries alone; the contemporary world has become in creasingly aware of the issues of human existence that had been noted and emphasized by the original Marxist thought. This fact makes it that much more compelling for socialism to confront these problems that are simultaneously old and new, and to engage in self-analysis in the light of its ability and resourcefulness to offer solutions expected by the contemporary world. All events since 1968 - both in the socialist and the capitalist worlds - confirm such a view.

E x p licit or im plicit, as the case m ay be, th e question is as follows: Is socialism (as a n idea, as a m ovem ent) su p erio r to cap italism in th e search for solutions to the increasing ly n u m erous problem s o f m an, the problem s o f the c o n tem p o rary tech n ical civ ilization? Is socialism capable, w hich cap italism obviously is not, to tra n sfo rm th e social poten tials discovered by the co n tem p o ray civ ilization into real cond itions for the dev elo p m en t of a ll the peoples of the world and of the majority of individuals, and in th is w ay to solve the fund amental historical problem of a b o litio n of the m onopoly in the u tiliz a tio n of social a n d c u ltu ral p o ten tials - th e m onopoly of certa in s tra ta of society (and, increasin g ly, o f larg e natio n s)? W ill the creatio n of equal social co n d itions fo r a ll m em bers of society be th e outcom e of this process? This basic idea of socialism - equality of social conditions for a ll m em bers of society - w as n o t re le v a n t only in the epochs of social d e p riv a tio n, b ut is an im p e rativ e in the epoch o f social a ffluence of a consum er civ ilizatio n also. K eeping these facts in m ind, one asks w h eth er socialism is cap ab le of le a d in g th e »consum er society«

out of the n a rro w u n id im en sio n al system of needs a n d h u m an a s p ira tions w hich th re a te n s to tra n s fe r the social a n d c u ltu ral op p o rtu n ities c reated by m o d ern m an from the p a th of h u m an iz a tio n to the irre v ersible a n d fate fu l form s of d eh u m a n iz atio n a n d d ep ersonalization.

In other words, the contemporary world wants to know whether socialism as an idea has the solution for the hitherto permanent historical conflict between the individual and the society, and whether its prospects include the overcoming of the alienation of man and his social power, the abolition of his state of being manipulated, and the liberation of the captive energy of an enormous number of individuals – through the authentic social alternative which makes possible the free engagement and participation of each man in the process of defining and creating the chosen social perspetive.

In an attempt to provide answers for these questions, the substitution of the thesis is usually employed, so that socialism as a practice, as a regime (one of its variants), is treated as identical to socialism as an idea, as a permanent revolutionary movement: through such a paralogistic process conclusions are arrived at that deny it any pers-

pective.

Although this study attempts to analyze one form of socialism, i. e. the defined model and practice of the Yugoslav socialist society, its true objective is to demonstrate that the ideas of socialism must not be confused and identified with the existing socialist systems, and that in the analysis of these systems the following questions ought to be answered: (1) to which degree are the ideas of socialism contained in the defined models and in practice; and (2), are these ideas present, as a tendency and as a movement, in the social climate and events in order to allow conclusions with respect to the extent to which a particular socialist regime is truly socialist.

The analysis which follows has as its objective such an evaluation of Yugoslav socialism only (due to the unavailability of authentic materials necessary for a comparative analysis of other socialist systems, which could be required for broader conclusions to be reached on the prospects of socialism as a movement).

To reach this end, it is necessary to define socialism so that we know what we are talking about (there are very different definitions), and specify the concepts we take to be its foundation.

I start from the fact that socialism may be defined as the anteroom from which one enters the truly human community of men that brings to an end the class history of society, and that being such it must have the following characteristics:

- (1) As a system it must secure social conditions which will provide equal opportunity for all individuals to develop as equal members of the community;
- (2) This will be achieved only if every form of exploitation and right to privileges are abolished in the system of distribution of all social values, both material and cultural, creating thus the basis of elementary material existence and elementary education for each individual, and placing within reach of each member, of the society all the cultural values;
- (3) This implies the adjustment of general and social interest through the creation of such mechanisms for the formulation of the general (social) interest which will make it impossible for the parti-

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alandthe so ciety, and whether its prospects in cludethe overcoming of the alienation of manandhis social power, the abolition of his state of beingmanipulated, and the liberation of the captive energy of an enormous number of individuals

- th ro u g h th e a u th e n tic so cial a lte rn a tiv e w h ic h m ak e s p o ssib le th e fre e e n g a g e m e n t a n d p a rtic ip a tio n o f e a ch m a n in th e p ro ce ss o f d e fin in g a n d c re a tin g th e c h o sen so cial p e rs p e tiv e .

In a n a tte m p t to p r o v id e a n sw e rs fo r th ese q u e stio n s, th e s u b s titu tio n o f th e th esis is u s u a lly em p lo y e d, so th a t so c ia lism as a p ra c tic e, as a reg im e (one o f its v a ria n ts), is t r e a te d as id e n tic a l to so c ia lism as a n id ea, as a p e rm a n e n t r e v o lu tio n a r y m o v e m e n t: th ro u g h su ch a p a ra lo g is tic p ro cess c o n clu sio n s a re a r r iv e d a t t h a t d e n y it a n y p e rs p ectiv e.

A lth o u g h th is stu d y a tte m p ts to a n a ly z e o n e fo rm o f so cialism, i. e.

th e d e fin e d m o d el a n d p ra c tic e o f th e Y u g o s la v so c ia list so ciety , its tru e o b je c tiv e is to d e m o n s tra te th a t th e id e a s o f so c ia lism m u st n o t b e c o n fu se d a n d id e n tifie d w ith th e e x is tin g so c ia list sy stem s, a n d t h a t in th e a n a ly s is o f th ese sy stem s th e f o llo w in g q u e stio n s o u g h t to b e a n s w e re d: (1) to w h ic h d e g re e a re th e id e a s o f so c ia lism c o n ta in e d in th e d e fin e d m o d els a n d in p ra c tic e; a n d (2), a re th e s e id ea s p re s e n t, as a te n d e n c y a n d as a m o v em e n t, in th e so c ia l c lim a te a n d e v e n ts in o r d e r to a llo w c o n clu sio n s w ith re s p e c t to th e e x te n t to w h ic h a p a r tic u la r so c ia list reg im e is tr u ly so cialist.

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- (1) A s a sy stem it m u st se cu re so cial c o n d itio n s w h ic h w ill p ro v id e e q u a l o p p o rtu n ity fo r a ll in d iv id u a ls to d e v e lo p as e q u a l m em b e rs o f th e co m m u n ity;
- (2) This will be achieved only if every form of exploitation and right to privilege are abolished in the system of distribution of all social goods lues, both material and cultural, creating thus the basis of elementary material existence and elementary education for reaching individuals, and placing with in reach of each member, of the so ciety all the cultural values;
- (3) Th is implies the adjustment of general and social interest through the creation of such mechanisms for the formulation of the general (social) interest which will make it impossible for the parti

cular interests (of a group or a stratum) to be proclaimed general, and secure that the general interest follows from the interest of the members of the society;

- (4) On the basis of the principle of equal social opportunity, socialism must make it possible for individuals to choose vocations according to their ability and potential, and to create mechanisms that will eliminate the possibility of obtaining social positions and roles through ways other than personal merit;
- (5) Socialist society must create institutions which will be capable of gratifying the fundamental needs of members of the society, and which will constantly stimulate the development of human potentials (generic and individual) of the population;
- (6) Such a community must develop a characteristic system of interactions between indivduals in which they will engage as subjects of social actions, ceasing to be simply objects whose behavior is directed by privileged "political subjects";
- (7) In order to make this possible, no organ of the society in a socialist system must be given the opportunity to become independent; it must be forced by appropriate social measures to serve the members of the society (imperative mandate, developed institutions of public opinion, self-managing organs of social control; Marx also had in mind the imposition of restrictions on the material compensation of public functionaries in order to make these functions less attractive from the standpoint of material advantages).

To what degree are these ideas present in Yugoslav socialism?

2.

First of all, one ought to be aware of the fact that Yugoslav variant of socialism, which is defined as self-managing socialism, came to be under special circumstances. It differs from the first variant of socialism in that it was not created autochthonously, nor was it burdened solely by the lack of socio-economic development. Yugoslav socialism has developed under the pressure of dual heritage: (1) It has been determined by the belated process of transformation of an agricultural society into a modern industrial society (it may be stated that capitalism reached northern parts of Yugoslavia to any significant degree only in the 1930s, while in other areas the farming. patriarchal society was still predominant); (2) It has developed under the pressure of Stalinism as a formed model which has suppressed the original ideas of socialism and imposed itself as the only possible perspective in an authoritarian manner. The consequences of the first determinant, historical backwardness, were similar to those produced everywhere in the

¹ I do not use the term »Stalinism« to denote a purely philosophical theory, a variant of Marxism, an ideology, or the *personality cult« as a type of charismatic power, or, finally, to denote *deformations« of socialism: rather, I use it to denote an established social system developed under Stalin which markedly differs from Marx's vision of socialism with respect to its fundamental ideas.

social o p p o rtunity, socialism m ust m ake it possible for in d iv id u als to choose vocations according to the eir ab ility a n d p o ten tial, a n d to create m echanism s that t will elim in ate the possibility of o b tain in g social positions a n d roles through ways o ther than p ersonal merit;

- (5) Socialist society m ust create in stitutions w hich w ill be capable of g ra tify in g the fu n d am e n ta l needs of m em bers of the society, and w hich w ill co n stan tly stim u late the d evelopm ent of h u m an p otentials (generic a n d ind iv id u al) of the p o p u latio n;
- (6) Such a com m unity m ust develop a characteristic system of in te ractions betw een in d iv d u als in w hich they w ill engage as subjects of social actions, ceasing to be sim p ly objects whose beh av io r is directed by p riv ileg ed »political subjects«;
- (7) In o rd er to m ake this possible, no o rg an of the society in a socialist system m ust be given the o p p o rtu n ity to become ind ep en d en t; it m ust be forced by a p p ro p riate social m easures to serve th e m em bers of the society (im p erativ e m an d ate, developed in stitutions of public o pinion, s e lf-m a n a g in g o rg an s of social control; M a rx also h a d in m ind th e im position of restrictions on the m ate ria l com pensation of p u blic functio n aries in o rd er to m ake these functions less attractive e from the s tand p o in t of m ate ria l ad v an tag es).

To what degree are these ideas present in Yugoslav socialism?

F irst of all, one ought to be aw a re of the fact that Y u g o slav v a riant of socialism, which is defined as self-managing socialism, cam e to be u n d e r special circum stances. It d iffe rs from the first v a ria n t of socialism in th a t it w as n o t cre a ted au tochthonously, n o r w as it b urd en ed solely by the lack of socioeconom ic developm ent. Y ugoslav socialism has dev elo p ed u n d e r th e pressu re of d u a l h e ritag e: (1) It has been d eterm in ed by th e b elated process of tra n sfo rm atio n of an a g ric u ltu ral society into a m o d ern in d u stria l society (it m ay be stated th a t c a p ita lism reach ed n o rth e rn p a rts of Y u g o slav ia to an y sig n ifican t degree only in the 1930s, while in o ther a reas the farm in g, p a tria rc h a l society was still p red o m in an t); (2) It has develo p ed u n d e r the pressure of S talin ism 1 as a fo rm ed m odel w hich has suppressed the o rig in al ideas of socialism and imposed itself as th e only possible perspective in an a u th o rita ria n m an n er. T h e consequences of the first d eterm in an t, h istorical backw ardness, w ere s im ila r to those pro d u ced every w h ere in the 1 I do no t use th e term »Stalinism « to d enote a p u rely philosophical theory, a v a ria n t of M arxism, a n ideology, or the » personality cult« as a type of charism atic pow er, or, fin ally, to d enote »deform ations« of socialism: ra th e r, 1 use it to denote a n established social system developed u n d e r S ta lin w hich m arkedly d if ers r M a rx 's vision of socialism with respect to its fund am ental ideas.

world by intensive and rigorous industrialization, with respect to the economic system and the model of political power. Both of these were based on the principle of concentration of power in centers of management and direction for the purpose of intensification of all social forces. This was particularly necessary in view of the fact that planned goals were not in proportion to the existing historical potentials. The second element of the heritage, the pressure exercised by the Stalinist model which at the time could not be adequately questioned, caused an undemocratic organization of social and party work. This undemocratic organization was not treated merely as the necessity of the historical moment, i. e. the need for absolute discipline and a high degree of organization in order to overcome the consequences of inherited backwardness and the direct consequences of war destruction, but was transformed into a principle reinforced by labeling authoritarian behavior as "communist behavior".

The severing of ties with the latter element of the heritage gave birth to the idea of self-managing socialism. This action, however, was not a product of the internal maturation of Yugoslav society, leading to the conflict of the two conpetions of socialism. Such a process of maturation could have been caused by the discovery that the basic principles of the existing model were not acceptable, but this was not the case. Instead, the switch to self-managing socialism occurred under the direct influence of the external conflict of the two systems, i. e. the two governments and the two parties. The conflict created the need for a transformation of the internal structure of Yugoslav society at a time when it still was not prepared for such a transformation. In the 1950s, Yugoslav society was neither theoretically nor practically ready for a radical transformation of either the conception of socialism or of the structure of society (internal disagreements with respect to paths of socialism occurred much later). Inaugurated as a result of the urgent need to differentiate itself from a foreign model of socialism - due to the expansionist tendencies of a socialist state, rather than due to the recognition of the lack of resemblance of such a model to the authentic ideas of socialism² - such a conception of self-managing socialism was necessarily vague, selfcontradictory, and a compromise. In other words, Yugoslav variant of socialism was not a consequence of an internal revolutionary situation. Rather, it was prompted by the need to defend not only the territorial but also the political independence; its range and limits were, therefore, conditioned by such a situation. Formulated in this historical context, the idea of self-management was burdened by the content of the old model and ideological orientation that had not yet been over-

Wich are these limits? Which elements of the old ideology have been active for the longest period of time, imposing restrictions upon a radical transformation of Yugoslav society?

² In order to establish the original ideas of socialism one should return to the following Marx's works: The Civil War in France, Critique of the Gotta Program, Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy, Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law, German Ideology (Marx and Engels).

le of concentration of power in centers of management and direction for the purpose of intensification of a ll so cial forces. This was particularly necessary in view of thefactthatplannedgoals were not in proportion to theex is tinghis to rical potentials.

The second condemnation of the heritage, the pressure exerted by the Stalinist model which at the time could not be adequately questioned, is now undemocratic rg an iz at i on of social and partywork This undemocratic organization was not treated merely as the necessity of the historical moment, i. e. then e eed for an absolute discipline and a high degree of organization in order to overcome the consequences of inherited backwardness and the direct consequences of ward destruction, but wastransformed into a principle reenforced by labeling authoritarian behavior as woon munistbehavior « .

The severing of ties with the latterelement of the he rita g e g a v e b irth to th e id e a o f s e lf -m a n a g in g so c ia lism. This action, however, was not a product of the intern almaturationofYugoslavsociety, leadingtothecon flic t o f th e tw o c o n p e tio n s o f so c ia lism . S u c h a p r o cess o f m a tu r a tio n c o u ld h a v e b e e n c a u se d b y th e d isc o v e ry t h a t th e b a sic p rin c ip le s o f th e e x is tin g m o d e l w e re n o t a c c e p ta b le, b u t th is w as n o t th e case. In ste a d, th e sw itc h to s e lf -m a n a g in g so c ia lism o cc u rre d u n d e r th e d ire c t in flu e n c e o f th e e x te r n a l c o n flic t o f th e tw o sy stem s, i. e. the two governments and the two parties. Th e c o n flic t c re a te d th e n e e d fo r a tr a n s fo r m a tio n o f th e in ternalstructure of Yugoslav so ciety at a time when it s till wasnotprepared for such a transformation. In th e 1950s, Y u g o s la v s o c ie ty w a s n e ith e r th e o r e tic a lly n o r p r a c tic a lly re a d y fo r a r a d ic a l tra n s fo r m a tio n o f e ith ertheconceptionofsocialismorofthestructureofsoc ie ty (in ternaldis a greements with respect topaths ofs o c ia lism o c c u rre d m u c h la te r).

In a u g u r a te d as a re s u lt o f th e u r g e n t n e e d to d if f e r e n tia te its e lf fro m a fo re ig n m o d el o f so c ia lism - d u e to th e e x p a n sio n ist te n d e n c ie s o f a s o c ia list sta te, r a t h e r t h a n d u e to th e re c o g n itio n o f th e la c k o f r e se m b la n ce o f su ch a m o d el to th e a u th e n tic id e a s o f s o c ia lism 2 - su ch a c o n c ep tio n o f s e lf -m a n a g in g s o c ia lism w a s n e c e s s a rily v a g u e, se lf-c o n tra d ic to ry, a n d a c o m p ro m ise. I n o th e r w o rd s, Y u g o s la v v a r i a n t o f so c ia lism w as n o t a co

n seq u en ce o f a n in te r n a l r e v o lu tio n a r y s itu a tio n.

Rather, it was prompted by the need to defend not only the territorial but also the political independence; its range and limits were, therefore, conditioned by such a situation. Formulated in this historical context, the idea of self-management was burdened by the content of the old model and the ideological orientation that had not yet existed r com e.

W ich are these lim its? W h e l e m e n t s of t h e old ideology have been active for the longest period of time, imposing restrictions supposed to radical transformation of Yugosla v so ciety?

* I n o r d e r to e sta b lish th e o rig in a l id e a s o f so cialism o n e sh o u ld r e tu r n to th e fo llo w in g M a r x 's w orks: T h e C iv il W a r in F ra n c e , C r itiq u e o f th e G o tta P ro g ra m , I n tr o d u c tio n to th e C ritiq u e of P o litic a l E co n o m y , C ritiq u e of H e g e l's P h ilo so p h y o f L a w , G e rm a n Id e o lo g y (M a rx a n d E n g els).

In an attempt to answer these questions, I shall place the model of self-managing socialism as it is defined in the existing programs³ under the analytical magnifying glass. The following questions are also relevant: has Yugoslav model of socialism had a revolutionary impetus which would make possible the conditions for the realization of the original ideas of socialism? Does it represent the first step on this path in that it combines to the correct degree the still necessary classical forms of the State with the new forms of self-management? Is it a bridge over which one will cross from the former to the latter and thus create an opportunity for the formation of a new type of human community?

This approach, which attempts to analyze critically the model itself, is basically different from the usual ones which limit the critique to statements that some elements of the system deviate from the model. Our task is to decide whether the model itself corresponds to the goals of socialism, in order to be able to judge whether the premises of the system should be reexamined, or should corrections of "deviations" be sufficient.

The most concise formulation of the essential characteristics of the Yugoslav system can be found in the conclusion to M. Pečujlić's Future Which Has Begun (Budućnost koja je počela):4

»Self-management was developed side by side with economic and political interference of etatism, as the herald of further revolutionary transformation of the society. The very mode of formation, the nest in which it was raised (as well as other circumstances: the level of material development; the character of the working class and of the intelligentsia; the nature of the revolution), oriented the creation of one of the most complex and interesting historical structures. The developing social system was not »pure« in any sense of the word; it was neither a bureaucratic system, nor a self-managing, one which would continue to develop on its own basis. A special historical hybrid (italics are mine) appeared on the scene, a combination of bureaucratism that was both centralized and decentralized, and of a partial, autarchic self-management«.

Pečujlić, however, does not provide conclusions which should follow from this line of reasoning, and does not question the very model of »self-managing socialism« which is based on the mentioned phenomena in Yugoslav society. Indeed, the given characterization of the Yugoslav system justifies the following question to be asked: Is self-management which has developed under such circumstances

³ At this moment I do not intend to deal with the new version of Yugoslav socialism conceived in the Constitutional Amendments, which is a subject worthy of a separate treatise.

⁴ M. Pečujlić, Budućnost koja je počela (Future Which Has Begun). Belgrade: Institut za političke studije, 1970, p. 61.

u n d er the analy tic a l m ag n ify in g glass. The following questions are also relev an t: has Y ugoslav m odel of socialism h a d a rev o lu 'io n arv im petus w hich w ould m ake possible the conditions for the realization of the orig in a l ideas of socialism? Does it represent the first step on this Dath in that it combines to the correct degree the still necessary classical forms of the S tate w ith the new forms of self-management?

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O u r task is to decide w h eth er the m odel itself corresponds to the g oals of socialism, in o rd er to be able to ju d g e w h eth er the prem ises of the system should be reexam ined, or should corrections of » d eviations« be sufficient.

The most concise form u lation of the essential characteristics of the Yug oslav system can be found in the conclusion to M. Peču jlić's Future Which Has Begun (Budućnost koja je počela):4

»Self-m an ag em en t was developed side by side w ith economic an d p o litical in te rfe ren c e of etatism, as the h e ra ld of fu rth e r rev o lu tio n a ry tra n sfo rm atio n of the society. The v ery mode of fo rm atio n, the nest in w hich it w as raised (as well as o ther cir cum stances: the level of material development; the character of the working class and of the intelligentsia; the nature of the revolution), oriented the creation of one of the most complex and in te resting historical structures. The developing social system was not »pure« in any sense of the word; it was neither ab u reaucratic system, nor a self-managing, one which would continue to develop on its own basis. A special historical hybrid (italics a remine) appeared on the scene, a combination of bureaucratism that was both centralized and decentralized, and of apartial, autarchic self-management«.

P ečujlić, how ever, does not p ro v id e conclusions w hich should follow from this line o f reaso n in g , a n d does n o t question th e v e ry m odel of

- » self-m an ag in g socialism « w hich is based on the m entioned p h en o m ena in Y ug o slav society. In d ee d , the giv en c h aracterization of the Y ug o slav system ju stifie s the follo w in g question to be asked: Is self-m an ag ement w hich has developed under such circum stances
- * At this mom ent I do not in tend to deal with the new version of Y ugoslav socialism conceived in the C on stitution al Am endments, which is a subject worthy of a separate treatise.
- 4 M. Pe čujlić, The Future Who Has Begun (F u tu re W h ich Has Begun). Belgrade: Institute for Political Studies, 1970, p. 61.

and such conditions an authentic self-management?⁵ In other words, has the model of self-management been theoretically and institutionally built into the Yugoslav variant of socialism, is the former the true foundation of the latter?

So far the tendency has been to ignore lightly the existence of certain elements which are theoretically incongruent with self-management. Without a deeper analysis of these elements, and without an analysis of the content (and not only the forms) of self-management, it has been found satisfactory to conclude simply that other forms of management co-exist with self-management in this country, so that the only problem is the intensification of the development of the forms of self-management. However, it appears necessary to examine the degree to which the elements »co-existing« with self-management jeopardize it in fact, and do not permit the existing forms to be given an appropriate content. In other words, is self-management a dominant feature of our present system (self-management with regard to its content must be connected with the basic objectives of socialism), or is the present system characterized by other forms of management which do not contribute to the development of self-management as authentic socialism.

In an attempt to answer this question we shall remain at the level of programs, i. e. at the level of the theoretically defined and operationalized model. Therefore, this analysis should not be confused with the sociological investigations of various practical aspects, which would require a far-reaching empirical analysis. (Empirical data will be referred to only when reliable findings, which can support the validity of a statement, are at our disposal).

Starting with the primise that a human community can materialize only if it has self-management as its foundation, so that there is an essential connection between the promotion of self-management as a new model of decisionmaking and participation in social affairs, and the human objectives of socialism, we shall ask the first question: Is self-management in this country defined in such a way as to effect a gradual abolition of the »alienated social power of the producer«, i. e. to make possible the creation of such forms of collective power of individuals which would be the fruit of free association, under the control of the society? Some other questions are relevant here: At whose disposal is the surplus of value in our system, and who decides about its distribution in the global sense? Who has the right or the privilege to define the »social interest« which should be in harmony

⁵ In the following texts self-management as a premise of the Yugoslav model of socialism is also not questionned but treated as a fact on an a priori basis:

[»]Nevertheless the Yugoslav socialist system in a number of its characteristics lags behind the Commune. Above all, it lags behind with respect to the degree of the democracy that has been achieved, because in its structure there are still traces of the classical State which »coexiste with the elements of socialist self-management« [Lj. Tadić, Poredak i sloboda (Order and Freedom), Belgrade: Kultura, 1967, p. 300]. »However, neither theoretically nor practically has in this country been found a model of economy which would synthetize self-management, the market, and planning« [S. Stojanović, Između ideala i stvarnosti (Between Ideals and Reality). Belgrade: Prosveta, 1969, p. 135].

la v v a r i a n t o f so cialism, is the f o rmer the true fo u n d a tio n o f the latter?

So f a r th e te n d e n c y h a s b e e n to ig n o re lig h tly th e e x iste n ce o f c e rta in e le m e n ts w h ic h a re th e o re tic a lly in c o n g ru e n t w ith s e lf -m a n a g e m en t. W ith o u t a d e e p e r a n a ly s is of the seelements, and without an analysis of the c ontent (and not only the forms) of self-management, it has beenfounds a tis fac to ry to conclude simply that o ther forms of management coexist with self-manag e m e n t in th is c o u n try, so t h a t th e o n ly p ro b le m is th e in te n s ific a tio n o f th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f th e fo rm s o f s e lf-m anagement. However, it appears necessary to exa m in e th e d e g re e to w h ic h th e e le m e n ts » c o -e x istin g « w ith s e lf -m a n a g e m e n t je o p a r d iz e it in fac t, a n d do n o t p e rm it thee x is ting form s to begivenanappropriatecon tent. In other words, is self-managementadominant feature of our present system (self-management with r e g a r d to its c o n te n t m u st be c o n n e cte d w ith th e b a sic o b je c tiv e s o f so cialism), o r is the p re s e n t sy stem c h a ra c te rized by other forms of management which donot co n trib u te to th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f s e lf -m a n a g e m e n t as a u th e n tic so cialism.

In an attempt to answerth is questionweshall remain at the level of programs, i. e. at the level of the theoretic ally defined and operationalized model. Therefore, this analysisshould not be confused with the sociological investigations of variouspractical aspects, which would require afar-reachingempirical analysis. (Empirical datawill bereferred to onlywhenreliable findings, which cansupport the validity of astatement, are at our disposal).

S ta rtin g w ith th e p rim is e th a t a h u m a n c o m m u n ity c a n m a te ria liz e o n ly if it h a s s e lf -m a n a g e m e n t as its f o u n d a tio n, so th a t th e r e is a n e sse n tia l c o n n e ctio n b e tw e e n th e p r o m o tio n o f s e lf -m a n a g e m e n t as a n e w m o d el o f d e c is io n m a k in g a n d p a rtic ip a tio n in so c ia l a ff a ir s, a n d th e h u m a n o b jec tiv e s o f so cialism, w e s h a ll a sk th e f ir s t q u e s tio n: Is s e lf-m a n a g e m e n t in th is c o u n try d e fin e d in su ch a w a y as to e ffe c t a g r a d u a l a b o litio n o f th e » a lie n a te d so c ia l p o w e r o f th e p ro d u c e r «, i. e.

to make possible the creation of such forms of collective power of

individuals which would be the fruit of free association, under the control of th and so ciety? Some other questions are relevant there: At whose disposal is the surplus of value in our system, and who decides about its distribution in the global than this? Who has the right to the privilege to define the "social interest" which should be in harmony 5. In the following texts self-management as a premise of the Yugoslav model of socialism is also not questioned but treated as a fact on a priori basis:

» N e v e rth e le ss th e Y u g o sla v so cia list sy stem in a n u m b e r o f its c h a ra c te ris tic s lags b e h in d th e C om m u n e . A b o v e a ll, it la g s b e h in d w ith re sp e c t to th e d e g re e of d em o c ra c y th a t h a s b e en a c h ie v e d , b e c au se in its s tr u c tu r e th e re a r e s till tra c e s of th e classical S ta te w h ic h » coexist« w ith th e ele m e n ts of so c ia list se lf-m a n a g e m e n t«

[L j. Tadić, Poredakisloboda (Order and Freedom), Belgrade: Culture, 1967, p.

300], » Howev er, neither theoretically nor practically has in this country been found a model of conomy which would synthesize self-management, th market, and planning « [S. Stojanović, Between Ideals and Reality (Između Idea Alaistvarnosti).

B e lg ra d e : Pro sv e ta , 1969, p. 135].

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both with the direct objectives of the society and with the "higher" objectives of socialism? In other words, is the social interest in this country truly social or is it particular? Have appropriate forms of social control been planned and developed in the Yugoslav socialist system, in order to make the creation of a monopoly of economic and political power impossible, and to protect the "producer" from the new forms of exploitation and subordination?

The first condition necessary for such radical changes in the society to occur is the completion of the process of socialization of the means of production, and the formation of social property as a higher quality in comparison to State property. The second necessary condition is a radical change of the position of the »producer«, the working class above all, both economically and politically. Basic elements of the workers alienation must have been abolished such as the state of affairs in which the workers hire themselves out, inequal-

ity bordering with exploitation and cultural inferiority.

A theretical distinction is made in this country between State property and social property; social property is defined as a higher form of socialization of property. However, in my opinion, the concept of social property has not been fully defined which makes it possible to treat the hybrid form existing in this country as if it represents the final form in the process of socialization of property. This problem has already been given attention by other authors, but their conclusions should be re-examined. The majority of authors speak of "group property" rather than of social property. However, if the term "property" is taken to mean the right to free utilization of the surplus of work and the opportunity to gain control over this part of the social product (over its distribution and use), does "group property" exist in Yugoslav enterprises?

In his article "Sources of Strength and Weakness of Self-Management", O. Kozomara pinpoints the central problem (although she

also accepts the notion of »group property«):7

»It has been revealed that the property-owning functions are taken over by the organs of the State or by experts. Through the process of self-management, these functions should be transferred to all employed in an enterprise: Not only should private property be abolished, but social property should be established«.

In other words, "group property" as a partial form of social property does not exist in enterprises, since the right to free control over the surplus of work and to decision-making with respect to production and distribution has not been transferred to the work organization as a social group on one hand, nor are they the right of all of its members, on the other. This conclusion can be documented by the following: first of all, there is the essential restriction which makes it impos-

⁷ O. Kozomara, Op. cit., p. 1521.

⁶ S. Stojanović in the mentioned book, and O. Kozomara in the article »U čemu su snaga i slabost samoupravljanja« (Sources of Strength and Weakness of Self-Management), Gledišta, 11, 1968, also discuss »group property«.

co untry tru ly social o r is it p a rticu la r? H a v e a p p ro p riate forms of social control been p lan n ed an d developed in the Y ugoslav socialist system , in o rd er to m ake the creation of a m onopoly of economic and p o litical pow er impossible, a n d to p rotect the »producer« from the new form s of ex p lo itatio n an d su b o rdination?

The first condition necessary for such radic alchanges in the society to occur is the completion of the process of socialization of the means of production, and the formation of social property as a higher quality in comparison to State property. The second necessary condition is a radic alchange of the position of the producer, the working class above all, both economically and politically. Basic elements of the workers alien ation must have been abolished such as the state of affairs in which the workers hire them selves out, in equality bordering with exploitation and cultural inferiority.

A th eretical distin ctio n is m ade in this co untry betw een S tate p ro p e rty a n d social p ro p erty; social p ro p erty is d efin ed as a h ig h er form of socialization of p ro p erty. H ow ever, in m y opinion, the concept of social p ro p erty has not been fully d efin ed w hich m akes it possible to tre a t the h y b rid form ex isting in this co u n try as if it represents the fin a l form in the process of socialization of p ro p erty. T h is problem has a lre a d y been g iven a tte n tio n by o th er authors, but their conclusions should be re-ex am in ed. The m ajo rity of auth o rs speak of "group pro p erty " ra the r than of social p ro p erty. O H ow ever, if the term "property" is taken to m ean the right to free u tilization of the su rplus of work and the opportunity to g a in control over this p art of the social p rod uct (over its d istrib u tion and use), does "group property" exist in Y ugoslav enterp rises?

In his a rticle »Sources of S tre n g th a n d W eakness o f S e lf-M an agem ent«, O. K ozom ara pin p o in ts the c e n tra l p roblem (although she also accepts the no tio n of »group p ro p erty «):7

»It has been rev ealed that the property -own in g functions are taken over by the organs of the State or by experts. Through the process of self-management, these functions should be transferred to all employed in an enterprise: Not only should private property be abolished, but social property should be established«.

In o th er w ords, » g roup p ro p erty « as a p a rtia l form of social p

ro p erty does n o t exist in enterp rises, since the rig h t to free control over the surplus of w ork a n d to d ecisio n -m ak in g w ith respect to p ro d uction a n d d istrib u tio n has n o t been tra n s fe rre d to the work org an izatio n as a social gro u p on one h a n d , n o r a re they the rig h t of all of its m em bers, on the other. T h is conclusion can be docum ented by the follow ing: first of all, th ere is th e essential restrictio n w hich m akes it im pos-

• S. S tojanović in the m entioned book, and 0 . K ozom ara in the a rtic le »U čei7iu su snaga i slabost sa m o u p ra v lja n ja « (Sources of S tren g th an d W eakness of S clt-M anagcm ent), G ledišta , 11, 1968, also discuss »group property«.

7 O. K ozom, Op. cit., p. 1521.

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sible for a work organization to behave as a self-managing unit since the organs of the State at the higher level retain the right to make decisions about the distribution of the surplus of value; second it is the directors as representatives of the State who make decisions concerning the means of production in a work organization (to do with funds for reconstruction and reproduction, with the utilization of work capacities, and with the adjustment of the existing financial means to the needs of the workers); finally, it is the »experts« (the technical ones as well as the »managers«) who make decisions in connection with the organization and conditions of work, i. e. in connection with everything that falls in the area of »management« in the classical terminology. The majority of members of the work organization is thus not in the position to make basic decisions most essential for the life and work of the given social group (not to mention the decisions essential for the life of the social community as a whole). »Self-management« is thus practically reduced to discussions about income, which creates an atmosphere in which the lack of solidarity is prevalent. Its vital rights restricted by the State, and with the majority of its members deprived of participation in the exercise of the rights stemming from social property (through the legalization of the differential rights of various strata in the group), the work organization functions more in accordance with the principles of »decentralized etatism« than with those of self-management. Therefore, in my opinion, the term »group property« does adequately reflect the nature of this hybrid form of property existing in Yugoslav society.

The basic problems is the failure to discover and define the true dimension of sociability with respect to property in the Yugoslav system. The social, common, is still exclusively in the hands of the State (this includes the federal, republic, and local organs of the State, for their nature is the same irrespective of the level), and ways are not clear in which the State will wither away in this area, and to whom it will transfer its functions. The group (collective), the "sociability" of atomized units, is presented as the only form of direct sociability, which, in turn, reduces it to "particular sociability" which does not have characteristics essentialy different from those of alienated sociability.

What about the second premise, i. e. how has the problem of the position and role of the »producer«, the working class above all, been institutionally solved in our system? Is the cause of various problems which more and more frequently manifest the powerlessness of the

⁸ No institution in the present Yugoslav system is capable of playing the role of the "withering" mechanism of the State in this area. Transfer of functions from the federal organs to the republic ones is only a particularization of sociability, rather than a realization of the true social property. Working bodies in the National Assembly are also a special, professional particularization of sociability, since they close professions and strata into their own ranks. Chambers of commerce and cultural communities in the present system are nothing but an extension of the State, not examples of free association even by form, which is obvious both from the functions which they carry out and from the functionaries – taken over from the organs of the State. All these institutions are new only by name; they are old with respect to the character of management and social power.

f th e s u rp lu s o f v a lu e; se co n d it is th e d ire c to rs as r e p re s e n ta tiv e s o f th e S ta te w h o m ak e d e cisio n s c o n c e rn in g them eansofproduction in a work organization (to dow ith fu n d s fo r re c o n s tru c tio n a n d r e p ro d u c tio n, w ith th e u tiliz a tio n o f w o rk c a p ac itie s, a n d w ith th e a d ju s tm e n t o f th e e x is tin g fin a n c ia l m ea n s to th e n e e d s o f th e w o rk e rs); fin a lly, it is the » e x p e rts« (the te c h n ic a l ones as w e ll as the » m an a gers«) who maked ecisions in connection with the organization and conditions of work, i. e. in co n n e c tio n w ith e v e ry th in g th a t fa lls in th e a re a o f » m a n a g e m e n t« in th e c la ssic a l te rm in o lo g y . T h e m a jo r ity o f m em b e rs o f th e w o rk o r g a n iz a tio n is th u s n o t in th e p o sitio n to m ak e b a sic d ecisio n s m o st e s se n tia l f o r th e life andwork of the given social group (not to mention the d e c isio n s e s se n tia l fo r th e life o f th e so c ia l c o m m u n ity as a w h o le). » S e lf- m a n a g e m e n t« is th u s p r a c tic a lly re d u c e d to d isc u ssio n s a b o u t in co m e, w h ic h c re a te s a n a tm o s p h e re in w h ic h th e lac k o f s o lid a rity is p r e v a le n t. Its v ita l rig h ts r e s tric te d b y th e S ta te, a n d w ith th e m a jo r ity o f its m em b e rs d e p riv e d o f p a rtic ip a tio n in th e e x e rc ise of the rights stemming from social property (through the legalization of the differential rights of various s tr a ta in th e g ro u p), th e w o rk o rg a n iz a tio n fu n ctio n s m o re in a c c o rd a n c e w ith th e p rin c ip le s o f » d e c e n tra liz e d e ta tism « t h a n w ith th o se o f s e lf -m a n a g e m e n t. T h e r e f ore, in myopinion, the term» groupproperty « do es a de quately reflect thenature of this hybrid form of prope r ty e x is tin g in Y u g o s la v so ciety.

Thebasic problems is the failure to discoveranddefine the truedimension of sociability with respect to property in the Yugoslav system. The social, common, is stillexclusively in thehands of the State (this in cludes thefederal, republic, and local organs of the State, for their nature is the sameirre spective of the level), and ways are not clear in which the State will wither awavinth is area, and to who mit will transfer its functions.8 Thegroup (collective), the sociability of a to mizedunits, is presented as the only form of directs ociability, which, in turn, reduces it to property.

 $W\ h\ a\ t\ a\ b\ o\ u\ t\ h\ e\ se\ co\ n\ d\ p\ rem\ ise\ ,\ i.\ e.\ h\ o\ w\ h\ a\ s\ th\ e\ p\ ro\ b\ le\ m\ o\ f\ th\ e\ p\ o\ sitio\ n\ a\ n\ d\ ro\ le\ o\ f\ th\ e\ p\ ro\ d\ u\ c\ e\ r^{\alpha}\ ,\ th\ e\ w\ o\ rk\ in$

g class a b o v e a ll, b e e n in s titu tio n a lly so lv e d in o u r sy ste m? Is the cau se of various problems which more and m o re f re q u e n tly m a n ife s t th e p o w e rle ssn e ss o f th e 8 N o in s titu tio n in the p re s e n t Y u g o sla v sy stem is c a p a b le o f p la y in g th e ro le o f th e » w ith e rin g « m e c h a n ism of th e S ta te in th is a rea. Transfer of functions from the federal organstotherepubliconesisonlyaparticularizationo f s o c ia b ility, r a th e r th a n a re a liz a tio n of th e tru e social p roperty. Work in g b o die s in the N a tion a l A ssem b ly a re also a special, pro fe ssio nalparticularizatio no f so ciab ility, since the y close p ro fessions and s trata in to the ir own ra n k s. C h a m b e rs o f com m erce a n d c u ltu ra l c o m m u n ities in the pre sent sy stemarenothing but anextension of the S ta te, notexamples of free a ssociation even by form, which is ob vious both from the functions which th e y c a rry o u t a n d fro m th e f u n c tio n a rie s - ta k e n o v e r fro m the organs of the State. All these in stitutions arenew o n ly by n a m e; th e y a re o ld w ith re sp e c t to th e c h a ra c te r of managementandsocial power.

working class in our society in the fact that the conceptual model has not been sufficiently adhered to, or is the cause in the model itself, in its failure to bring about a radically different position of the working class in the present system? Let us consider which aspects, if any, are fundamentally changed by the system defined in this country as self-managing socialism, with respect to the position of the working class. Are the workers overcoming the status of hirelings, the status of commodity which has to be "freely" sold at the market in order to exist; are they overcoming the poverty, a permanent companion to the above-mentioned status, and unemployment, a result, but also a cause, of the continuing dependent position of workers in relation to those to whom they sell their work?

In no socialist system has the working class gained the position of the »ruling class«; in the Stalinist model this fact was justified by the concept of socialism as a transitory state in which the State becomes stronger. In the socialism called self-managing there is no such justification, and yet some of the basic elements which make possible the continued existence of the old position of the working class have not been overcome. The fact that workers hire themselves out is frequently mentioned in the scientific literature in this country, yet this fact is completely ignored in the official documents. This is, however, the key problem with respect to the position of the working class in the socialist society. If one recognizes the possibility that the status of hiring oneself out may exist not only under the conditions of private possession of the means of production, but also when there is monopoly of the State property, since the position of workers remains essentially the same if all conditions of work and production are determined by the State (or its extentions within the enterprises) instead of by a private proprietor, the question concerning the existence of hired labor is still very appropriate in this country. In close connection to the rights derived from the character of property which has not become social in the true sense, the right to make decisions about the fundamental conditions of work is not be »producer's «: it does not even belong to the work organization which employs them. (Organs of the State which make the most important decisions determine in the final analysis the fate of both groups and individuals: through its decisions concerning the investments policy, the State can facilitate and make faster the development of some, and slow down others; by tolerating the present differences in the conditions of work between branches of industry and between enterprises within the same branch, the State creates favorable conditions for the development of major social differences, and distorts the effects of the principle of »amount of reward in proportion to amount of work«; by not interfering with the present system of distribution of national revenue, the existence of privileged social groups is implicitly acknowledged; etc.).

The fact that in this country the State in its classical form is joined in the exercise of the rights to make decisions about the conditions of work by a branched-out, decentralized system of State organs, together with a number of accessory institutions such as various chambers of commerce and »cultural communities«, does not make the situation

w orking class in our society in the fact th at the conceptual m odel has not been su fficiently ad h ered to, or is the cause in the m odel itself, in its failu re to b rin g about a rad ic a lly d iffe re n t position of the w orking class in the p resent system? Let us consider w hich aspects, if any, are fund amentally changed by the system defined in this country as selfman ag in g socialism, with respect to the position of the working class.

A re the w orkers overcom ing the status of hirelings, the status of comm odity w hich has to be »freely« sold a t the m ark et in o rd er to exist; are they overcom ing the poverty, a p erm an en t com panion to the ab o v e-m entioned status, an d unem ploym ent, a result, b u t also a cause, of the con tin u in g d e p en d en t position of w orkers in rela tio n to those to w hom they sell th eir w ork?

In no socialist system has the w o rking class g ain ed the position of the » ru lin g class«; in the S talin ist m odel this fact was ju stifie d by the concept of socialism as a tra n sito ry state in w hich the S tate becomes stron g er. In the socialism called self-m a n a g in g th ere is no such ju stification, a n d yet some of the basic elem ents w hich m ake possible the continued existence of the old position of the w o rking class hav e not been overcom e. The fact that workers hire them selves out is fre q u e n tly m entioned in the scientific lite ra tu re in this country, y et this fact is com pletely ig nored in the o fficial docum ents. This is, how ever, the key problem with respect to the position of the w o rking class in the socialist society. If one recognizes the possibility that the status of hir ing oneself out may exist not only u n d e r the conditions of p riv a te possession of the m eans of pro d u ctio n, b ut also when there is m onopoly of the S tate p ro p erty, since the position of w orkers remains essentially the sam e if all conditions of w ork a n d pro d u ctio n a re determ in ed by the S tate (or its ex tentions with in the enterprises) in stead of by a p riv a te p ro p rie to r, the question concerning the existence of h ire d labo r is still v ery a p p ro p ria te in th is country. In close connection to the rights derived from the character of prop erty w hich has n o t b ecome social in the tru e sense, the right to m ake decisions about the fund amental conditions of work is not be » p ro d u cer's «: it does not even belong to the w ork org an iz a tio n w hich em ploys them. (O rgans of the S tate w hich m ake the m ost im p o rta n t decisions d eterm in e in the fin al an alysis the fate of both g roups a n d in d iv id u als: th ro u g h its decisions co ncerning the investm ents policy, the S tate can fac ilitate a n d m ake faste r the dev elo p m en t of some, a n d slow dow n o thers; by to le ratin g the present differences in the conditions of w ork between b ranches of in d u stry a n d b etw een en terp rises w ith in th e sam e bran ch, the S tate creates fav o rable conditions for the dev elopm ent of m a jo r social d if ferences, a n d disto rts the effects o f the p rin c ip le of »am ount of rew ard in p ro p o rtio n to am o u n t

of w ork«; by n o t in te rfe rin g w ith the present system of d istrib u tio n of n a tio n a l revenue, th e existence o f priv ileg ed social groups is im p licitly ackn o w led g ed; etc.).

The fact that in this country the State in its classical form is join ed in the exercise of the rights to make decisions about the conditions of work by a branched out, decentralized system of State organs, together with a number of accessory institutions such as various chambers of commerce and wcultural communities, does not make the situation 407

any better for the »producers«, but makes their position more complicated and multiplies the sources of their dependence. The existence of hired labor does not automatically end when the classical State, as a centralized organ, ceases to have the monopoly over all decisions and continues to make only the vital ones, while it delegates the power to make some of the decisions in connection with the organization of production and the distribution of the products of work to the enterprises (primarily, as we said, to the organs of the State within the enterprises, such as the directors and the management); in fact, such a complex system of dependence increases the workers' insecurity and the feeling of powerlessness. (There is no evidence for the notion that the power of the State becomes weaker due to the decentralization of social power [perhaps the term »deconcentration« would be more accurate]; if there were such evidence, it would follow that it is now easier for the workers to exercise their rights, since social power has partially been transferred to them too. On the contrary, however, strikes occur more and more frequently as a reflection of the group dissatisfaction of the workers and of their having learned that there are no forms of self-management throught which their justified demands could be met. In cases where the rights of individual workers are in jeopardy, they have to address themselves to the State, the courts, in order to protect themselves from the bureaucracy in the enterprises).9 I. Maksimović, the economist, writes:

»The individual, the direct producer of material and cultural values in this society, has a feeling cf deep alienation. Goals and methods of activity of the economy, and the workers' contribution to it, are determined and qualified by the State which again becomes a mythical term... At both levels, objectively speaking, there are not criteria by which to estimate the individual's contribution to the society and to stimulate his creative energy. Instead of an objective economic and social criterion, the valorization is carried out by the bureaucratic organs of the State, for which the »objective« is only that which reproducers their existence and increases their economic and administrative power. Hence the new forms and methods of exploitation, i. e. the appropriation of the part of the surplus of work which belongs to

⁰ From the materials for the Congress of Self-Managers one learns that *workers emphasize a general slowness and hesitation with respect to the abandonment of etatistic management of the means of production*. In work organizations it is felt that work units have jurisdiction only over *disciplinary rules and employment procedure, while decisions concerning the essentials such as development, distribution, and investments, are still made at the top. The one-time functions of administrative management of the enterprise are still preserved at all costs. Through terms such as *Direction*, *Management*, *Head of Department* – the symbols of old power – individuals tend to maintain the positions they have acquired and which do not have work as their basis*. (Quoted from the article *Sta traži radnička klasa* [What are the demands of the working class], that appeared in the Belgrade daily Politika in the issue for 30 April, 1 and 2 May, 1971. I do not have at my disposal the source materials in order to verify and add to statements in Politika).

to m a tic a lly e n d w h e n th e c la ssic a l S ta te, as a c e n tra liz e d o rg a n, ceases to h a v e th e m o n o p o ly o v e r a ll d ecisio n s andcontinues to make only the vital ones, while it deleg a te s th e p o w e r to m ak e som e o f th e d e cisio n s in c o n n e ction with the organization of production and the distr ib u tio n o f th e p ro d u c ts o f w o rk to th e e n te r p rise s (p rim a rily, as we said, to the organs of the State with in the en te rp ris e s, such as th e d ire c to rs a n d th e m a n a g e m e n t); in fa c t, su ch a c o m p le x sy stem o f d e p e n d e n c e in cre a se s th e w o rk e rs' in se c u rity a n d th e fe e lin g o f p o w erlessn ess. (There is no evidence for the notion that the power of th e S ta te b ecom es w e a k e r d u e to th e d e c e n tr a liz a tio n o f so cial p o w e r [p e rh a p s th e te r m » d e c o n c e n tra tio n « w o u ld b e m o re a c c u ra te]; if th e re w e re su ch e v id e n c e, it would followthatitisnoweasier for the workers to exe rc ise th e ir rig h ts, sin c e so c ia l p o w e r h a s p a r tia lly b e e n transferred to the m to o. On the contrary, however, s trik es o c c u r m o re a n d m o re f re q u e n tly as a re f le c tio n o f th e g ro u p d iss a tis fa c tio n o f th e w o rk e rs a n d o f th e ir h a v in glear nedthat there are no form sofself-manage ment throughtwhichtheir justifieddemandscouldbe m et. I n cases w h e re th e r ig h ts o f in d iv id u a l w o rk e rs a re in je op ardy, they have to address them selves to the S ta te, the courts, in order to protect them selves from the b u re a u c r a c y in th e e n te rp ris e s).9 I. M a k sim o v ie, th e ec o n o m ist, w rite s:

» The individual, thedirectproducerofmaterial and culturalvalues in this so ciety, has afeelingcfdeepalie nation. Goals and methods of activity of thee conomy, and theworkers'contribution to it, are determined and qualified by the State which again becomes amy thicalterm... At both levels, objectively speaking, thereare not criteriaby which to estimate theindividual's contribution to the society and to stimulate his creative energy. In steadofanobjectiveeconomicands ocial criterion, thevalor iz ation is carriedout by the bureaucraticorgans of the State, for which the » objective « is on ly that which reproducers their existence and in creases their economicand administrative power.

Hencethenew forms and methods of exploitation, i. e. theappropriation of thepartof thes urplus of work which belongs to 9 From them a terials for the Congress of Self-Managers onelearns that work ersemphasize age n e r a l slow ness a n d h e s ita tio n w ith re sp e c t to th e a b a n d onmentofeta tistic managementofthemeansofprod u c tio n « . In w o rk o rg a n iz a tio n s i t is f e lt th a t w o rk u n its h a v e ju r is d ic tio n o n ly o v e r » d is c ip lin a ry ru le s a n d em ploymentprocedure, while decisionsconcerningthe esse n tia ls su c h as d e v e lo p m e n t, d is tr ib u tio n, a n d in v e stm e n ts, a re s till m a d e a t th e to p. T h e o n e -tim e fu n c tio n s o f a d m in is tra tiv e m a n a g e m e n t of th e e n te rp ris e a r e s till p re s e r v e d a t a ll costs. T h r o u g h te rm s such as » D ire c tion«, » Management«, » Head of Department« - the sym bols o f o ld p o w e r - in d iv id u a ls te n d to m a in ta in th e p o sitio n s th e y h a v e a c q u ire d a n d w h ich do n o t h a v e w ork as the ir basis«. (Q u o ted from the article» Š ta tražiradn ič k a k lasa« [W h a t a re th e d e m a n d s of th e w o rk in g c lass], th a t a p p e a r e d in th e B e lg ra d e d a ily P o litik a in th e issue for 30 April, 1 and 2 May, 1971. I donothaveatmydispo sa l th e so u rc e m a te ria ls in o r d e r to v e rif y a n d a d d to s ta te m e n ts in P o litik a).

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the society of the direct manual and intellectual workers, and the treatment of human work as labor hired by the State, although the economic processes are no longer based on private, capitalist property«.10

If what has been said above is true, including the quoted text, then the conclusion based on the reasoning of Branko Horvat, another economist, would be that unsolved problems in the sphere of work and the position of workers question the socialist character of the system:¹¹

»If man's working activity is the essence of his existence as a man, then the monopoly over the conditions of work represents a necessary and sufficient basis of class differniation«.

All studies confirm the notion that social differentiation has become more intensive in this country in the recent years, and that there is an active process of segregation of social strata. (Residential area increasingly begins to reflect social prestige in this country too: through differentiated housing development plans, at the expense of all members of the society, areas for the privileged are created, as well as those for the underprivileged.¹² Different criteria for the evaluation of the standard of living are advocated by implicitly allowing the utilization of social means in order to satisfy the increased needs of certain strata with »higher needs« on one hand, while simultaneously the very standard of living of the working class is justified by claiming that there is a lack of social means necessary to solve the workers' elementary problems efficiently, although they often live under conditions bordering with the minimum necessary for existence). In this way, the working class continues to have the status of a dependent labor force for hire, »still for sale not only in this country, but also abroad«. Unemployment, the omnipresent companion of hired labor, puts increasing pressure on the working class and maintains its dependent status by threatening it daily with increased insecurity.

Therefore, the problem does not only consist of the effects produced by the commodity market and the law of values;¹³ the related part of the problem is that concerned with the role in the Yugoslav system of the mechanisms which stem from the production of commodities, and the regulation of these mechanisms by the basic institutions of the

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the society of the d irect m an u al an d in tellectual w orkers, and the tre a tm e n t of hu m an work as lab o r hired by th e State, a lthough the economic processes are no longer based on private, cap italist p ro

¹⁰ I. Maksimović, Socijalizam i ekonomski problemi (Socialism and the economic and ethical problems). Filosofija, 4. 1967, p. 51

¹¹ B. Horvat, Ogled o jugoslovenskom društvu (Treatise on Yugoslav society). Zagreb: Mladost, 1969, p. 195.

¹² S. Suvar, in his article »Urbanizacija, socijalna diferencijacija i socijalna segregacija u našem društvu« (Urbanization, social differentiation, and social segregation in our society), Lica, 1, 1971, emphasizes that »the present distribution of social wealth and power... gives a deeply class character to urbanization in this country« (p. 6).

¹⁸ See I. Maksimović, Op. cit., M. Marković, »Ekonomizam ili humanizacija ekonomike« (Economism or the humanization of economy), Filosofija, 4, 1967, F. Černe, »Protivrečnosti našeg društvenog sistema u vrednosnoj proceni« (Contradictions of our social system), Filosofija, 4, 1967, etc.

If w h at has been said above is true, in clu d in g the quoted text, th en the conclusion based on the reasoning of B ranko H o rv a t, an o th er economist, w ould be th a t unsolved problem s in the sphere of work and the p osition of w orkers question the socialist ch a ra c te r of the system :11

»If m an 's w o rking activ ity is the essence of his existence as a m an, th en th e m on o p o ly over the conditions o f w o rk represents a necessary a n d sufficient basis of class diffen tiatio n «.

All studies confirm the notion that social differentiation has become m ore intensive in this co u ntry in the recent years, an d th a t th ere is an active process of seg reg atio n of social stra ta. (R esidential a re a increasingly begins to reflect social p restige in this co u ntry too: th ro u g h d iffere n tia te d housing d evelopm ent plans, at the expense of all m em bers of the society, areas for the privileg ed are created, as well as those for the und erp rivile ged. 12 Diffe re n t c riteria for th e e v alu atio n o f the sta n d a rd of liv in g are adv o cated by im plicitly allo w in g the utilizatio n of social m eans in o rd er to satisfy the increased needs of certa in s tra ta w ith » h igher needs« on one h a n d, w hile sim ultaneously the v erv sta n d a rd of liv in g of the w orking class is ju stifie d by claim ing th a t th ere is a lack of social m eans necessary to solve the w o rkers' e lem en ta ry problem s e fficien tly, alth o u g h th ey o ften live u n d e r conditions b o rd erin g w ith the m inim um necessary for existence). In this w ay, the w orking class continues to hav e the status of a d ep e n d en t lab o r force fo r h ire, »still fo r sale not only in this country, b u t also abro ad « . U n em ploym ent, the om n ip resen t com panion of h ire d labor, puts in creasing p ressure on the w o rking class a n d m ain tain s its d e p en d en t status by th re a te n in g it d a ily w ith in creased insecurity.

The erefore, the problem does not only consist of the effects produced by the commodity mark et and the law of values; 13 the related part of the problem is that concerned with the role in the Yugoslav system of the mechanisms which stem from the production of commodities, and the regulation of these mechanisms by the basic in stitutions of the

10 I. M aksim ović, Socijalizam i ekonom ski problem i (Socialism an d the economic an d ethical problem s). F ilo so fija, 4. 1967, p. 51

11 B. H o rv at, O gled o ju g o slo vcn sko m dru slvu (T reatise on Y ugoslav society).

Z ag reb: M ladost, 1969, p. 195.

12 S. Suvar, in his a rtic le » U rb an iz acija, so c ija ln a d ife re n c ija c ija i socijalna seg re g a c ija u našem društvu« (U rb an iz atio n , social d iffe re n tia tio n , an d social segregation in our society), Lica, 1, 1971, em phasizes th a t »the p resent distrib u tio n ot social w ea lth an d p o w e r . . . gives a deeply class ch a ra c te r to urban izatio n in this c ountry« (p. 6).

See I. M aksim ović, Op. cit., M. M arković, »Econom ism or the human izatio n of economy«, F ilosofija, 4, 1967- J - 9 e r'

no, "Contradictions of our social system in value assessment", Philosophy, 4, 1967, etc.

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system which – if it is socialist – cannot be based on economic laws alone. In other words, the hired labor force's status of a commodity is not only a necessary consequence of the effects of the commodity market, i. e. the effects of economic laws, but may be preserved in a socialist system due to the activity of social factors which do not make possible the overcoming of the condition of hired labor as a social condition.

Deprived of the opportunity to participate in the making of decisions affecting the elementary conditions of their existence – the conditions under which work is performed, and the exercise of the right to work – workers and other »producers« do not have the means with which to fight the two basic evils of every class society, poverty and unemployment.¹⁴ (It should be mentioned that the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process varies depending on the type and branch of working activity: individuals employed in non-industrial and non-agricultural branches, particularly various experts and specialists, are in a better position than the working class as a whole).

The unfavorable economic condition of the working class is not the only problem (although the condition of hired labor is not a purely economic, but also a social condition). The social position of the »producer« in the Yugoslav system is defined in such a way as to preserve the partial status of the worker, not only in the technological system, but in the society as a whole, since it connects the workers almost exclusively within a profession and within a stratum. The problem, therefore, is not limited to the frequently emphasized shortcoming, i. e. that there are no self-managing links connecting the basic selfmanaging units with the top. It is actually far more serious and is related to the fact that self-managing units are constituted in a way which prevents them from uniting their social forces, from integrating the working class into a single social force. Instead, the working class is atomized, enclosed within the walls of individual factories or institutions: these walls are characterized by the old stratification which secures the intactness of the social power concentrated at the top, thus making it impossible for the self-managing cells to overcome various forms of class differentiations and to prevent the desintegration of the social power of »producers«.

Within the system itself may be found the reasons for the inability of the working class and other »producers« to enter the »general political scene« and begin to deal in a more decisive manner with the

¹⁴ See data given by N. Popov in the article *Strajkovi u savremenom jugoslovenskom društvu« (Strikes in the contemporary Yugoslav society), Sociologija, 4, 1968, on the low standard of living of workers (p. 616). Analysis of incomes in the economy shows that 36.8 percent of workers employed in the economy received in 1968 significantly less than what was the average income for the economy. 89567 workers in 500 work organizations received the minimum income which was far below the true minimum necessary. If one would analyze the incomes of people employed in the economy upon excluding industrial workers, the situation would no doubt be even less favorable. On the other hand, statistics do not make it possible to analyze the true growth of unemployment, but it would certainly be safe to claim that the actual figure would be twice the one given by the authorities which do not take into account all that are unemployed, but only those listed at the Labor Exchange.

en ce o f th e e ffe c ts o f th e co m m o d ity m a rk e t, i. e. th e e ffe c ts o f e c o n o m ic law s, b u t m a y b e p r e s e r v e d in a so c ia list sy stem d u e to th e a c tiv ity o f so c ia l fa c to rs w h ic h d o n o t m ak e p o ssib le th e o v e rc o m in g o f th e c o n d itio n o f h ir e d la b o r a s a so cia l c o n d itio n.

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e. th a t th e re a re n o s e lf -m a n a g in g lin k s c o n n e c tin g th e b a s ic se lf-m a n a g in g u n its w ith th e to p . I t is a c tu a lly f a r m o re se rio u s a n d is r e la te d to th e f a c t t h a t s e lf -m a n a g in g u n its a r e c o n s titu te d in a w a y w h ic h p re v e n ts th e m fro m u n itin g th e ir so c ia l fo rc e s, fro m in te g r a tin g th e w o rk in g class in to a s in g le so c ia l fo rc e . I n s te a d , th e w o rk in g class is a to m ize d , e n c lo se d w ith in th e w a lls o f in d iv id u a l fa c to rie s o r in s titu tio n s; th ese w a lls a re c h a ra c te riz e d b y th e o ld s tr a tif ic a tio n w h ic h secu res th e in ta c tn e s s o f th e so c ia l p o w e r c o n c e n tr a te d a t th e to p , th u s m a k in g it im p o ssib le fo r th e s e lf -m a n a g in g cells to o v e rc o m e v a rio u s fo rm s o f class d iff e re n tia tio n s a n d to p re v e n t th e d e s in te g ra tio n o f th e so c ia l p o w e r o f » p ro d u ce rs«.

With in the system itselfmay be found there as onsforthe in a bility of the work in g class and other producers to enter the producers lpolitical scene and be g in to deal in a more decisivemanner with the 14 Seedatagiven by N. Popovinthearticle producers.

vensk o in d ru štv u « (S trik es in th e c o n te m p o r a ry Y u g o sla v so c ie ty), S o c io lo g ija , 4, 1968, on th e low s ta n d a r d o f liv in g o f w o rk e rs (p. 616). A n a ly s is o f incom es in th e ec onom y show s th a t 36.8 p e rc e n t o f w o rk e rs em p lo y e d in th e e c o n o m y re c e iv e d in 196S sig n if ic a n tly less th a n w h a t w as th e a v e r a g e in co m e f o r th e eco n o m y . 89567

w o rk ers in 500 w o rk o r g a n iz a tio n s re c e iv e d th e m in im u m in c o m e w h ic h w as f a r belo w th e tr u e m in im u m n ece ssa ry . I f o n e w o u ld a n a ly z e th e inco m es o f p e o p le e m p lo y e d in th e eco n o m y u p o n e x c lu d in g in d u s tr ia l w o rk e rs, th e s itu a tio n w o u ld n o d o u b t be ev en less fa v o r a b le . O n th e o th e r h a n d , s ta tis tic s d o n o t m a k e it possible to a n a ly z e th e tru e g ro w th of u n e m p lo y m e n t, b u t it w o u ld c e r ta in ly b e sa fe to cla im th a t th e a c tu a l fig u re w o u ld be tw ic e th e o n e g iv e n b y th e a u th o ritie s w h ich do n o t ta k e in to a c c o u n t a ll t h a t a r e u n e m p lo y e d , b u t o n ly th o se lis te d a t th e L a b o r E x c h a n g e .

key issues in Yugoslav society, especially those concerned with the distribution of the surplus of value. Here also lies the explanation for the fact that the working class has continued in the socialist society to use almost exclusively the classical method of combat – the strikes. In this way, the working class remains within the framework of the struggle for economic emancipation, since it is not constituted politically as an integral social force which could act as a united "ruling class" at all levels through the appropriate forms of self-management. 15

Some of Antonio Gramsci's thoughts on the self-managing system which can be created with the help of integrated working class sound very modern. He insists on the establishment of a network of selfmanaging institutions not only in cities but also in villages. Apart from factory workers' councils, there should be meetings of workers through which not only the elected representatives but all workers would be trained to "exercise power", as well as regional councils of factory delegates as the »emanation of the working class inhabiting an area«.16 Gramsci emphasizes that free association and solidarity must be the basic principles of self-managemnt. This has not been solved by the Yugoslav model of socialism: a way has not been found for these two essential principles to be built into the foundation of the system. This is the cause of the apparent paradox, i. e. that the development of self-management is accompanied by an increasing number of instances of particularism and unfair competition; effects of the economic laws of the market have not been curbed by a social system in which the crucial mechanisms would be based on free association of »producers« and on the solidarity of the working class.

If one investigates the position of "producers" in the wider sense, including thus in the analysis not only the working class but also the most numerous stratum in our society, the peasantry, the problem becomes even more serious. There is not in the Yugoslav system even a theoretical solution to the question of inclusion of peasantry into new social conditions in order to create a single system of self-management (although we are not without tradition and without some experiences in this respect, considering the socialist writing of Svetozar Marković and others). Although villages certainly add up to two-thirds of communites (settlements) in Yugoslavia (by sociological, rather than purely statistical, criteria), and although more than a half of our popu-

¹⁵ It seems to me that O. Kozomara's conclusion (see the mentioned article), accompanied by strong arguments, is quite convincing. According to him, the proletariat of this country is not organized as a class, but reduced to atomized organizations within enterprises. An argument to the effect that socialism should abolish rather than constitutive classes is merely a sophism, ignoratio elenchi. It overlooks the fact that Yugoslav society never had an organized working class in the true sense of the word, and that the first premise of its liberation is its constitution as a class in order to be able to fulfil its historical function, i. e. the abolition of itself as a class, and of the class society in general.

By means of the theory of *working people*, the social differences between strata are supposedly erased in Yugoslavia. However, neither theoretically nor practically is thus solved the main problem of socialism, the relationship between the working class and the government.

¹⁶ A. Gramsci, Selected Works. Belgrade: Kultura, 1959, p. 155.

society to use alm ost exclusively the classical m ethod of com bat - the strikes.

In this way, the w orking class rem ains w ithin the fram ew ork of the struggle for economic em ancipation, since it is n o t constituted p o litically as an in tegral social force w hich could act as a u n ited wruling class« a t all levels thro u g h the appropriate forms of self-m an agement.15

Some of A n tonio G ram sci's thoughts on the self-m an ag in g system which can be created with the help of in tegrated working class sound v ery m odern. H e insists on the establishm ent of a n etw ork of selfm an ag in g in stitutions not only in cities b u t also in villages. A p a rt from facto ry w o rkers' councils, th ere should be m eetings of workers th ro u g h w hich not only the elected represen tativ es but all w orkers w ould be tra in e d to »exercise pow er«, as well as regional councils of factory delegates as the » em anation of the working class in habiting an are a « .16 G ram sci emphasizes th a t free association a n d solid arity m ust be the basic p rin cip les of self-m an ag em n t. T h is has n o t been solved by the Y ugoslav m odel of socialism: a w ay has n o t been found for these two essential p rin cip les to be b u ilt into the fo u n d atio n of the system. T h is is the cause of the apparent paradox, i. e. that the dev elopm ent of self-m an ag em en t is accom panied by an increasing n u m ber of instances of p a rticu la rism a n d u n fa ir com petition; effects of the economic law s of the m ark et h av e n o t been curbed by a social system in w hich the crucial m echanism s w ould be based on free association of »producers« a n d on the so lid a rity of th e w o rking class.

If one in v estigates the p osition of »producers« in the w id er sense, in clu d in g thus in the an alysis not only the w orking class b u t also the most num erous stra tu m in our society, the p easan try, the problem b ecomes even m ore serious. The ere is not in the Yugo slav system even a theo retical solution to the question of inclusion of peasan try into new social conditions in order to create a single system of self-m and gement (although we are not without tradition and without some experiences in this respect, considering the socialist writing of Svetozar Marković and others). Although villages certa in lyaddup to two-thirds of communites (settlements) in Yugo slavia (by sociological, rather than purely statistical, criteria), and although more than ahalf of our popu 15 It seems to methatous different marković and arguments, is quite convincing. According to him, the proletariat of this country is no

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14 A. G ram sci, S ele cte d W o rk s. B elgrade: K ultura, 1959, p. 155.

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lation lives in villages, all these people have been left out of the defined system of self-managing socialism. (Various forms of cooperation of individual producers with cooperative farms, the zadrugas, which were developed in the previous years, are diminishing at an ever faster rate, because the zadrugas have transformed themselves into economic enterprises which operate on the profit basis and are thus less and less capable of performing the functions of social associations).

The problem is therefore more serious than it is usually recognized and labeled – as the »underdevelopment of self-management« or as the »existence of forces which oppose self-management«; the problem consists of the fact that the system does make possible a more radical change of the social position of »producers« in the sense specified by

the notion of self-management.

Closely connected to what was discussed above is the following problem: Does self-management as it is defined in the Yugoslav model secure the abolition of political alienation of individuals, i. e. are there definitions of the basic forms of "power" which will be used to overcome the State as the "abstract form of human community", to be, since it represents political power divorced from society, replaced by an integral system of self-management? In other words, is Yugoslav system defined in a way which will enable the working class, "as an economically developed and politically conscious class, knowing its true interests and historical objectives, to keep the system of the State in the position of a subordinate power, a tool, so that it cannot become bureaucratic and transform itself into the society's despote".

From what has been said so far one may conclude that Yugoslav system represents a peculiar hybrid which consists of the power of the State and some forms of management which had not been developed in the classical State, and which could only conditionally be taken to be self-managing forms. In all this, organs of the State are dominant, judging not only by the strength of influence, but also by degree of development of the institutions in which political decisions are made, and by the principles on which political decision-making is based. The existing forms of self-management have not brought political decisionmaking to the people; principles on which political decision-making is based have not been radically changed. (Decision-making is still unidimensional, directed from the top to the bottom. Decisions that have already been made are then explained and discussed in the basic units. This principle is only slightly different in the National Assembly which can influence to a small extent the decisions made by the Government, by means of amendments).

Work organizations are defined as self-managing units, but this is not taken to mean »political self-management«,18 that is the right of

¹⁷ A. Kardelj, »Socijalizam i demokratija« (Socialism and Democracy), in *Biro-kratija i tehnokratija* (Bureaucracy and technocracy), Vol. II, p. 297.

¹⁸ I place quote-marks around »political self-management« since true self-management cannot be exclusively political power, nor can it remain only in the sphere of economy; rather, it presupposes the transcending of such partialized spheres as separate professions and strata.

o o p e ra tiv e fa rm s, th e za d ru g a s, w h ich w e re d e v e lo p e d in th e p rev io u s y e a rs, a re d im in is h in g a t a n e v e r fa s te r ra te, becau se th e z a d ru g a s h a v e tra n s fo r m e d th em se lv e s in to econom ic e n te rp rise s w h ich o p e ra te o n th e p r o fit b a sis a n d a re th u s less a n d less c a p ab le o f p e rfo rm in g th e fu n c tio n s o f so cial a sso ciatio n s).

The problem is there fore more serious than it is usually recognized and labeled - as the » underdevelopment of self-management« or as the » ex istence of forces which possesses self-management«; the problem consists of the fact that the sy stem does make possible a more radical change of the social position of » producers« in the sense specified by the notion of self-management.

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From whathasbeensaidsofaronemayconcludethatYugoslavsystem representsapeculiarhybridwhichconsists of thepoweroftheStateandsomeformsofmanagementwhichhadnotbeendevelopedintheclassicalState, and whichcouldonlyconditionallybetakentobeself-managingforms. In all this, organsoftheStatearedominant, judgingnotonlybythestrengthofinfluence, but alsobydegreeofdevelopmentoftheinstitutionsinwhichpoliticaldecisionsaremade, and bytheprinciplesonwhichpoliticaldecision-makingisbased. Theexistingformsofself-managementhavenotberoughtprinciplesonwhichpoliticaldecision-makingisbased. Theexistingformsofself-managementhavenotberoughtprinciplesonwhichpoliticaldecision-makingisbasedhavenotberoughtpoliticaldecision-makingisbasedhavenotberoughtpoliticaldecision-makingisbasedhavenotberoradicallychanged. (Decision-makingisstillunidimensional, directed from the top to the bottom. De

c isio n s th a t h a v e a lr e a d y b een m ad e a re th e n e x p la in e d a n d d isc u sse d in th e b a sic u n its. T h is p rin c ip le is o n ly s lig h tly d iff e re n t in th e N a tio n a l A s sem b ly w h ich c a n in flu e n c e to a sm a ll e x te n t th e d ecisio n s m a d e b y th e G o v e rn m e n t, b y m ea n s o f a m e n d m e n ts).

W o rk o rg a n iz a tio n s a re d e fin e d as s e lf -m a n a g in g u n its , b u t th is is n o t ta k e n to m e a n » p o litic a l s e lf-m a n a g e m e n t« ,18 t h a t is th e rig h t o f 17 A . K a r d e lj, » S o cijaliza m i d e m o k r a tija « (S ocialism a n d D e m o c ra c y), in B iro -

bureaucracy and technocracy, Vol. II, p. 297.

19 I p la c e q u o te -m a rk s a ro u n d » p o litic a l s e lf-m a n a g e m e n t« sin ce tru e s e lf-m a n ag e m e n t ca n n o t be e x clu siv e ly p o litic a l po w e r, n o r c a n it re m a in o n ly in th e sp h e re of econom y; r a th e r, it p resu p p o ses th e tra n s c e n d in g o f such p a r tia liz e d sp h eres as s e p a ra te p ro fessio n s a n d s tra ta .

groups and of individuals to make decisions concerning not only economic but also political issues. For this reason the division of functions between workers' councils (economic functions) and the party and other social organizations (political functions) continues to be maintained. Self-management conceived in such a partial way with respect to the issues with which the self-managing units are concerned makes possible the covert strengthening of the centers of political power and of bureaucracy. This means that the battle against bureaucracy cannot be won without the development of integral self-managing units which would represent complete cells of direct democracy, and have the right to discuss, and decide about, all issues of social significance, be they political, economic, or cultural. The people cannot have a truly significant influence within the present system of social relations in Yugoslav society as far as basic politicies, such as the following, are concerned: the defining of social objectives and of the means for their realization; the formulation of social priorities and social interest; the specification of the characteristics of the system (Constitutional changes).19

It may, therefore, be claimed that political power as an alienated force, and bureaucratism as a monopoly of political power and a concentration of political might at the top, will not be overcome unless self-managing units take over these forms of power, and unless there is a complete network of self-managing institutions from the base to the top. I take that to be the meaning of the following text:²⁰

»Socialism cannot solve the problem of bureaucracy within the framework of the abstract, political State, since bureaucracy is its unavoidable product«.

This means that the solution to the problem of bureaucracy cannot be found in "political power" as a separate sphere of the social system, irrespective of whether political power is embodied in the organs of the State or in parliamentary forms. As along as "power" is constitutionally separated from basic units in which "productive life" is lived, politics will remain to be an alienated force. Therefore, bureaucracy as a constituent element of political power may be overcome only through the process of overcoming politics as a separate and professionalized sphere of the social decision-making, i. e. by means of the "socialization of politics". This, in other words, means the necessity to create the cell-like forms of complex self-management, the communes. A network of self-managing organs which will integrate the social forces of "producers" must be built to serve as a basis of self-managemnt as a global system.

¹⁹ A particular kind of hipocrisy has been developing in this country. A bureaucrat – and for me that means anyone who has held top positions in society over the last 25 years, and who intends to continue to occupy them as if they are his inalienable right – »decisively« contributes to the liberation of the working class from bureaucracy, waging in this manner a »verbal battle« against bureaucratism which he has actually been wholeheartedly supporting and reinforcing for decades.

²⁰ Lj. Tadić, Op. cit., p. 117.

a rty and o th er social org an ization s (political functions) continues to be m ain tained. Self-m an ag em en t conceived in such a p a rtia l w ay w ith respect to the issues w ith which the self-m a n a g in g units are concerned m akes possible the covert stre n g th e n in g of the centers of p o litical pow er and of b u reaucracy. T h is m eans th at the b a ttle ag ain st b u reau cracy cannot be w on w ith o u t th e d evelopm ent of in teg ral self-m a n a g in g units which w ould represen t com plete cells of direct dem ocracy, an d have the rig h t to discuss, an d decide about, all issues of social significance, be they p o litical, economic, or cultu ral. The people cannot have a truly sig n ifican t in fluence w ith in the present system of social relations in Y ug oslav society as fa r as basic politicies, such as the following, are concerned: the d e fin in g of social objectives a n d of th e m eans for their realization; the form u lation of social priorities and social in terest; the sp ecification of the characteristics of the system (C onstitutio n al ch an g es).19

It m ay, therefo re, be claimed that political power as an alien ated force, and bu reau cratism as a monopoly of political power and a concentration of political might at the top, will not be overcome unless self-managing units take over these forms of power, and unless there is a complete network of self-managing institutions from the base to the top. I take that to be the meaning of the following text:20

»Socialism can n o t solve the p roblem of b u rea u c ra cy w ith in the fram ew o rk of the ab stract, p o litical S tate, since b u reau cracy is its u n av o id a b le p roduct«.

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10 L. Tadić, Op. cit., p. 117.

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Yugoslav system does not secure the exit from the closed circle of power, because neither the process nor the forms of the withering

away of the State as political power have been defined.

Socialism becomes a qualitativelly new human community only if it reaches, in this sense, beyond the limits of classical democracy which remains within the framework of »political power« and is not able to break the shell in a radical manner.21 That which is essential for the direct »exercise of power« - an interest on the part of individuals to participate in social decision-making, the need to become political subjects, the consciousness of common objectives and of the interrelatedness of the social and individuals interests, the confidence on the part of individuals that they can influence the making of social policies - does not depend primarily on whether or not democratic forms exist, but on the character of the community in which individuals live, i. e. on the degree to which they think of this community as their own, as opposed to an alienated one. (Democracy is frequently only an addition to the old, alienated forms of power, within the alienated »community«). Therefore, self-management is a purer form of people's sovereignty, since its first and basic premise is the abolition of all forms of alienation in social life. (The absence of democratic tradition is frequently cited as the reason for the insignificant political influence of the people on social policies in this country. At the same time, the absence of some of the most basic democratic rights of citizens is justified by claims that the people are not mature enough to »engage in politics«. Both lines of reasoning remain in the closed circle of political reasoning of the classical type which treats politics as a special activity reserved only for certain strata of the society).

Under such circumstances the working class does not have an adequate opportunity to become the »ruling class« (it is not adequately represented even in the existing forms of political power and in the parliamentary system).²² Objectively speaking, the working class is not capable of securing for itself such a position for the following reasons:

(1) Its social position is characterized by disadvantageous material and economic conditions, which means that the greatest portion of energy of the working class is absorbed in the struggle for elementary existence. This further implies the following:²³

²¹ O. Kozomara's differentiation (Op. cit., pp. 1502-9) between democracy and self-management is quite justified, I think. Kozomara points out the limitations of democracy such as the principle of majority's rule, liberalism which primarily takes into account partial interests, rather than interests of the society as a whole, etc. However, apart from these limitations, democracy in the classical sense radically differs from self-management in that the latter *dissolves* politics as the separate, exclusive, most independent and influential sub-system of society, and brings it into the very cells of social life, integrating in this manner different spheres of social activity into a single social whole (where each unit represents an integrated, realized sociability in a micro-form).

²² Statistical data show that workers are represented in the various chambers of the Assembly by 0.8% of members (Federal Assembly), and in the Republic Assemblies by 2.8% of members. (These data are from 1967, according to the men-

tioned article by N. Popov, p. 619).

23 A. Krešić, Kritika kulta ličnosti (Critique of the Personality Cult), Zodijak, 1968, p. 66.

ebeende fined.

Socialism becom es a q u a li t a t iv e l y n e w h u m a n c o m m u n ity o n ly i f it reach es, in th is sense, b e y o n d th e lim its o f c la ssic a l d e m o c ra c y w h ic h re m a in s w ith in th e fra m e w o rk of » political power« and is not able to break the shell in aradicalmanner.21 Thatwhichises sential for the d ire c t »ex ercise o f p o w e r« - a n in te re s t o n th e p a r t o f in d iv id u a ls to p a rtic ip a te in so cial d e c is io n -m a k in g, th e n e e d to b eco m e p o litic a l s u b jects, th e consciousness o f co m m o n o b je c tiv e s a n d o f th e in te r re la te d n e s s o f th e so cial a n d in d iv id u a ls in te re s ts, the confidence on the part of in d iv id u a ls t h a t th e y c a n in flu e n c e th e m a k in g o f so cial p olicies - does not dependprimarily onwhetherornot d e m o c ra tic fo rm s exist, b u t o n th e c h a ra c te r o f th e c o m m u n ity in w h ic h in d iv id u a ls live, i. e. on th e d e g re e to w h ic h th e y th in k o f th is c o m m u n ity as th e ir ow n, as o p p o sed to a n a lie n a te d on e. (D e m o c ra c y is f re q u e n tly o n ly a n a d d itio n to the old, a lie n a ted form sofpower, with in the a lie n a te d » co m m u n ity «). T h e r e f o r e , s e lf -m a n a g e m entis a pur er form of people's sovereignty, since its fir s t a n d b a sic p re m ise is the a b o litio n o f a ll fo rm s o f a lie n a tio n in so c ia l life. (T h e a b sen c e o f d e m o c ra tic tr a d itio n is f requently cited as the reasonfor the insignificant political in fluence of the people on social policies in th is c o u n try. At the same time, the absence of some of the m o st b a s ic d e m o c ra tic rig h ts o f citizens is ju s tif ie d b y cla im s that the people are not matureenough to » engage in politics«. Both lines of reason in gremain in the closed c ircle of p o litic a l re a s o n in g o f th e c la ssic a l ty p e w h ic h tre a ts p o litic s as a special a c tiv ity re s e rv e d o n ly fo r c e rta in s tr a ta o f th e so ciety).

Under such circum stances the work in g class does not have anadequate opportunity to become the » ruling class« (it is not adequate ly represented even in the existing forms of political power and in the parliamentary system).22 Objectively speaking, the work in g class is not capable of securing for its elf such aposition for the following reasons:

(1)

Its so cial p o sitio n is c h a ra c te riz e d b y d is a d v a n ta g e o u s m a te ria l a n d eco n o m ic c o n d itio n s, w h ic h m ea n s t h a t

th e g r e a te s t p o r tio n o f e n e rg y o f th e w o rk in g class is a b s o rb e d in th e s tru g g le f o r e le m e n ta ry ex isten ce. T h is f u rth e r im p lies th e f o llo w in g :23

21 O. K o z o m ara s d if fe r e n tia tio n (O p. cit., p p . 1502-9) b e tw e e n d e m o c ra c y a n d se lf-m a n a g e m e n t is q u ite ju s tifie d , I th in k . K o z o m a ra p o in ts o u t th e lim ita tio n s of d e m o cra cy such as th e p r in c ip le of m a jo r ity 's ru le , lib e r a lis m w h ic h p rim a rily tak es in to a c c o u n t p a r tia l in te re sts, ra th e r th a n in te re sts o f th e so ciety as a w hole, etc.

However, apart from these limitations, democracy in the classical sense radically differs from self-management in that the latter » dissolves «politics as the separate, exclusive, most in dependent and in fluential sub-system of society, and brings it in to the very cells of social life, in tegrating in this manner different spheres of social activity in to a single social whole (where each unit represents an in tegrated, realized social bility in a micro-form).

22 S ta tis tic a l d a ta show th a t w o rk ers a r e r e p r e s e n te d in th e v a rio u s c h am b ers of th e A ssem b ly b y 0 .8 % o f m em b ers (F e d e ra l A ssem b ly), a n d in th e R e p u b lic A s sem blies b y 2 .8 % of m e m b ers. (T h ese d a ta a re fro m 1967, a c c o rd in g to th e m e n tio n e d a rtic le b y N . P o p o v , p. 619).

22 A K rešić, Critique of the Personality Cult, Zodijak, 1968, p. 66.

»While all of the energy of the productive masses of the population is preoccupied by elementary needs, the bureaucracy imposes itself in an uncontrolled manner as the single active factor in social events, and by its professional-bureaucratic practice further suppresses the political activity of the masses«.

- (2) No social organization acts as a true representative of the working class (even the unions could not develop into such an organization and are nothing but a mouthpiece of the State):²⁴ the working class thus does not have an opportunity to organize itself as a political force and to apply pressure on the formed political power in order to carry out its historical function:
- (3) As far as culture and education go, the working class is again in a position inferior to that of other strata, 25 and is objectively not able to attempt to take ove the major role in society. (One could say that this is the reason due to which the working class in this country has not yet become aware of its role and its historical function in socialism). The working class does not have a political future: oriented toward the struggle for everyday existence, it has acquired an aversion not only toward politics, but also toward everything intellectual. It cannot see the connection between theoretical Marxism and its present position from which there seems to be no way out. This is why it has *no interest« in power, why it is apathetic, and why there is a sense of resignation with respect to social objectives: there is no hope that something may be changed.

A similar conclusion, based on strong arguments, is made in the article »Strikes in the Contemporary Yugoslav Society« (Strajkovi u savremenom jugoslovenskom društvu«). It is concluded that the work-

²⁴ Statistical data on the participation of workers in the Communist League confirm this statement; this participation has been continuously decreasing. While in 1960 36.1% of the members of the CL were workers directly engaged in the production, in 1969 only 31.2% of the members were workers. An increasing number of workers is either ousted or leaves voluntarily. In the period 1960-1969, of all those ousted 50.1% were workers. Workers are also the most numerous group leaving the CL. In 1965, 61.4% of those who left the CL were workers; in 1969, 53% were workers. [Data are taken from the article »Nerazjašnjeno osipanje« (Unexplained decimation), signed by I. Soldatić, and published in the Belgrade daily Borba of 2 March, 1971].

²⁵ According to the 1961 Census, 35.3% of the people employed had no school qualifications (in Serbia 46.8%); most of these were obviously workers. If one adds to this that only 4.6% of workers were higly skilled, and 23.8% skilled, it is not difficult to prove that the working class has not undergone substantial changes in the cultural sense either (data taken from the XIIth Census, 1961, pp. 33-34). In the educational system, there is an increasing tendency to violate Constitutional clauses dealing with free schooling by introducing various tuition fees. Fees, starting at highschool level, become a significant impediment of social mobility in our society, causing the tendency of reproduction of social strata. In this manner, equal opportunity for development in the coming generations is denied particularly to the stratum of workers and peasants. Apart from this, "spare time" for a worker is only a continuation of working hours because he must take a part-time job in order to improve his low standard of living caused by low income. It is, therefore, impossible to speak of spare time as an opportunity for the worker to neutralize the negative influence of alienated labor. The only contact with culture for the majority of workers are the lowest reaches of mass culture.

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A sim ila r conclusion, based on stro n g arg u m en ts, is m ad e in th e a rticle »Strikes in the C o n te m p o ra ry Y ug o slav Society« (Š trajk o v i u savrem enom jugoslovenskom dru štv u «). I t is conclu d ed th a t th e w ork-M S ta tistic a l d a ta on th e p a rtic ip a tio n of w orkers in the C om m unist L eague confirm this statem e n t; this p a rtic ip a tio n has been continuously decreasing. W h ile in 1960 36.1% of the m em bers of the C L w ere w orkers d irectly en g aged in the prod u ctio n , in 1969 only 31.2°/« of the m em bers w ere w orkers. A n increasing num be r of w orkers is e ith e r o usted o r leaves v o lu n ta rily . In th e p e rio d 1960-1969, of all those ousted 50.1% w ere w orkers. W o rk e rs a re also the m ost num erous group leav in g th e C L. In 1965, 61.4% of those who left th e C L w ere w orkers; in 1969, 53 % w ere w orkers. [D ata are ta k en from the a rtic le » N e ra z ja šn je n o osipanje«

(U n e x p la in e d decim ation), signed by I. S oldatić, a n d p ublished in the B elgrade d a ily B o rb a of 2 M arch, 1971].

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ere obviously w orkers. If one adds to this th a t o nly 4.6% of w orkers w ere hig ly skilled, a n d 23.8% skilled, it is not d iffic u lt to pro v e th a t the w ork in g class has not und erg o n e su b stan tia l changes in the c u ltu ral sense e ither (d a ta ta k en from the Xll t h Census, 1961, pp. 33-34). In the ed u catio n al system, there is a n increasin g tend en cy to v io late C onstitu tio n al clauses d ealin g w ith free schooling by in tro d u c in g v arious tu itio n fees. Fees, s tar ting a thighschool level, become a significant impediment of social m obility in our society, causing the te ndency of re p ro d u ctio n of social s tra ta. In this m anner, equal opp ortunity for develo p m en t in th e com ing gen eratio n s is d en ied p a rtic u la rly to the stratu m of w orkers and p easants. A p a rt from this, »spare tim e« fo r a w orker is only a c o n tin u atio n of w orking h ours because he m ust tak e a p a rt-tim e jo b in o rd er to im prove his low s ta n d a rd of liv in g caused by low incom e. It is, therefore, im possible to speak of sp are time as an opportunity for the worker to neu tralize e

n e g ativ e influence of a lie n a te d labor. The o nly contact w ith culture for the majority of workers are the low est reaches of mass culture.

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ing class is at the »periphery of economic and political processes in the society«, due to its economic and social position. This makes it impossible for the working class to »anticipate a positive change of the present situation«; nor is it likely that the workers will »alter their social status within these processes«.²⁶

All this demonstrates the absence of true social control over politics. Politics appears to be outside of the existing »self-managing« institutions in Yugoslav society and it is constituted independently of these institutions. Workers' and social self-management is enclosed within the practical, particularly economic, sphere, and is thus not defined as a way along which the State as a political power will wither away. On the other hand, politics that is confined to itself, and independent of the will of the people, tends to impose itself upon all other activities - which is made possible for it by the system. Politics infiltrates into all other activities through the election of the representatives of the party and the State to the organs of social management - as »representatives of the society«. In this way, »self-management« in organizations outside of industry actually secures the influence of »politicians« on the decisions made in self-managing cells, whereas the exact opposite should be the case. I have elsewhere²⁷ termed this phenomenon as ideologization (or politization) of social activities: politics, an alienated force, imposes itself as the single creator of general social objectives and as such has a decisive influence in all other social spheres, instead of being »dissolved« in »social politics« in the creation of which the maximum number of members of the society should participate.

This is why the system appears to be its own purpose; there is an insistence on the »preservation of the order« (social formation), since politics as an alienated force must have a foothold in a petrified system. Question is not asked as to whether the system contributes to the achievement of the goals for which it had been built. Above all the

tendency is to perpetuate the power and the system.

As an antipode to politics as an alienated force which merely strives to preserve the system, "social politics" has its source in the socialist movement and consciously transforms the system into a transitory tool for the realization of socialist objectives, reexamining continually the elements of the system as well as the system as a whole with respect to the objectives — not the reverse. When this is not the case, there is a conflict between the forces which act in the name of "law and order" (organs of the State), failing to answer questions concerned with the realization of "defined" goals, and those which do not belong to centers of political power, but demand — in the name of socialist objectives — a reexamination of policies which lead to the closing of the system into itself and to its transformation into its own goal. These forces attempt to reclaim the rights which have been alienated from

²⁶ D. Popov, Op. cit., pp. 619 and 627.

²⁷ See the present author's report at the 1970 sociologists' conference »Dva vida otuđenja u kulturi u socijalizmu i njihov međusobni odnos« (Two forms of cultural alienation in socialism and their interrelation). Published in the materials of the conference.

ip a te a p o s itiv e c h a n g e o f th e p re s e n t s itu a tio n \ll ; n o r is it lik e ly th a t th e w o rk e rs w ill \gg a lte r th e ir social sta tu s w ith in these processes \ll .26

A ll th is d e m o n s tra te s th e a b sen ce o f tru e so c ia l c o n tro l o v e r p o litic s.

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A s a n a n tip o d e to p o litic s as a n a lie n a te d fo rc e w h ic h m e re ly striv es to p re s e rv e th e system, »social p o litic s« h a s its s o u rc e in th e so c ia list m o v em e n t a n d con scio u sly tra n s fo

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27 See th e p re se n t a u th o r's re p o rt a t th e 1970 so c io lo g ists' c o n fe re n c e » D v a v id a o tu đ e n ja u k u ltu ri u so c ija liz m u i n jih o v m eđ u so b n i o d nos« (T w o fo rm s o f c u lt u r a l a lie n a tio n in socia lism a n d th e ir in te r re la tio n) . P u b lis h e d in th e m a te ria ls of th e con fe ren ce .

them through spontaneous actions. Attempts to stop such spontaneous movements by labeling them as antisocialist, due to the fact that they are taking place outside of the »institutionalized forms of self-management«, is an example of political sophism. There is no attempt to prove the major premise, i. e. that there indeed are institutionalized forms of self-management which permit and encourage the expression of these spontaneous movements' demands.28 Simultaneously, the meetings within work organizations, which are the most authentic form of self-management, are denied the right to make political decisions, by dealing with problems through professional channels. In this way, circulus vitiosus turns out to be the best method of maintaining the status quo, i. e. of preserving the privileged position of politics and of those who are engaged in it. It is believed that bureaucracy is the inevitable consequence of alienation of politics and of the existence of the State as a political power, rather than of the distorted psychology of political power, rather than of the distorted psychology of political functionaries. However, except for verbal claims that this is so, there are no proofs for this statement - especially proofs strong enough to justify the far-reaching conclusions that are derived from it, above all the one concerned with the withering away of the State as a political

For this reason, conditions have not been created in Yugoslav society to compel "society's clerks" to serve the people. (Imperative mandate has been replaced by "rotation" of functionaries; governmental functions and the position of functionaries do not depend on the will of the people, but on the hierarchical structure of power. Therefore, the criterion of their activity is not service in the general interest, but rather loyalty to higher functionaries). In fact, it may be said that the situation is reverse: the holders of political power have at their disposal all the means to force the people to serve them.

The political power of the State and party mechanism is a condensed version of their economic power, of their role of arbiters in all social activities: it is the power to superimpose the official ideology over all other ideologies and to control them: the power to set all organs of the State in motion against disloyal citizens and groups. In other words, by utilizing classical means for taking over the monopoly of social power, socialist State to an increasing degree performs the functions of the classical State, even when it is not based on absolute centralistic power as the Stalinist theory of the strengthening of the State would have it.

Such a social climate favors "escape from freedom" - not only in the case of individuals belonging to social strata which are objectively

The least part of evaluations of such spontaneous movements has been devoted to the analysis of the participants motives, and of the objectives they were trying to reach. The main argument against them has been the fact that they took place outside of the existing organizations. and that they were not organized by such organizations. The ability of the managements of the existing organizations, and of the organizations themselves, to express the revolutionary tendencies of the present time is usually not questioned.

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denied freedom;²⁹ even individuals from other strata, that are socially better off, develop a sense of insecurity, so that they often deny themselves the enjoyment of freedom which is at their disposal (extensive forms of self-censorship in all kinds of creative activity; the existence of illegal censorship on the basis of »implicit self-managing consent« in mass media, as a result of the unanimity of opinion among the power groups; the acceptance of the »psychology of quiet life«, as opposed to the uncertainty and risk implied in a revolutionary's life, etc.).

Apart from the objective conditions mentioned above, another source of insecurity is the powerlessness of the individual to influence the legal basis of the system, so that the delimitation of liberties and of the autonomy of individuals, as well as the verdict with respect to the circumstances in which the limits have been violated, are completely in the hands of the power groups. In the existential sense, the individual continues to be confronted by law as an alienated force which can crush him should be venture to taste a little more of freedom. A legal system conceived in such a way, and its application, reveals that the maxim, "Man is the highest social value«, is nothing more than a façade behind which hides the system that is self-sufficient. Even in socialism, where the system is a priori a higher value than individual rights and freedom, individuals feel that legal measures are nothing but the "will of the ruling class promoted to the level of law«.

Yugoslavia there is far more freedom: unlimited freedom of movement (within the country and abroad); free selection of the place of work; greater creative independence; greater opportunity for the publishing of books and studies, and for the expression of different views and styles; greater opportunity to obtain information from different sources (including foreign press and books). This is undoubtedly so, but one should also ask: Who actually enjoys these liberties? For the reasons mentioned above (financial and cultural), these liberties are not enjoyed by the large majority of members of the working and peasant class, which means that the majority of Yugoslavs do not have access to them. In fact, these liberties may have a negative sense. For example, the freedom of movement for them usually means migration for the purpose of finding work (which includes the economic emigration to foreign countries). For the great majority of members of these strata newspapers are the only contact with *culture*, and the only source of information not only on political events, but also on all other events. All investigations show that workers seldom buy more than one daily newspaper; the one they do buy only too often falls in the category called *boulevard press*. Therefore, they have no opportunity to compare information, and the existence of numerous newspapers does not mean much to them. In short, they continue to be deprived of the existing liberties and remain in this sense below other strata of Yugoslav society.

³⁰ The discussion on the pages of the Belgrade weekly NIN in 1970 on the Article 118 of the Criminal Code foresaw some of these problems. (This Article refers to the limitation of political rights regarding free speech, writings and organizations if by them »the interest of the socialist system is attacked«, and »an uneasy feeling of the people is produced.«) It demonstrated how the lack of precision of the formulations in the Code creates a great deal of room for arbitrary interpretations, which is obviously not merely the question of clumsy formulation. This Article, as far as it is known, has not been applied often, but it appears that its *educational« effect has been counted on. Its very existence may serve as a preventive measure against an *epidemic« of utilization of civil liberties.

o f fre e d o m w h ic h is a t t h e ir d isp o s a l (ex te n siv e fo rm s o f se lf-c e n so rsh ip in a ll k in d s o f c re a tiv e a c tiv ity; th e e x iste n ce o f ille g a l c e n so rsh ip o n th e basis o f » im p lic it s e lf - m a n a g in g c o n sen t«

in m ass m ed ia , as a re s u lt o f th e u n a n im ity o f o p in io n a m o n g th e p o w e r g ro u p s; th e a c ce p ta n c e o f th e » p sy c h o lo g y o f q u ie t life « , as o p p o se d to th e u n c e rta in ty a n d ris k im p lie d in a re v o lu tio n a r y s life , etc.).

Apart from the obiectiveconditionsmentionedabove , a n o th e r so u rc e o f in se c u rity is th e p o w e rle ssn e ss o f th e in d iv id u a l to in flu e n c e th e le g a l b asis o f th e system, so th a t th e d e lim ita tio n o f lib e rtie s a n d o f th e a u to n o m y o f in d iv id u a ls, as well as the verd ict with respect to the circ u m sta n ce s in w h ic h th e lim its h a v e b e e n v io la te d, a re c o m p le te ly in th e h a n d s o f th e p o w e r g ro u p s. I n th e e x is te n tia l sense, th e in d iv id u a l co n tin u e s to be c o n fro n te d b y la w as a n a lie n a te d fo rc e w h ic h c a n c ru sh h im s h o u ld b e v e n tu r e to ta s te a little m o re o f f r e e d o m .30 A le g a l sy stem c o n c eiv e d in su c h a w a y, a n d its a p p lic a tio n , rev e a ls th a t th e m ax im, » M a n is th e h ig h e s t s o c ia l v a lu e «, is n o th in g m o re t h a n a fa c a d e b e h in d w h ic h h id e s th e sy ste m t h a t is s e lf -s u f fic ien t. E v e n in so cialism, w h e re th e sy ste m is a p r io r i a h ig h e r v a lu e th a n in d iv id u alrights and freedom, individuals feelthatlegalmea su res a re n o th in g b u t th e » w ill o f th e r u lin g class p r o m o te d to the level of law «.

29 A s a c o u n te r-a rg u m e n t to o th e r so cia list c o u n trie s it is u s u a lly s a id th a t in Y u g o sla v ia th e re is f a r m o re fre e d om: un lim ite d fre e dom of movement (with in the coun try a n d a b ro a d); fre e se le c tio n of th e p la c e o f w o rk; g r e a tercreative in dependence; greateropportunity for th e p u b lis h in g o f books a n d stu d ie s, a n d f o r th e e x p re ssio n o f d iff e r e n t v iew s a n d sty le s; g r e a te r o p p o r tu n ity to o b ta in in fo rm a tio n fro m d iff e r e n t sources (in c lu d in g f o re ig n p ress a n d b o oks). T h is is u n d o u b te d ly so, b u t o ne sh o u ld also ask: W h o a c tu a lly en jo y s th ese lib e r tie s? F or the reasons mentioned above (fin ancial and cultu ral), the se liberties a renotenjoyed by the largemajor ity o f m e m b ers o f th e w o rk in g a n d p e a s a n t class, w h ic h meansthatthemajority of Yugoslavs donothave access to them. In fact, the se liber tiesmayhave anegativ e sense. For example, the freedom of movement for the

m u s u a lly m e a n s m ig ra tio n fo r th e p u rp o se o f f in d in g w o rk (w h ich in c lu d e s th e eco n o m ic e m ig ra tio n to f o re ig n c o u n trie s). F o r th e g r e a t m a jo r ity o f m e m b ers o f th e se s tr a ta n e w sp a p e rs a re th e o n ly c o n ta c t w ith » cu ltu re«, a n d th e o n ly so u rc e o f in f o rm a tio n n o t o n ly o n p o litic a l ev en ts, b u t a lso on a ll o th e r e v e n ts. A ll in v e stig a tio n s show th a t w o r k ers seld o m b u y m o re th a n o ne d a ily n e w s p a p e r; th e o n e th e y d o b u y o n ly to o o fte n fa lls in th e c a te g o ry c a lle d » b o u le v a rd p ress«. T h e re fo re, th e y h a v e n o o p p o rtu n ity to c o m p a re in fo rm a tio n, a n d th e e x isten ce of n u m e ro u s n e w sp a p e rs do es n o t m e a n m u c h to th e m. In sh o rt, th e y c o n tin u e to be d e p riv e d o f th e e x is tin g lib e rtie s a n d re m a in in th is sense b elow o th e r s tr a ta of Y u g o slav society.

*® The discussion on the pages of the Belgrade weekly NIN in 1970 on Article 118 of the Criminal Code for example saw some of these probes and ms. (TTiis Article refers to the limitation of political rights regarding free speech, writing and organizations if by them whee interest of the social ist system is attacked «, and » an uneasy feeling of the people is produced. «) It is demonstrated how the lack of precision of the formulations in the Code creates a great deal of room for arbitrary interpretations, which is obvious not merely the question of clumsy formulation.

This Article, as far as it is known, has not beenapplied often, but it appears that its » educational« effect has beencounted on. Its very existencemay serve as apreventivem easure against an »epidemic« of utilization of civil liberties.

Individual freedom proclaimed in the Constitution becomes a privileged type of freedom for individuals belonging to powerful social groups who are in the position to prescribe the limits of others' freedom and to design measures to force others to remain within these bounds. A certain number of individuals determine both the personal and the social life style, formulate both the social and individual needs, and define both what a »happy« society should be like, and of what the hapiness of others should consist, on the basis of their views, looking through the prism of their interests. In this process, they are less and less familiar with actual social conditions and with the true needs of the society's members, above all of the working class. It is not, therefore, accidental that old. classical conflicts take place again, in which the antagonism between the individual and the system is manifested (workers' strikes, clashes between students and the police, etc.).31

3.

The above analysis demonstrates that certain »contradictions in socialism« (as a system) are present in Yugoslav society also. First, contradiction which stems from the existence of the State, and which is manifested in the division of the members of society into the »active force«, members who have social power and initiative, and the passive mass, the populace, which is forced to follow the active nucleus (i. e. the bureaucratic stratum, the Government, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Party members). In other words, there is a division of individuals into the »subjects of history« and the objects to be manipulated in the name of "historical objectives". Second, the contradiction between the »struggle« as an action against the capitalist system, and later, when power had been taken over, for the preservation of the new order and of the »revolution« - which should imply the replacement of the existing by the new. There is a substitution of »socialist objectives« (as dialectically realizable ideas) by the direct objectives of the regime, which consist, above all, of its strengthening. 33 Third, the contradiction between the effects of the development of an industrial society (above all the effects of the law of commodity production, of the market, of law of value; also, the creation and strengthening of the stratum of technical experts as a new social

In d iv id u a l freedom p roclaim ed in the C o n stitution becomes a p riv ileged ty p e o f freedom for in d iv id u als b elonging to p o w erful social groups who a re in the position to prescribe the lim its of

²¹ The explanation commonly given, i. e. that conflicts are provoked by a certain number of individuals who begin to show their hostility toward socialism, greatly simplifies the true nature of the conflict. On the other hand, it is not very convincing from a common-sense point of view either. It would appear that 25 years after the revolution the climate is more favorable for hostile activities than it used to be immediately after the war. Also, how would one explain the fact that the *enemies* do not come primarily from the ranks of the bourgeoisie which is deprived of power, but from the ranks of students and workers. (Naturally, here we are talking about the ideological conflict, not about the terrorist actions imported from abroad).

³² See the discussion of R. Luxemburg with the bolsheviks in Marxisme control dictature, Spartacus, Paris, 1946.

²⁸ R. Luxemburg also writes about this in Ruska revolucija (Russian revolution) in Partija proletarijata (The proletariat's party), published by Sedma sila, 1966, p. 189; also G. Lukacs, Taktika i etika (Tactics and ethics), Sedma sila, 1966, p. 165.

o th ers' fre e dom and to design measures to force others to remain with in these bounds. A certain number of individuals determine both the personal and the social life style, formulate both the social and individual needs, and define both what a happy society should be like, and of what the hapiness of others should consist, on the basis of their views, looking through the prism of their interests. In this process, they are less and less familiar with actual social conditions and with the true needs of the society's members, above all of the working class. It is not, therefore, accidental that old. classical conflicts take place again, in which the antagon ism between the individual and the system is manifested (workers' strikes, clashes between students and the police, etc.).31

The above analysis demonstrates that certain on tradictions in socialism (as a system) are present in Yugo slav society also. First, contradiction which stems from the existence of the State, and which is manifested in the division of the members of society into the operative force, members who have social power and in itiative, and the passive mass, the populace, which is forced to follow the active nucleus (i. e.

the b u rea u c ra tic stra tu m, the G o v ern m en t, the C e n tra l Com m ittee of the C om m unist P a rty, the P a rty m em bers). In o th er w ords, th ere is a d iv ision o f in d iv id u a ls into th e »subjects of h istory« and the objects to be man ip u late d in the name of » historical objectives«.32 Second, the c o n tra d ic tio n b etw een the »struggle« as an actio n a g a in st th e c a p italist system, a n d late r, wh en pow er had been taken over, for the preservation of the new o rd e r a n d of the » revolution« - w hich should im ply th e rep la c em e n t of th e ex istin g by th e new . T h e re is a su b stitu tion of »socialist objectives« (as d iale c tic ally realizab le ideas) by the d irect o bjectives of the regim e, w hich consist, above all, of its stre n g th en in g .33 T h ird, the c o n tra d ic tio n between the effects of th e d ev elo p m en t of a n in d u stria l society (above all the effects of the law of commodity production, of the mark et, of law o f v alu e; also, the creation and strengthening of the stratu m of tech n ical ex p erts as a new social 11 T h e ex p la n a tio n com m only given, i. e. that conflicts a reprovoked by a certain number of in d iv id u a ls w ho begin to show the ir h o stility to w ard socialism, g re atly sim plifies the truen a ture of the conflict. On the o th er h and, it is not very convincin g from a com m on-sensc po in t of view eith er. It would a p p e a r th a t 2 > years a fte r the re v o lu tio n th e clim ate is m ore fav o rab le fo r hostile activ ities th a n it used to be im m ed ia tely a fte r th e w ar. Also, how w o u ld one e x p lain the fact th a t the »enemies«

do n o t com e p rim a rily from the ranks of the bourgeoisie which is dep riv ed of pow er, but from the ranks of students and w orkers. (Naturally, here we are talk in gabout the ideological conflict, not about the terrorist actions im ported from abroad).

** See th e discussion of R. L u xem burg w ith the bolsheviks in M a rxism e c o n tir d ictature, S parta cu s, P a ris, 1946.

** R. L u xem burg also w rites abo u t this in R uska revo lu cija (R ussian revolution) in P a rtija p ro le ta rija ta (T h e p ro le ta ria t's p a rty), p ublished by S edm a sila, l'GO, p. 189; also G. L ukacs, T a k tik a i etik a (T actics an d ethics). Sedm a sila, 19G6, p. 16.i.

force; the subordinationi of man to technology, and technological criteria), and the human objectives of socialism. Fourth, closely related to the preceding point, the contradiction between an increasing need for the specialization and partialization of labor, and the socialist requirement of the "worker" to cease to be a partialized being and become emancipated, capable of carrying out his historical function. Fifth, the contradiction between the tendency to employ efficient management techniques in order to overcome backwardness (in industry, politics, and culture), which requires a firm, inflexible organization, and the basic notion of socialism, i. e. the creation of a new type of community through free association of "producers".

These general contradictions in socialism as a system are manifested in Yugoslav society in the form of a contradiction which stems from the still too great prerogatives of the State in the key issues of the social system and its development, and from the strengthening of the bureaucracy through a partial conception of self-management which appears to be destroying the old structure while failing to create a real basis for an essentially different model of social management. Also a contradiction between the old authoritarian conception of power and government embodied in the State as an institution, and in the style of work of the State and Party organs, on one hand, and the inaugurated self-management which implies that the authoritarian conception has been overcome, on the other. Finally, as a contradiction between the prevalence of undemocratic methods in the carrying out of plans formulated by the top State and Party organs, and the need for the making of decisions on a self-managing basis to become the dominant style of work. The latter presupposes developed democratic methods and a democratic mentality. (Common sense would have it that undemocratic mentality is most extensive in the people in general; an empirical investigation should verify this supposition, or prejudice, as well as the alternative one, according to which the roots of undemocratic mentality are to be found in functionaries at all levels).

Therefore, Yugoslav system has not outlined the ways in which these essential contradictions could be overcome, contradictions which have already buried certain »variants of socialism«.

The conclusion is that a revolutionary transformation (with respect to the conception of socialism and its practical applications) has still not been carried out. In order for such a transformation to occur, it is necessary to subject the suppositions underlying the socialist system in Yugoslav society to a thorough re-examination. Since the Yugoslav model of socialism emerged through certain corrections of the old (Soviet) model, which is explicable in terms of the necessity of the historical moment, further corrections cannot overcome the basic contradictions, on the resolution of which depends the future of socialism. A new revolutionary vision of socialism must be based on new premises which are only partly, and in a limited and insufficiently revolutionary form, contained in the Yugoslav model hitherto practised. A revolutionary transformation may occur only as a consequence of a more critical attitude to the results that have been achiev-

e c o n tra d ic tio n b e tw e e n a n in c re a sin g n e e d fo r th e sp e cia liz a tio n a n d p a rtia liz a tio n o f la b o r, a n d th e so c ia list r e q u ire m e n t o f th e » w o rk er« to cease to be a p a r tia liz e d b e in g a n d b e com e e m a n c ip a te d, c a p a b le o f c a rr y in g o u t h is h is to ric a l fu n c tio n.

F ifth , the c o n tra d i c t i o n b etween the tendency to employ efficient management techniques in order to overcome backwardness (in industry, politics, and cultu re), . which requires a firm, in flexible organization, and the basic notion of socialism, i. e. the creation of a new type of communication through free association of » producers«.

The segeneral contradiction sin socialism as a system a re m a n if e s ted in Y u g o sla v so ciety in th e fo rm o f a c o n tr a d ic tio n w h ic h stem s fro m th e still too g r e a t p re ro g a tiv e s of the S tate in the key issues of the social system and its dev e lopment, and from the strengthening of the bure auc ra c y th ro u g h a p a r tia l c o n c ep tio n o f s e lf -m a n a g e m e n t w hich a p p e a rs to be d e s tro y in g th e o ld s tr u c tu r e w h ile f a ilin g to c re a te a re a l b asis fo r a n e s se n tia lly d iff e re n t m o d el o f so cial m a n a g e m en t. A lso a c o n tra d ic tio n b e tweentheoldauthoritarianconceptionofpowerandg o v e rn m e n t e m b o d ie d in th e S ta te as a n in stitu tio n, a n d in the sty le of work of the S ta te and P arty organs, on on e h a n d, a n d th e in a u g u ra te d s e lf-m a n a g e m e n t w h ic h im p lie s t h a t th e a u th o r i ta r ia n c o n c ep tio n h as b een o v erco m e, on the o the r. F in a lly, as a c o n tr a d ic tio n b e tw e en the prevalence of undemocratic methods in the car r y in g o u t o f p la n s fo rm u la te d by th e to p S ta te a n d P a r ty organs, and theneed for the making of decisions on a s e lf -m a n a g in g b a sis to b e com e th e d o m in a n t sty le o f w ork. Thelatterpresupposesdevelopeddemocratic m eth o d s a n d a d e m o c ra tic m e n ta lity. (C o m m o n sen se wouldhaveit that undemocraticmentality is most ex te n s iv e in th e p e o p le in g e n e ra l; a n e m p iric a l in v e s tig a tionshould verify this supposition, or prejudice, as w ell as the a ltern a tive one, a c c ord in g to which the roots o f u n d e m o c ra tic m e n ta lity a re to b e f o u n d in f u n c tio n a rie s a t a ll levels).

The refore, the Yugoslav sy stem has not yet tlined the ways in which these essential contradictions could be overcome, contradictions which have already existed e a dy buried certain » variants of socialism « .

Theconclusion is that arevolution ary transformation (w ith respect to the conception of so cialism and its prac tic a l a p p lic a tio n s) h a s still n o t b een c a rrie d out. In o r d e r fo r such a tra n s fo r m a tio n to o ccu r, it is n e c essa ry to s u b je c t th e su p p o sitio n s u n d e rly in g th e so c ia list sy stem in Y u g o sla v so ciety to a th o ro u g h re -e x a m in a tio n . S in c e th e Y u g o s la v m o d el o f so cialism e m e rg e d th ro u g h c e rta in c o rre c tio n s o f th e old (Soviet) m o d el, w h ich is e x p lic a b le in te rm s o f th e n e c essity o f th e h isto ric a l m o m en t, f u rth e r c o rre c tions cannot overcomethebasic contradictions, on the reso lu tio nofwhichdependsthefutureofsocia lism. A n e w r e v o lu tio n a ry v isio n o f so cialism m u st b e b a s e d o n n e w p rem ises w h ich a re o n ly p a rtly, a n d in a lim ite d a n d in su ffic ie n tly r e v o lu tio n a ry fo rm, c o n ta in e d in th e Y u g o s la v m o d e l h ith e r to p r a c tised. A re v o lu tio n a ry tra n s fo r m a tio n m ay o c c u r o n ly a s a c o n seq u en ce o f a m o re c ritic a l a ttitu d e to th e re su lts t h a t h a v e b e e n a c h ie v

ed and to institutions that have been developed. The conservation of the existing system must not be permitted, nor should its creators be allowed to enjoy it contentedly, instead of making it possible for revolution to continue. For these reasons, the »critique of everything existing« in socialism must not be the privilege only of philosophers and theoreticians, but rather be adopted as the necessary method of work on the realization of socialist ideas and objectives.

Last but not least, it is necessary to examine the degree to which the original ideas of socialism are present in Yugoslav society in general (rather than merely in the established system). The presence of these ideas should be the basic revolutionary force and a guarantee that the socialist revolution shall not be stopped in a conserved regime. In order to find an answer to this query, it is necessary to carry out a large-scale empirical investigation which would encompass all strata of the population for the purpose of finding out about the unknown called »public opinion« with respect to the ideas of socialism and the possibilities of their realization in Yugoslav society. A plausible hypothesis which still remains to be proved, is as follows: The ideas of socialism - equality, self-managemnt, and free association, above all - are present in the consciousness of Yugoslavs of all social strata and of all generations. This has so far been most clarly demonstrated in the nature of dissatisfaction, which has most frequently been expressed not largely because of the low standard of living, but because the objectives of socialism have not been achieved, even in the cases when the expression of dissatisfaction was provoked by economic factors. (For example, even though workers' strikes were usually provoked by their low income and the fact that they were not given the promised full wages, these strikes are predominantly an expression of dissatisfaction with respect to the workers' inability to exercise their rights within the existing self-managing structure; on an individual level also, workers complain more about the great social differences than about low incomes). A typical demonstration of »socialist dissatisfaction: were the student demonstrations in June of 1968.34

If the above hypothesis is shown to be correct, one may conclude that Yugoslav socialism has a perspetive. The goal, however, can be reached only if a more radical attitude is adopted toward the results that have been achieved, in order to preserve the purity of the socialist revolution. Opinions expressed in this article should also be treated as an attempt of a radical re-examination of the situation, which is the condition necessary for its overcoming.

²⁴ It is, therefore, very important to note the difference between all these kinds of "creative dissatisfaction" which are stimulating for socialism, on one hand, and other forms of dissatisfaction, on the other. The latter forms of dissatisfaction have nothing in common with socialism; these are dissatisfactions caused by unfulfilled ambitions with respect to high positions and lucrative careers, or those due to the failure to become even richer and equal the European standard of living, while paying no attention to people who have a sub-human standard of living.

re volution to continue. F or these reasons, the »critique of everything existing« in socialism m ust not be the privilege only of philosophers and theoreticians, but rather be ad opted as the necessary method of work on the realization of socialist ideas and objectives.

L ast but not least, it is necessary to exam ine the degree to w hich the orig in al ideas of socialism a re p resent in Y ugoslav society in general (ra th er th a n m erely in the established system). The presence of these ideas should be the basic revolution ary force and a guaranteetha the socialist revolution shall not be stopped in a conserved regime. In order to find an answer to this query, it is necessary to carry out a large-scale empirical investigation which would encompass all strata of the population for the purpose of find in gout about the unknown called "public opinion" with respect to the ideas of socialism and the possibilities of their realization in Y ugoslav society. A plausible hypothesis which still remains to be proved, is as follows: The ideas of socialism - equality, self-managemnt, and free association, above all

- a re p resent in the consciousness of Y ugoslavs of all social s tra ta an d of all generatio n s. T h is has so fa r been m ost c la rly d e m o n strated in the n a tu re of d issatisfactio n , w hich has m ost freq u en tly been ex pressed not larg e ly because of the low sta n d a rd of living, b u t because the objectives of socialism hav e not been achieved, even in the cases when the expression of dissatisfactio n w as p rovoked by economic factors.

(For exam ple, even th o u g h w o rk ers' strikes w ere u su ally provoked by th eir low incom e a n d the fact th a t th ey w ere n o t g iven th e prom ised full w ages, these strikes a re p re d o m in an tly a n expression o f d issatisfactio n w ith respect to the w o rk ers' in ab ility to exercise th e ir rights w ith in th e ex istin g se lf-m a n a g in g stru c tu re; on a n in d iv id u a l level also, w orkers co m p lain m ore ab o u t th e g re a t social differen ces th a n about low incom es). A ty p ical d e m o n stratio n of »socialist dissatisfactio n: w ere th e stu d e n t d em o n stratio n s in J u n e o f 1968.34

If the above h y pothesis is show n to be correct, one m ay conclude th at Y ug o slav socialism has a p erspetive. T h e goal, how ever, can be reached only if a m ore rad ic a l a ttitu d e is ad o p te d to w a rd the results th a t h av e been achieved, in o rd e r to preserv e the p u rity o f th e socialist rev o lu tio n . O p inions expressed in this article sh ould also be tre a te d as a n a tte m p t of a rad ic a l re-e x a m in a tio n of th e situ atio n , w hich is the co n d ition n ecessary fo r its

overcom ing.

S4 It is, the erefore, very important to note the difference between all these kinds of » creative dissatisfaction« which arc stimulating for socialism, on one hand, and other forms of dissatisfaction, on the other. The latter forms of dissatisfaction have nothing in common with socialism; these are dissatisfactions caused by unfulfilled ambitions with respect to high positions and lucrative careers, or those due to the failure to become even richer and equal the Europeanstand ard of living, while paying no attention to people who have a sub-human standard of living.

ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS ON SYNCHRONY AND DIACHRONY

Ivan Kuvačić

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I.

In the plan for examining the conflicts in our society, making use of the procedure of structural analysis, we started with the assumption that two fundamental lines of conflict exist (see article »O karakteru sukoba u našem društvu« /Concerning the Characteristics of the Conflicts in our Society/ in Naše Teme, 7/8, 1970). We called the first line of conflict »inter-republic simultaneity« because it does not aim at changing societal relationships, rather it seeks to re-distribute the already existing relationships. The second line concerns the conflict between labor and administration, and accordingly is aimed at the liquidation of *contractual relationships*; that is to say, it is inclined toward succession. This structural approach, which is characterized by the contrast between synchronization and diachronization, is taken from classical mythology. Zeus, the absolute monarch, is a supporter of synchronization, for this is the kind of evolution which expands and strengthens his power in space. Zeus is against diachronization. or evolution in time, in whose sphere is shown how he dethroned his predecessors and how already there have appeared those who threaten him. In contemporary philosophical terminology, dychronization as a historical encountering from the future and for the future is opposed by the common duration of time in the present and past.

Assuming the existence of the above mentioned conflict lines, we have not mentioned the angle at which they meet when crossing in reality. Horizontals and verticals are the elements of the model, which must be standard because they serve in the measuring of aberrations, but aside from this the model is wholly in the realm of the hypothetical and in the course research it can be discarded as inconvenient.

Ivan Kuvacic

Z a g reb

I.

In the plan for exam in ing the conflicts in our society, making use of the p ro ced u re of structural analysis, we started with th e assum ption that two fundamental lines of conflict exist (see a rticle » 0 k a ra k te ru sukoba u n ašem d ru štv u « /C o n c e rn in g th e C haracteristics of the C o n flicts in o u r S ociety/ in N aše T em e, 7/8, 1970). We called the first lin e of conflict » in te r-re p u b lic sim u ltan eity « because it does not aim at ch a n g in g societal relation ships, rather it seeks to re-distribute the already ex istin g relatio n sh ip s. T h e second line concerns th e conflict betw een lab o r a n d a d m in istratio n, a n d a c co rd in g ly is aim ed at the liq u id a tio n of » co n tractu al relatio n sh ip s«; th a t is to say, it is inclined to w a rd succession. This structural approach, w hich is characterized by the con trast between synchron ization a n d d iach ro n izatio n . is taken fro m classical m y thology. Z eus, th e ab so lu te m o narch, is a supporter of synchron ization, for th is is the k in d of ev o lu tio n w hich expands a n d streng then s his p o w er in space. Zeus is ag ain st d iach ro n izatio n . or evo lu tio n in tim e, in w hose sp h ere is show n how he d eth ro n ed his predecessors a n d h ow a lre a d y th ere h a v e a p p e are d those w ho th re a te n him. In c o n te m p o ra ry p h ilo so p h ical term in o logy, dy chron ization as a historic a lencountering from th e fu tu re a n d for th e fu tu re is opposed by th e com m on d u ra tio n o f tim e in the p resent a n d past.

A ssu m in g th e ex istence o f th e above m en tio n ed conflict lines, we h a v e n o t m en tio n ed th e an g le a t w hich th ey m eet w hen crossing in rea lity . H o rizo n ta ls a n d v e rtica ls a re the elem ents o f th e m odel, which m ust be s ta n d a rd because th ey serve in th e m ea su rin g o f ab erratio n s, b u t asid e fro m th is th e m odel is w h o lly in th e rea lm of th e h y p o th etical a n d in th e course research it can be d isc a rd ed as inconvenient.

We emphasized it because it was clear to us beforehand that there is no »so-called pure classness«, that it (the model) necessarily must include both national and invididual moments.¹

In the aforementioned plan we stressed that the Belgrade student demonstrations of June 1968 were distinct examples of diachrony, which is to say they were a component part of the world's youth movement which is ready to sacrifice for a better future for mankind.²

That was a parenthetical assertion which was not even explicated over there, nor was it proved, so therefore it can invite doubt and misunderstanding, the more so since there exist many differing attempts of "interpreting" those events. It is usually stressed that the Promethian model is not convenient for understanding the youth movement in our country. It is asserted that this model must be kept in mind when speaking of the youth of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and of the Black youth of the USA because that youth has entered the phase of creating avante garde battle orders which are consumed as the elements of revolutionary action. The youth of the most developed capitalist countries is joining them in their own way because they are convinced that humanism and human dignity are playing increasingly smaller roles in the societies in which they live. Meanwhile the youth of socialist countries are in an essentially different situation. These nations have entered a stage of stability after having undergone rev-

¹ An important pre-condition in this sense is the contrast between yearning for national identity and nationalism. That difference is clear in wartime, when many strata of one or more peoples fight for national liberation against a foreign exploiter. Being that at that time (wartime) the exploiter's side regularly relies on groups of local exploiters the battle for national liberation is also turned against them and necessarily because of this receives a revolutionary class character. Nationalism is the ideology of local exploiters which is in league with the nationalism of foreign agressors. The above-mentioned difference separates two distinguishing phenomenon which are fundamentally different with regards to internal stimulation. In the first case it is the solidarity and self-sacrifice of an oppressed people, in the second, it is the material benefit of individuals and groups which strengthen their own positions by destroying other's positions. This boundary line is perfectly clear in Viet Nam and Cambodia, but with us it is not so easy to determine.

This is what I said of this important distinction in the already cited article. Meanwhile, the fact is that the main protagonists of our international conflicts do not take this difference into consideration at all. On the contrary, they knowingly cloud the issue. They act in the name of their nations as though they were homogenous entities in spite of obvious experience which shows that in each of those nations, in the form of workers strikes, there exists different kinds of battles. In accordance with the abrogation of the above differences they negate the differing character of subsequent conflicts and with this fall far below contemporary bourgeois science, for which Marx is, in this context, the undisputed authority. Due to this fact my assertion in the aforesaid article *that the thesis of linking the national question with that of class is not the result of objective observation, being that it is a function of political manipulation*, is not in the least fabricated, but is based on experience.

I must admit that I was not surprised that the above assertion was perfunctorily examined and a limine discarded in a political periodical. I was even more surprised that Prof. Grgo Gamulin, who I thought preferred scientific argumentation, chose in this case a totally different approach. In the journal Kritika 15/70 Prof. Gamulin even in the title of his article directly associates me with *ideological reexporters*; demonstration that political labelling is not a sole privilege of those who do not hold academic titles. Aside from this, using quotes that were out of context, he tried to show that I was self contradictory and that I do not differenti-

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th ia n m o d el is n o t c o n v e n ie n t fo r u n d e rs ta n d in g th e y o u th m o v em e n t in o u r c o u n try . I t is a s se rte d th a t th is m o d el m u st b e k e p t in m in d w h e n s p e a k in g o f th e y o u th o f A sia , A fric a , L a tin A m e ric a , a n d o f th e B lack y o u th o f th e U S A b e c au se th a t y o u th h a s e n te r e d th e p h a s e o f c re a tin g a v a n te g a rd e b a ttle o rd e rs w h ic h a re c o n su m e d as th e e le m en ts o f re v o lu tio n a ry a c tio n . T h e y o u th o f th e m o st d e v e lo p e d c a p ita lis t c o u n tries is jo in in g th em in th e ir o w n w a y b e c au se th e y a re co n v in c e d t h a t h u m a n is m a n d h u m a n d ig n ity a re p la y in g in c re a sin g ly sm a lle r roles in th e societies in w h ic h th e y liv e. M e a n w h ile th e y o u th of so c ia list c o u n tries a re in a n e s se n tia lly d iff e re n t s itu a tio n . T h e s e n a tio n s h a v e e n te re d a sta g e o f s ta b ility a f t e r h a v in g u n d e rg o n e re v -

1 An important pre-condition in this sense is the contrast between a year of earning for national identity and nationalism. That difference ence is clear in wartime, when many strata of one or more people fight for national liberation again in the interest of ignex ploiter. Being that at that time (wartime) the exploiter's side regularly relies on groups of local exploiters the battle for national liberation is also turned today again in st the man and necessarily because of this receives a revolutionary class character. Nationalism is the ideology of local exploiters which is in league with the nationalism of foreign aggressors. The above-mentioned differences parallel two distinguishing phenomena which are fundamentally different with respect to internal stimulation.

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olutionary re-education. They are perfecting organization, building the system and because of this they do not need freedom, or a revolutionary figure, as much as they need people as carriers of well defined roles. What is essential is the accommodation of man to the system with the goal of increasing the productivity of work and the standard of living. Since our nation belongs to this category of nations and since we can justifiably assume that our social system yearns for the same aforementioned goals, still, after many authoritative announcements and admissions, the June actions of our students are thought of as a historical failure which considerably slackened the rhythm of progress in our country.

The above-mentioned appraisal pretends to be scientifically objective, that is – that manner in which it passes sentence must be differentiated from those many interest-value judgements which are given in nervousness and without deep thought and which attributed the events to »hooligan assaults«, »reactinary plots«, »anti-reform blows«. or even »narrow class actions of students who being their father's sons are fighting for better material positions in the moment when the working class is consciously tightening its belt«. Naturally, these new appraisals even if they are better thought out also fall among this same type of announcement which are on the basis of common sense and pronounced without necessary analysis of argumentation, without

ate between »national« and »nationalistic«, an aspect that could only confuse the reader who has not read my article.

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olu tio n ary re-ed u catio n . The y are perfecting organization, building the system and because of this they do not need freedom, or a revolution ary figure, as much as they need people as carriers of

This attack clearly demonstrates in other aspects as well that Gamulin did not care for a scientific dialogue, namely, if the second aspect were at least to a degree ordained by the first, then he would undoubtedly approach his thesis about the working class constituting a nation with more care. At least he could ask himself why it happened that those who pampered and expanded this thesis the most were the ones who suffered the greatest catastrophe in the Second World War. The projection of a classless society, which Gamulin is clamoring for is so unsuitable that it grotesquely hangs in the air. Aside from this the classless society would enthuse hardly anyone in our country. Speaking of a national society is more realistic and acceptable. The classless society easily grows into nationalism, so the workers are also wary in this regard. Therefore Gamulin's indirect suspicion that I pulled out of the air the assertion of absence of nationalism among workers, can be understood as a spontaneous reaction which is used to combat that which is undesirable. If this is the case, then indeed all of my additional arguments miss to point, because in comparison to a well-known and widely accepted standpoint whe world of worthy ideals and the world of experienced facts do not lie on the same plane«. I think that my esteemed critic's real problem is his lack of ordinary information so I would therefore recommend that he mingle a little among the workers or at least that he look at the appropriate documentation. He can perform the latter by going to the workers' university Moša Pijade and looking at the department of workers' self management or by looking through the issues of »Kulturni Radnik« from 1966 to the present, in which he will find investigative material from Croatian factories. He can find a good pertinent document in the March 1970 journal »Pogledi« entitled »Fizionomija jednog štrajka« (Physiognomy of a Strike) which deals with a strike situation in the shipvard of Split. All of this we hope will even convince Prof. Gamulin that the thesis of imcompatibility of synchrony and dychrony did not totally miss the point.

² Speaking on immanent content and intention of the movement we can not of course take into account various guesses concerning the forces who were waiting to exploit the situation. Those forces are always present, what may not be the barrier to evaluate in a open and honest way spontaneous youth's action which in taking the risk had no hidden thoughts.

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the remaining treatments which are requirements of a scientific approach. It is not easy to use a scientific treatment in this case, not only because it is a question of a real political occurrence but because of an absence of necessary documentation. While in many other countries student actions during 1968 were accompanied by the publishing of appropriate documentation and numerous studies, up to now we have no such documentation, a good deal of accompanying writings and discussions were published newspapers and periodicals which were not accessible because they were impounded. In that way an abnormal situation was created because events which should be treated in a sober and rational manner are even today, three years later, being treated in an emotional and abrupt manner.

It is understandable that because of the above mentioned reasons, not even this article of the June events can escape similar criticisms. Even we can not obtain the necessary documentation. This article is being written never-the-less so that we might be able on the basis of insights in certain documentations to give encouragement for further thorough investigation and to be able to, to a degree, answer two closely related questions, which I posed at the beginning of the article. I repeat that this in only a complement to that which I wrote in the above-mentioned article »O karakteru sukoba u našem društvu«. So that this event might be throughly understood and explained, it is necessary to completely enclose it in the context of our total development. A good example in that regard is the article of Rudi Dutschke, who starting from Marx and Marcuse satisfactorily places the German student movement in its social-economic framework.³

II.

A short review of those events which served as preparations and introduction in the June events followed by an analysis of certain essential moments of the demonstration itself and so an insight into the direct and subsequent verbal and practical reactions about the events extends relevant material by which it is possible to judge the character and dynamism of this social conflict. Our writings should not be interpreted as a wish to take a particular stance, rather as an attempt to point out some circumstances and directions of investigations, which will enable us to come to a more sure result.

There is one circumstance which undoubtedly indicates that the political activism of our students is a component part of the general political activism of youth world wide (i. e. protest against the agressive war that the American imperialists are wageing in Vietnam). Anti-war protests and demonstrations are the beginning phase of student movements in a majority of countries during the past decade. The first conflicts between students and police took place regularly

there are maintaining treatments that require a scientific approach. It is not easy to use a scientific treatment in this case, not only because it is a question of real political locurrence but also because of an absence

⁸ See: Die Widersprüche des Spätkapitalismus, die antiautoritären Studenten und ihr Verhältnis zur Dritten Welt, in the book Rebellion der Studenten oder die neue Opposition, Rowohl 1968.

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I re p e a t th a t th is in o n ly a c o m p le m e n t to t h a t w h ic h I w ro te in th e a b o v e -m e n tio n e d a rtic le » 0 k a ra k te ru s u k o b a u n a š e m d ru štv u « . So t h a t th is e v e n t m ig h t be th ro u g h ly u n d e rs to o d a n d e x p la in e d , it is n e c essa ry to c o m p le te ly en clo se it in th e c o n te x t o f o u r to ta l d e v e lo p m ent. A goo d e x a m p le in t h a t r e g a r d is th e a rtic le o f R u d i D u tsc h k e, w h o s ta r tin g fro m M a rx a n d M a rc u s e s a tis fa c to r ily p lac e s th e G e r m a n s tu d e n t m o v em e n t in its so c ia l-e c o n o m ic f ra m e w o rk .8

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before American embassies, after which the movement expanded and strengthened to a maximum as domestic issues come to be the center of attention. That was the case in London, Paris, Berlin, Beograd, not to mention numerous other cities.

In December of 1966, on the occasion of demonstrations by Belgrade students against American aggression in Vietnam, battles arose between police and students, and at that time the police invaded the University. For our country, this was a meaningful event, and an important indication because up to that time existing organizations regularly succeeded in directing the activites of all strata of the people, in the sense of either active or silent approval in support of whatever foreign policy issue was important at the time. To what extent it was recognised that all questions relating to foreign events lie exclusively in the domaine of state administration, can be seen by the instance, earlier in the year, when the Ljubljana periodical »Tribune« was very severely attacked because it supported Russell's anti-war court. The explanation of the attack maintained that the periodical had no right to interfere in political matters. From this it should not be construed that the political bodies were supporting the aggressor. They merely appraised that at the given moment an assault on the American Embassy in the center of Belgrade would be inopportune, by which they came into direct conflict with the attitude of a great member of students. With this they brought upon themselves a good deal of the revolt and criticism which was well expressed in the slogan: »We do not want American wheat«. In that way protest against foreign aggression grows into criticism of domestic politics. A careful analysis would perhaps show that the opportunism of political bodies as regards the question of external politics was closely related with internal insecurity and weakness. This is demonstrated by the direction in which student activism evolved after these demonstrations. The greatest importance is given to questions of social inequality and privilege. The newspapers »Student« and »Susreti« carried articles concerning the grave economic conditions of the Belgrade students. The criticism did not revolve solely around student conditions, but encompassed a much broader area. In that regard an important document is the open letter of »Student« sent to the City Assembly of Belgrade, which was in issue fourteen, dated June 16, 1968. In that letter it is very sharply and argumentatively diclosed regarding housing politics, as how the bureaucracy distributes appartments and how the workers are completely neglected. Aside from this there are other writings of a similar theme in which rational argumentation is used rather than emotional appeal. The press and other means of communication reacted in a brutal and tactless way by trying to associate this criticism and the student movement with groups of »emotionally immature individuals« who question the results of our revolution, which in the resulting situation could not help but inflame the situation. The need to immediately quell resistance at any cost makes for not understanding the situation, so that the measures of pacification boomerang. Such was the case, as was quickly demonstrated, that the question did not revolve around »groups of emotionally immature individuals«, rather, it con-

before A m erican embassies, a fte r w hich the m ovem ent ex pan d ed and stren g th en ed to a m axim um as dom estic issues come to be the center of attention. That was the case in L ondon, P aris, B

erlin, B eograd, not to m ention num erous o th er cities.

In D ecem ber of 1966, on the occasion of d em onstrations by B elg rad e stu dents ag ain st A m erican aggression in V ietnam , b attles arose betw een police a n d students, a n d a t th a t tim e th e police in v ad ed the U n iversity . For o ur country, this w as a m ean in g fu l event, a n d an im p o rta n t in d icatio n because up to th a t tim e ex isting o rg anizations re g u larly succeeded in d ire c tin g th e activites of all s tra ta of the people, in the sense of eith e r active o r silent ap p ro v a l in su p p o rt of w h atev er fo reig n policy issue was im p o rta n t a t th e tim e. T o w h at ex ten t it was recognised th at all questions re la tin g to fo reig n events lie exclusively in the d o m aine of state a d m in istratio n , can be seen by th e instance, e a rlie r in the y ear, w hen th e L ju b lja n a perio d ical » T ribune« was very severely atta c k ed because it su p p o rted R ussell's a n ti-w a r court.

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er w ritin g s of a sim ilar them e in w hich ra tio n a l a rg u m e n ta tio n is used ra th e r th a n em otional a p p eal. T h e press an d o th er m eans o f co m m u n icatio n reacted in a b ru ta l a n d tactless w ay by try in g to associate th is criticism a n d the stu d en t m ovem ent w ith groups of »em o tio n ally im m atu re in d iv id u als«

who question the results of our revolution, which in the resultings ituation could not help but in flame the situation. The need to immed iately quell resistance at any cost makes for not understanding the situation, so that the measures of pacific ation boomerang. Such was the case, as was quickly demonstrated, that the question did not revolve around sgroups of emotionally immature individuals (, rather, it con

cerned generations of young people which found themselves in a chasm between socialist ideals, which society implanted in them, and reality, where only children of affluent parents can be educated, while the problem of massive unemployment is solved by stimulating people to search for work in the capitalist west. Beside, that, we must not forget that the time our press was discussing the possibilities of creating shareholder's enterprises, in which citizens would be able to invest their savings with much more enthusiasm and confidence than in banks. When to all of this is added the unsettled situation at many universities, then it is no wonder that students openly asked questions about the perspectives of our country as a socialist society. That this was, before anything else, a spontaneous revolt against existing deformations and not a pro-eastern or pro-centralisticly inspired and oriented political adventure is confirmed by the circumstances in which this same student group supported the oppressed Polish and Czechoslovakian students and professors, for which they also came into conflict with our government.

That this analysis is superficial is a totally justified observation because it is not based on observing the changes of the material/productive foundations of life without which it is difficult to discern what is happening in the cultural and political sphere. That is exactly what we had in mind when we said that the subject of our entire observations must be put in the context of the whole of our social development. Namely, it is unquestionable that many of the above mentioned deformations are closely related with the changes in economic policy. Therefore it would be necessary to trace these relations and research to what degree the dynamics of our economic growth has caused certain effects by its objective current. Is the transition to an intensive economy, which was dictated by the need for modernization in industry but which is being realized in our country in the framework of self-managing decentralization on the basis of money/goods relationship, such that it, by its intrinsic character, causes all the deformations in question or do many of these problems become comprehensible only after we have taken into consideration the interests and contradictions of those forces that act in its framework? This is an important question because until we answer it we will not understand whether and to what degree the student revolt is aimed against the economic program, or do the students fundamentally accept the program but attack the forces that are deforming the program. This is one of the points around which many arguments arose during the confrontation.

III.

So that the above mentioned questions could be meaningfully posed a stratified framework is necessary to enable us to put the basic forces of our society into functionning relationships so that we can study them. The viewpoint that the category "working people" is useful when it would include all people who work in the socialist sector (enterprises which are not privately owned) from the worker to the director and administrator, has proved illusory after many work-

c e r n e d g e n e r a t i o n s o f y o u n g p e o p le w h i c h found themselves in a chaos between social list ideals, w h i c h society implanted in them, a nd re a lity, where only children of affluent

parents can be educated, while the problem of massive unemployment is solved by stimulating people to search for work in the capitalist West. Besides, that, we must not forget that at the time our press was discussing the possibility of creating shareholders' centers, in which citizens would be a b le to invest their savings with much more enthusiasm and confidence than in banks. When to all of this is added the unsettled situation at many universities, then it is now wonderful that students openly asked questions about the perspectives of our country as such cialist so ciety. That this was, before any thing else, a spontaneous revolt against existing deformation and not a pro-eastern or pro-centralistic ly in spire dand oriented politically adventurous is confirmed by the circumstances in which this same student group supported the oppressed Polish and Czechoslovakian students to and professors, for which they also came into conflict with our government.

That this analysis is superficial is atotally justified obs e rv a tio n b ecau se it is n o t b a s e d o n o b s e rv in g th e c h a n gesofthematerial/productive foundations of lifew ith o u t w h ic h it is d iff ic u lt to d isc e rn w h a t is h a p p e n in g in the culturalandpoliticalsphere. That is exactly wh atwehadinmindwhenwesaidthatthesubjectofour en tir eo b serva tion smust beput in thecontextofthew hole of our social development. Namely, it is unque s tio n a b le t h a t m a n y o f th e a b o y e m e n tion ed d e fo rm a tions a re closely related with the changes in economicp o licy. Thereforeit would benecessary to tracethese re la tio n s a n d r e s e a rc h to w h a t d e g re e th e d y n a m ic s o foureconomicgrowth has causedcertain effects by its o b je c tiv e c u rre n t. Is th e tra n s itio n to a n in te n s iv e econom y, w h ic h w as d ic ta te d b y th e n e e d f o r m o d e rn iz a tio n in in d u stry b u t w h ic h is b e in g re a liz e d in o u r c o u n try in the framework of self-managingdecentraliza tio n o n th e b a sis o f m o n ey /g o o d s r e la tio n s h ip, such t h at it, by its in trinsicch aracter, causes all the deform a tio n s in q u e stio n o r d o m a n y o f th ese p ro b le m s b eco m e c o m p re h e n sib le o n ly a f te r w e h a v e ta k e n in to c o n s id e ra tion the interests and contradictions of those forces that a c t in its fra m e w o rk? T h is is a n im p o r ta n t q u e stio n b e c au se u n til w e a n s w e r it w e w ill n o t u n d e rs ta n d w h e th e randtowhatdegreethestudentrevoltisaimedagain s t th e eco n o m ic p ro g ra m, o r d o th e s tu d e n ts fu n d a m e n ta lly a c c e p t th e p r o g ra m b u t a tta c k th e fo rces th a t a re de form in gtheprogram. This is one of thepoints a rou

n d w h ic h m a n y a rg u m e n ts a ro se d u r in g th e c o n fro n ta tio n .

III.

So that the above mentioned questions could be mean ing fully posed astratified from work is necessary to enable us to put the basic forces of our society into function n in grelationships so that we can study them. The view pointed out that the category working people « is useful when it would include all people who work in the societal list sector (enter rprise s which are not privately owned) from the worker to the director and administrator, has provided the illusion of many works

er's strikes but harmful because it prevents a scientific insight into the dynamics of our society's development. Under present conditions it is not easy to accept the viewpoint that would define the working class as people who only perform routine physical functions in the process of material production. It seems that we are much closer to the truth if we include in this notion workers, scientists, and others who under the same conditions live from their own labor. But under our conditions this formula is unpractical and dangerous because nearly everybody thinks that he lives from his own labor and the chances are meagre that society will objectively define it, so that this category practically covers the meaning as the term »working people«. Our stratification at least theoretically, has no problems to define craftsmen and peasants on the basis of their personal ownership of the means of production even if there exists some mystification in this. because undobutedly the greatest number of people in the socialist sector lives off someone else's labor. The problem rises exactly in the social sector where we cannot resist the temptation, to put all our eggs in the same basket, even if life is mercilessly correcting us. So it is without doubt that in reality there is a division into workers and clerks because the latter do not life off the fruits of their work, have fixed salaries and do not strike. A division into several groups on the basis of income level is very useful because it simplifies the dynamics of society, but on the other hand it destroys the important rule of scientific classification because it interferes with the categories »of those who live or do not live from their own labor«.

All of these difficulties should not distract us from our attempts to form an operationally convenient framework of societal stratification. I am stressing that this is an ad hoc operational framework which means that it will not be theoretically flawless and we will gladly replace it with a more adequate one if we find it. The need is more urgent because private interests, be they personal or group, are becoming the fundamental impetus of social movement, therefore we have to pose the question of how this interest is constituted and what are its fundamental forms. According to our thinking this necessarily leads us to the class/interest stratification as a framework in which this movement is taking place. Without this kind of ideological framework which would demonstrate the interactions of fundamental groupations of society's forces any thorough discussion of our system and its functioning is almost impossible. This is also a necessary pre-condition for the understanding of the social conflict that surfaced during the student's demonstrations. The conditions of existing group interest conflicts leads us to class stratification. On the other hand, being our society is in a process of tremendous changes and re-groupings, it is very difficult to delineate even the conditional framework for a concequential analysis of these conflicts. Starting from Lenin's polarized model according to which: »classes are such groups of people where one group can usurp the results of another group's work, thanks to the difference in positions that they take in a given economic system«, some of our theoreticians divide the whole socialist sector into the working class and a counter class in such a way that people who per-

e r's strikes but h a rm ful because it prevents a scientific insight into the dynam ics of our society's developm ent. Und er present conditions it is not easy to accept the view point that would define

the w orking class as people w ho only p erfo rm ro u tin e physical functions in the process of m ate ria l p roduction. It seems that we a re m uch closer to the tru th if we include in this notion w orkers. scientists, a n d others who un d er the sam e conditions live from th eir ow n labor. But u n d e r our co n d itions this fo rm u la is u n p rac tic a l an d d angerous because n e a rly ev ery body thinks th a t he lives from his own lab or and the chances arc meagre that society will o b jectively d efin e it, so that this category p rac tic a lly covers the m ean in g as the term »w orking people«. O ur s tra tific a tio n a t least theo retically, has no problem s to define c ra ftsm en an d peasan ts on the basis of the ir p ersonal ow nership of the m eans of pro d u ctio n even if there exists some my stification in this, because u n d o b u ted ly the g reatest n u m ber of people in the socialist sector lives off som eone else's labor. The problem rises ex actly in the social sector w here w e can n o t resist th e tem p tatio n, to p u t all our eggs in the sam e basket, even if life is m ercilessly co rrectin g us. So it is w ith o u t doubt th a t in rea lity th ere is a d ivision into w orkers and clerks because the latter do not life off th e fru its of th eir work, have fix ed salaries a n d do n o t strike. A d ivision into several groups on the basis of incom e level is v ery useful because it sim plifies the dynam ics of society, but on the o ther ha n d it destroys the im p o rta n t rule of scientific classificatio n because it in terferes w ith the categories »of those w ho live o r do n ot live from th eir ow n labor«.

A ll of these difficu lties should not d istrac t us from our attem pts to form an ope ra tion a lly convenient fram ew ork of societal s tra tific a tion. I am stressing that this is a nad hoc operation a l fram ew ork w hich m eans th a t it w ill n o t be th eo re tic a lly flaw less a n d we will g lad ly re place it with a more a dequate one if we fin d it. T h e need is m ore u r gen t because p riv a te interests, be th ey p erso n al or group, are becom ing the fu n d am e n ta l im petus of social m ovem ent, there fo re we have to pose the question of how this in te rest is con stitu ted an d w h at are its fu n d am e n ta l form s. A c co rd in g to ou r th in k in g this necessarily leads us to the class/in terest stra tific a tio n as a fram ew ork in which this m ovem ent is tak in g place. W ith o u t this kin d o f ideological f ra m e work w hich w o u ld d e m o n stra te the in teractio n s of fu n d am e n ta l g roup-ations of society's forces an y th o ro u g h discussion of our system and its function in g is almost impossible. Th is is also a necessary pre-condition for the understanding of the social con flict that surfaced during the student's dem o n stratio n s. T h e conditions of ex isting gro u p interest conflicts leads us to class s tra tific a tio n. O n the o ther h a n d, being our

society is in a process of trem en d o u s changes an d re-g ro u p in g s, it is v ery d iffic u lt to d e lin e a te even th e c o n d itio n al fram ew o rk fo r a con-ceq u en tial an aly sis o f these conflicts. S ta rtin g from L e n in 's p o larized m odel a c co rd in g to w hich: »classes are such g roups of people w here one g ro u p can u su rp th e results of an o th e r g ro u p 's w ork, than k s to the d ifferen ce in positions th a t th ey tak e in a g iven econom ic system «, some o f o u r th eo retician s d iv id e the w hole socialist sector into the w o rk in g class a n d a co u n ter class in such a w ay th at people who p e r

form routine physical functions in the process of material production belong to the first class and all the remaining people belong to the remaining class. Aside from the fact that this division is not in keeping with Lenin's demand, having as it does imprecise criteria, it is not very suitable for the understanding of occurrences in question nor for many other conflicts in our society. That is why we think that because of real and ideological reasons the category of counter classes should be discarded and the people included in it should be divided into two basic groups: bureaucracy and middle class. We are conscious of the fact that this division has its weakness especially concerning the notional definition and the differentiation of the middle class from the workers and the bureaucracy. However, this heterogenous social group which is placed between the administering elite and the workers is rapidly growing and their influence is becoming ever greater in all areas of social life and especially in the field of culture and ideology. It represents the majority of people who have taken all the better positions in the socialist sector and they are the main supporters of our »speedy entry into Europe« at any price. As a criterion for the differentiation of the middle class from the working class, aside from the position and role in the social organization of work and the manner of acquisition and size of earnings, we should take into consideration life style and aspirations.4

IV.

The above mentioned conditional population groupings, at least in general terms, makes for better observations of the social conflict dynamics, as articulated by student unrest. In spite of the fact that the students themselves are a heterogenous grouping, which in these situations create relatively independent, authentic and homogenous styles of thought and behavior, a glimpse into the social background and situation of the students, espeically those who form a part of the core of the movement, is necessary for an understanding of the essence of the events. Naturally, we can't go into that here since sufficient proof is not at our disposal. However, it seems to us a plausible hypothesis that a comparative analysis of social background and material position of corresponding groups of university students in Belgrade and Zagreb would yield little contribution to an explanation of the large difference in type of activism between these two centers during the time of the June manifestations. Reasons for that explanation must be sought elsewhere.

When we read the documents: proclamations, slogans, press reactions, speeches, we come to the conclusion that the »dynamics of conflict« along with their adopted schemes were channeled into a tri-

⁴ According to the Italian press, whose reports our press also carried, (see *Politika* of Dec. 15, 1970) on the occasion of the holiday of November 29 last year 245,000 Yugoslavs travelled to Italy and spent at least seven hundred million lira. The total of Yugoslav investments for ten months of the same year was 29,5 million lira. This fact, if accurate, sufficiently demonstrates the buying power of our middle class.

factthatth is division is not in keepingwith Lenin's de m a n d, h a v in g as it d o es im p re c is e c rite r ia, it is n o t v e ry s u ita b le for the unders tanding of occurrences inque stionnorformanyotherconflicts in our society. That is whywethinkthatbecauseofrealandideologicalrea so n s th e c a te g o ry o f c o u n te r classes s h o u ld be d isc a rd e dandthepeopleincludedinitshouldbedividedinto tw o b asic g ro u p s: b u re a u c ra c y a n d m id d le class. W e a re co n scio u s o f th e fa c t t h a t th is d iv isio n h a s its w ea k n e ss especially concerning the notional definition and the d iff e re n tia tio n o f th e m id d le class fro m th e w o rk e rs a n d thebureaucracy. However, this heterogenous social g ro u p w h ic h is p la c e d b e tw e en th e a d m in is te rin g e lite and theworkers is rapidly growing and their in fluence is b e c o m in g e v e r g r e a te r in a ll a re a s o f so cial life a n d e specially in the field of culture and ideology.

I t re presents the majority of people who have taken all the better positions in the societal list sector and they are the main supporters of ours

» sp e ed y e n tr y in to E u ro p e « a t a n y p ric e . A s a c rite r io n fo r th e d i f f e r e n tia tio n o f th e m id d le class fro m th e w o rk in g class, a s id e fro m th e p o sitio n a n d ro le in th e so cial o r g a n iz a tio n o f w o rk a n d th e m a n n e r o f a c q u isitio n a n d size o f e a rn in g s , w e s h o u ld ta k e in to c o n s id e ra tio n life sty le a n d a s p ira tio n s .4

IV.

The above mentioned conditional population groupings, at least in general terms, make for better observations of the social conflict dynamics, as shown lated by student on rest. In spite of the fact that the students themselves are a heterogenous grouping, in which these situations create relatively independent, authentic and homogenous styles of thought and behaviour, a glimpse into the social back ground and situation of the students, especially those who form a part of the core of the movement, is necessary for an understanding of the essence of the events. Naturally, we can't go into that there since sufficient proof is not at your disposal. How ever, it seems to use a plausible hypothesis that a comparative analysis of social background and material position of corresponding groups of university students to in Belgrade and Zagreb would yield little contribution to an explanation of the large difference in type of activism between these two centers during the time of the

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partite relation: students, bureaucracy, and the working class. Actually, the conflict occurs between the students and the buraeucracy, the workers being equally involved since both sides make appeals to them and seek their support. It therefore follows that the middle class would be outside what was happening. But this isn't true. On the contrary, it would seem to us a fitting hypothesis that the »so-called leftist student radicalism« wasn't overcome due largely to the preeminent support of the working class, who sent letters of protest but more important was middle class, who played an unprecedented role, wielding pressure and influence. To this class, the student revolt was represented as the revolt of »our Chinese« who acted under the slogan »equal rights for everyone«. On the basis of analysis of the contents of their »texts«, which were printed in the country's press, it would be easy to show that their first thoughts were for the middle class. This was the creation of mature and calculating political thinking because it was evident that the lower social strata would least favor the rejection of the student program. To clarify this point, we will quote in entirity the »Manifesto of the Student Action Committee for Demonstrations and Student Meetings in the Student Community«. of June 3, 1968 which says:

- 1. We consider social inequality among ourselves to be one of the basic problems of our society. In regard to this we demand:
 - pay in accordance to work performed
 - energetic action against the unsocialistic accumulation of wealth
 - we demand the abolition of all privileges present in our society.
- 2. The high number of unemployed is one of the main sources of student anger. Therefore we demand:
 - abolition of moonlighting
 - the transfer of managerial staff lacking sufficient qualification, giving preference to young experts in their place
 - immediate enforcement of laws concerning required periods of apprenticeship and proper advancement of young experts to keep them from leaving to work in other countries.
- 3. The existence of a huge bureaucratic power in our society demands:
 - the democratization of all means of public information
 - free meetings and demonstrations.
- 4. The students are embittered about the conditions in the university. This consequently demands:
 - improvement of material conditions in the university
 - equal privileges of participation for students in all forums, above all where decisions are made concerning problems, whether or not they are directly or indirectly linked to the students
 - condemnation of the phenomenon of »clannish and monopolistic« tendencies in some of the departments and a vigorous struggle against them

ake appeals to them a n d seek th eir support. It th erefo re follow s th at the middle class would be outside what was happen in g. But this isn't true. On the con trary, it would seem to us a fitting hypothesis th a t the »so-called leftist stu d e n t rad icalism « w asn 't overcom e due larg ely to the p re em inent support of the work in g class, w ho sent letters of p rotest but m ore im p o rta n t was m id d le class, w ho p lay ed an u n p reced en ted role, w ield in g pressure a n d influence. T o this class, the stu d en t revolt was rep resen ted as the revolt of »our Chinese« who acted under the slog an »equal rig h ts fo r everyone«. O n the basis of analysis of the contents of th eir »texts«, w hich w ere p rin te d in th e c o u n try 's press, it would be easy to show that their first tho ughts were for the m iddle class. T h is was the creatio n of m atu re an d calcu latin g p o litical th in k ing because it was ev id en t th a t th e low er social s tra ta w ould least fav o r the reje c tio n of th e stu d e n t p ro g ram. To c la rify this point, we will quote in e n tirity the »M anifesto of the S tu d en t A ctio n C om m ittee for D em o n stratio n s a n d Stu d en t M eetings in the S tu d en t C om m unity«, of J u n e 3, 1968 w hich says:

- 1. We consider social in eq u ality am ong ourselves to be one of the basic problem s o f ou r society. In re g a rd to this we dem an d:
- p ay in accord an ce to work performed
- en erg etic actio n ag a in st the u nsocialistic a ccu m u latio n of w ealth
- we demand the abolition of all privileges present in our society.
- 2. The high number of unemployed is one of the main sources of student anger. The refollows:
- ab o litio n o f m o o n lig h tin g
- th e tra n s fe r o f m an a g e ria l s ta ff lack in g sufficien t qu alificatio n, giv in g p refe ren c e to yo u n g ex p erts in th e ir place
- im m ed iate en fo rcem en t of law s concern in g req u ired periods of ap p re n tic e sh ip an d p ro p er ad v a n ce m e n t of y o ung experts to keep them from lea v in g to w ork in o th er countries.
- 3. The existence of a hugebureaucratic power in our society demands:
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- free meetings and demonic strategies.
- 4. The students are embittered about the conditions in the university. This consequently demands:
- im p ro v em en t o f m ate ria l conditions in the un iv ersity
- equal priv ileg es of p a rtic ip a tio n for stu d en ts in a ll forum s, above all w h ere decisions a re m ad e co n cern in g problem s, w heth er or not th ey a re d ire c tly o r in d ire ctly lin k ed to th e students
- condemnation of the phenomenon of "clannish and monopolistic"

ten dencies in som e o f th e d e p a rtm e n ts a n d a vigorous struggle a g a in st th em

- we demand complete and democratic re-election of the entire teaching staff
- we demand free registration of students.

From the proclamations, it can be deduced that the main aim of the student criticism was the direction of state management, that is the administrative strata. The only basis for criticism here is that such a power wasn't able to accept the working class as head arbiter in the dispute. Consequently they were pressed into a counter attact on their own position which, for the broad masses and especially the poor levels of society, wasn't particularly convincing or successful. The student rebellion was attacked as a »so-called new left« with »the same hollow words without any meaning«. This »student new left« is not able to instruct society in self-management when actually their faculties don't have self management while the rest of society already has. Neither could they speak of distribution of pay in accordance to work performed when it is known that the faculties live on a budget.5 This line of thought continued after Tito's television address on the 9th of June in which he openly declared that the student rebellion was spontaneous and justified, that 90% of the students were honest youth, and that he largely accepted their demands as his own with the promise that measures were already being undertaken and would be carried out. Further, this line was brought to light in the lead article of Borba of June 10, 1968 under the title »Young Wheat and Weeds« which in its assessment and more so in its intonation was the exact opposite of what Tito had declared. It was reiterated that it wasn't necessary to be taken in by the student slogans and pressures when one knew that the bureaucratic deformation existed in the university and not in society where self management ruled. Deviation of the syndicate journal Rad,6 which in several articles came out with argumentive incentive for the close examination of the »four student demands« was quickly done away with, first by the Central Committee of the Syndicate Alliance, and then by the press which called it foul dealings which »twisted the knife in the back of the worker« and which treated them as »a passive mass which is not in the position to have the independent power of decision«.

After Tito's June speech at the Sixth Congress of Syndicates of Yugoslavia in which, besides attacking that part of the administration which is enriching itself at the expense of the working class, he vigorously criticized certain groups of professors who infiltrated the universities and negatively affected those around them. Following Tito's remarks Milentije Popović, president of the Federal Assumbly, spoke to the political functionaries from Kossovo⁷ and told them that the demonstrations were a "real political plot" in which all enemies of our system found common cause; the groups who were mentioned as plotters included university professors, Informbureau agents, follow-

⁵ Borba, June 9, 1968.

⁶ See the issues of June 13 and 23, 1968.

⁷ Borba, July 1, 1968.

— w e d e m a n d free registration of students.

From the proclamations, it can be deducedthat them a in a im o f th e s tu d e n t critic ism w as th e d ire c tio n o f s ta te management, that is the admin is tratives trata. Theo n ly b asis fo r c ritic ism h e re is that su chapowerwasn't a b le to a c ce p t th e w o rk in g c lass as h e a d a r b ite r in th e d isp u te. Con sequently they werepressed in to a counter atta c t o n th e ir o w n p o sitio n w h ich, fo r th e b r o a d m asses a n d e s p e c ia lly th e p o o r lev els o f so ciety, w a s n 't p a r tic u la r ly c o n v in c in g o r su ccessfu l. T h e s tu d e n t re b e llio n w as a tta c k e d as a » s o -c a lle d n e w le ft« w ith » th e sam e h o llo w w ord s with out any meaning «. This » studentne wleft« is n o t a b le to in stru c t so ciety in s e lf -m a n a g e m e n t w h e n a c tu a lly th e ir f a c u lties d o n 't h a v e se lf m a n a g e m e n t w h ile th e r e s t o f so ciety a lr e a d y h as. N e ith e r c o u ld th e y s p e ak of d is tr ib u tio n of p a y in a c c o rd a n c e to w o rk p e rfo rm e d w h e n it is k n o w n t h a t th e fa c u ltie s liv e o n a b u d g e t.5

This line of thoughton tinuedafter Tito's television addresson the 9 thof June in which heopenly declared that the studentrebellion was spontaneous and justified, that 90% of the students were honest youth, and that he largely accepted their demands as his own with the promise that measures were already being undertaken and would be carried out. Further, this line was brought to light in the lead article of Borbaof June 10, 1968 under the title» Young Wheat and Weeds«

w hich in its asse ssm e n t a n d m o re so in its in to n a tio n w a s th e e x a c t o p p o site o f w h a t T ito h a d d e c la re d . I t w a s r e ite r a te d t h a t it w a s n 't n e c essa ry to be ta k e n in b y th e s tu d e n t slo g a n s a n d p ressu re s w h e n one k n ew th a t th e b u r e a u c r a tic d e fo r m a tio n e x is te d in th e u n iv e rs ity a n d n o t in so ciety w h e re se lf m a n a g e m e n t ru le d . D e v ia tio n o f th e sy n d ic a te jo u r n a l R a d ,6 w h ic h in s e v e ra l a rtic le s c a m e o u t w ith a rg u -

m en tiv e in c e n tiv e fo r th e close e x a m in a tio n o f th e » fo u r s tu d e n t d e m an d s« w as q u ick ly d o n e a w a v w ith , f ir s t b y th e C e n tra l C o m m itte e o f th e S y n d ic a te A llia n c e , a n d t h e n b y th e p ress w h ic h c a lle d it fo u l d e a lin g s w h ic h » tw iste d th e k n ife in th e b a c k o f th e w o rk e r« a n d w h ic h tre a te d th e m as » a p a ssiv e m ass w h ic h is n o t in th e p o s

itio n to h a v e th e in d e p e n d e n t p o w e r o f d e cisio n « .

A f te r T i to 's J u n e sp eech a t th e S ix th C o n g re ss o f S y n d ic a te s o f Y u -

g o slavia in which, besides attacking that part of the administration which is enriching itself at the expense of the working class, is vigorous sly c ritic ize d certain groups of professors who infiltrated the universities and negatively affected those around them . Following Tito's remarks Milentije Popović, president of the Federal Assembly, spoke to the political functions fro m K ossovo7 and told them that the demons trations were a » real political plot« in which all enemies of our sy stem found common cause; the groups who were mentioned as plotters included university professors, Informers, following 5 Borba, June 9, 1968.

s See th e issues o f J u n e 13 a n d 23, 1968.

7 B o rb a, J u ly 1, 1968.

ers of Ranković, and even Ustaši and Chetniks. In the new situation brought about by the economic reform the above mentioned groups used the atmosphere at the universities to their advantage and took the offensive; the Leage of Communists was unprepared to deal with this threat.

With this we have, more or less, delineated the battlefront between students and the bureaucracy, or to be more precise, between the demonstrators and government administration. But, as has already been pointed out, we propose that for the understanding of the conditions and possibilities of left radicalism, it is of the greatest importance to explore, always in concrete situations, how this radicalism affects the aspirations of the middle class. We recognize that this is especially important in the most developed capitalist countries in which, because of their privileged position in the world division of labor, a great part of the working class has acquired a way of thinking and behavior which is typically middle class. This represents the main barrier which limits new left ideas to student campuses and to those groups which are linked with them in so called intellectual communities. However, it does not follow that the investigation of the above mentioned relation is important in only the most developed countries that have large middle classes. Experience shows that this is important in countries like ours. The crux of the matter is that the new middle class and nouveau riche are far less tolerant than those who have held middle class status for a long time. These people make up for their lack in numbers by their greater agressiveness. Our owner of an automobile and a summer home is a greater enemy of a leftist trend than his American or French counterparts for the very reason that he is a newcomer to this way of life, that he still feels insecure and fears that the trend which made him what he is might come into question, resulting in the loss of what he has acquired. For him the June events with their demands and aspirations represent »a Mao Tse Tung, Stalinist, Centralist pot of slogans«.8 Having reacted spontaneously and sincerely, he has a second thought and says that from this pot we must separate that which is positive and that which is a spontaneous revolt against the »bureaucratic Gods«. Just to show that their verbalizations are so many words, being that they cannot circumvent Tito's appraisal of the situation, is shown by the fact that when the »bureaucratic Gods« are mentioned even in a casual manner, their whole wrath turns against the students. To show how great their fear was and the extent of their wrath, a certain Zagreb newspaper published reports of the killing of Sharon Tate for weeks on end. It was clear to every politically aware person that the spectacular judicial process surronding this event was staged by extreme rightists who wished to draw attention away from the events of Song My and My Lai in order to psychologically prepare the American people for a pogrom against left-wing students. We do not wish to imply that newspapers were in any way connected with the shady intentions of Californian right-wingers, but that the serialized publishing of the

^{*} VUS, June 16, 1968.

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» b u reau cratic G ods« a re m en tio n ed even in a casual m an n er, th eir w hole w ra th tu rn s a g a in st the stu dents. T o show how g rea t th eir fear was a n d th e ex te n t of th e ir w ra th , a c e rta in Z a g reb n ew spaper pu b lish ed rep o rts of the k illin g of S h aro n T a te fo r weeks on end. It was c le a r to every p o litic a lly aw a re p

erson th a t the sp ectacu lar ju d icial process su rro n d in g this ev ent was stag ed by ex trem e rightists who w ished to d ra w a tte n tio n a w ay fro m the events of Song M y a n d M y L ai in o rd e r to p sy ch ologically p re p a re th e A m e ric a n people for a pogrom a g a in st left-w in g stu dents. W e do n o t w ish to im ply th a t new sp ap ers w ere in a n y w ay connected w ith the sh ad y in ten tio n s of C a lifo rn ia n rig h t-w in g e rs, b ut th a t the serialized p u b lish in g of the 8 V U S, June 16, 1968.

above mentioned events did have a definite purpose is demonstrated by Milan Marić's excellent essay entitled »Strah na tekućoj vrpci«, (Fear on the Assembly Line). The publishing of the above mentioned serialization was not accidental but is characteristic of our large circulation newspaper which were pushed to the right by the student revolt. Since the newspaper were unable to criticize the students within the framework of Marxist logic, they resorted to open and defacto acceptance of non-Marxist conception in their criticisms.

Leaving aside extreme right wing cases which are markedly reactionary we shall consider relativelly moderate way of dealing with the students which is however typical for the theoretical shifts and represents the thinking of society's upper levels and which also contains significant political implications. I have in mind D. Jančar's article »Za beogradski lijevi radikalizam ili za funkcionalizam«, (For Belgrade left-wing radicalism or for functionalism) which was published in the Zagreb periodical »Kritika« no. 7, 1969. In his argumentation the above mentioned author leans heavily on the London »Economist« which on Nov. 27, 1968 published an article entitled »I it possible to be only half liberal?« This article maintained that the demands of the Yugoslav students in spite of stating the contrary, were aimed against the Yugoslav economic reform. That is shown by the fact, according to the »Economist«, that the government under student pressure, had to limit private initiative even though it had proved beneficial. The »Economist« further states that the students demanded a reduction in the differences between the Northern and Southern parts of the country by means of subsidies and income taxes which would create funds for the building of new industries in underdeveloped areas and in this way solve the unemployment problem. The »Economist« does not ask whether these demands are justified, it merely states that they hindered further economic liberalization. The »Economist's « conclusion is that one cannot wish for greater political, cultural and intellectual freedom without a liberalization of the economy. He who uses the methods of étatistic force in dealing with the economy is not going to act any differently when dealing with culture and politics.

In keeping with the above mentioned statements, Jančar takes issue with the Belgrade students who in the time of the scientific revolution demand class struggle. He thinks that they are looking for something where it does not exist and that besides, the contemporary world has quite different dilemmas. For instance, the difference between the developed and underdeveloped. This relation does not contain class significance neither in Yugoslavia nor in the world. Within Yugoslavia there are differing economic spheres which started at different levels and have differing rhythms of development which means that the North cannot wait for the South to develop. This framework serves for interpreting the differences between the slogans of Belgrade and Ljubljana students. While the former stress the slogan »We fight for the better man and not for the better dinar«, the latter think that we must start from the economy and not from man. The former are

⁹ Naše teme, no. 6, 1970.

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» Z a b eo g ra d sk i lije v i r a d ik a liz a m ili z a f u n k c io n a liz a m « , (F o r B e lg r a d e le f t-w in g ra d ic a lis m o r fo r f u n c tio n a lism) w h ic h w a s p u b lis h e d in th e Z a g r e b p e rio d ic a l » K ritik a « n o . 7, 1969. I n h is a rg u m e n ta tio n th e a b o v e m e n tio n e d a u th o r le a n s h e a v ily o n th e L o n d o n » E co n o m ist«

w h i c h o n N o v 27, 1968 published in Article entitled » Is it possible to be only half liberal? « This article maintained that the demands of the Yugoslav students in spite of stating the contrary, were aimed again at the Yugoslav eco n o m i c r e f o r m T h a t is shown by the fact, according to the »Economist«, that the governor mentioned under student pressure, had to limit private initiative events though it had proved beneficial. T h e

»E co n o m ist« f u rth e r s ta te s t h a t th e s tu d e n ts d e m a n d e d a re d u c tio n in th e d iffe re n c e s b e tw e en th e N o r t h e r n a n d S o u th e rn p a rts o f th e c o u n try by m ea n s o f su b sid ies a n d in co m e ta x e s w h ic h w o u ld c re a te fu n d s fo r th e b u ild in g o f n e w in d u s trie s in u n d e rd e v e lo p e d a re a s a n d in this w a y so lv e th e u n e m p lo y m e n t p ro b le m . T h e » E c o n o m ist« does n o t ask w h e th e r th ese d e m a n d s a re ju s tif ie d , it m e re ly s ta te s t h a t th e y h in d e r e d f u rth e r eco n o m ic lib e ra liz a tio n . T h e » E c o n o m ist's« c o n c lu sio n is t h a t on e c a n n o t w ish f o r g r e a te r p o litic a l, c u ltu r a l a n d i n te lle c tu a l fre e d o m w ith o u t a lib e r a liz a tio n o f th e eco n o m y . H e w h o uses th e m eth o d s o f e ta tis tic fo rc e in d e a lin g w ith th e e c o n o m y is n o t g o in g to a ct a n y d iff e re

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• N o t h e m e, well. 6, 1970.

for partial changes within the system, the latter demand a radical change of the system itself.¹⁰ The former are against social inequality and unemployment, the latter stress their student interests and fight for the better organization of the student life. The former attack government, the latter express their confidence in the Slovenean Executive Council.

This openly demonstrates the contrariness of the Southeastern parts of the country which accept the idea of class struggle and solidarity with the Northwestern parts, especially Slovenia which is preparing to enter into modern Europe and does not wish to deal with the class struggle, preferring to perfect their organizational basis«.¹¹ It rejects egalitarianism and replaces it with selection which means that the stronger must go forward on the professional and not on the level of class and ideology.¹²

These are the positions of technological functionalism modified and adapted to small relatively areas. They combine themselves with the idea of »nation« as a total society and become the ideology of the upper strata of society in the less developed countries which are trying to link their areas to the developed and because they consider it the best guarantee for their stabilization.

The hetrogenous character of the Yugoslav area was reflected in the differing kinds of echoes that Belgrade demonstrations has in various university centers. This has not been researched up to now so that appraisals cannot be made on the basis of compiled and compared materials. But, even without that, if we judge on the basis of meagre newspaper reports, it is obvious that the stronger echo was in Sarajevo where students took to the streets in great numbers and where clashes with the police arose.

In Zagreb the situation was different. In the pacification of students the main role was played by opposing positions taken by Federal and Republican governments. From the very beginning it was pointed out that Croatian politics differs in a positive way from Federal politics because it stressed the need for returning financial resources back to industry which means that it relies on the working class. Without regard to the question whether this was true or whether it was verbal manipulation, it had a great influence. We must not ignore that the stressing of differences between the Federal government and Croatian leadership was followed by attempts to represent the Belgrade student demonstrations as expressions of nationalism and unitarism.

In Ljubljana the authorities awaited these events and as it appears, kept the situation well in hand in such a way that it dealt with the students basic demands at the outset thereby paralyzing demonstrations. At the end of this summary review of the events, in which we tried to point out some events and circumstances which should be more thoroughly researched, we can return to the two related ques-

¹⁰ We have carefully read all the available materials relating to the student movement and we stress that we never found a document demanding a radical change of our social system.

¹¹ Kritika, ibidem.
12 Kritika, ibidem.

en t interests an d fight for the be tte r org an izatio n of the stu d en t life. T h e fo rm er attack govern m en t, the la tte r express th eir confidence in the S lovenean Executive Council.

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In Z a g reb th e s itu a tio n was d iffe re n t. In th e p acificatio n of stu d ents the m ain role w as p lay e d by o p posing positions tak e n by F ed eral a n d R ep u b lican gov ern m en ts. F rom the v ery b eg in n in g it was pointed out th a t C ro a tia n politics d iffe rs in a positive w ay from F e d e ra l p o litics because it stressed th e need fo r re tu rn in g fin a n c ia l resources back to in d u stry w hich m eans th a t it relies on th e w o rk in g class. W ith o u t re g a rd to th e q u estion w h e th e r this w as tru e o r w h e th e r it was v erbal m an ip u latio n , it h a d a g re a t in fluence. W e m ust n o t ig nore th a t the stressing of d ifferen ces betw een th e F e d e ra l go v ern m en t an d C ro atian lea d e rsh ip was fo llo w ed by atte m p ts to rep resen t the B elg rad e stu d en t d e m on stratio n s as expressions o f n a tio n a lism a n d un itarism .

In L ju b lja n a th e au th o ritie s a w a ite d these events a n d as it appears, kept the s itu a tio n w ell in h a n d in such a w ay th a t it d e a lt w ith the stu d en ts basic d em an d s a t th e outset th ere b y p a ra ly z in g d e m o n stra tions. A t th e en d of this su m m ary review o f the events, in w hich we trie d to p o in t out some events a n d circum stances w hich should be m ore th o ro u g h ly research ed , we can r e tu rn to th e tw o rela te d q u es10 W c h ave c a re fu lly re a d all th e a v a ila b le m ate ria ls re la tin g to th e student m ovem ent a n d we stress th a t w c n e v er fo u n d a d ocum ent d em an d in g a ra d ical change of o u r social system .

11 Criticism, ibidem.

** Critique a, ibidem.

tions we posed at the beginning. First, was the June action of our students diachrony, and second, has it meant the real and potential

slowing of the rhythm of production in our country?

The answer to the first question can be arrived at by means of an indirect route. We must establish, which is not difficult, that the administrative élite against whom the student actions were directed are supporters and defenders of synchrony which is defined as development in space but not in time and whose priority is growth technology and standards but neglects human relations. However this leaves possibilities for mystification because our bureaucracy is not united but divided into several groups that fight each other which can give the false impression that some groups yearn to revolutionize the social system itself. But these are only verbalizations, because a deeper insight reveals that this is just fighting for a re-distribution of power and influence within the existing structure. We find immediate proof as to truth of this assumption in the fact that each of these groups accepts and defends some form of nationalism as its basic starting point. The students, however, opposed nationalism with the old slogan of »brotherhood and unity«, which is obvious not only from the fact that during meetings all those who took nationalist positions where whistled and shouted down. From the speeches of participants at the student meetings it is obvious that they differentiated between the politics of safeguarding national equality and the politics of building one's own nation. Namely, no matter how much nation building is necessary at this stage or our development in the struggle against unitarism and centralistic monopolies, we must not disregard the fact that the exclusive building of one's own nation is a bourgeois motive which regularly presupposes the existence of a privileged caste above society and its working class. Accordingly, the destruction of centralism does not automatically bring about self management of working people because the political sphere can be taken up by competition and conflitcs of national oligarchies and other right-wing forces who have their own vital interests. In such a situation the only reliable barometer is class relations. If massive unemployment should arise which primarily affects the poor strata of society, and social distinctions are strengthened, then in the conditions of a general economic stagnation every discussion of socialism becomes forced and hypocritical. The student movement grew from this cause and sought the reestablishing of a socialist perspective which in consonance with our approach has a diachronic character.

To the second question which is a type of modification of the first one, which expresses the viewpoint that the student revolt slowed down the rhythm of our progress, we could give a negative answer on the basis of the aforementioned facts. However a clarification is necessary because for those who defend the already mentioned viewpoint progress is merely increasing the per capita income figures. We think that aside from this there is a type of progress in human relations that progress in the economy does not necessarily bring about progress in the field of human relations. In other words this means that the mere expansion of the economic system, based on the develop-

u c tio n in o u r c o u n try?

Theanswertothefirstquestioncanbearrivedatbym ea n s o f a n in d ir e c t ro u te. W e m u st e s ta b lish, w h ic h is n otdifficult, thattheadministrativeeliteagainstwhom th e s tu d e n t a c tio n s w e re d ire c te d a re su p p o rte rs a n d d e fe n d e rs o f sy n c h ro n y w h ic h is d e fin e d as d e v e lo p m e n t in sp a ce b u t n o t in tim e a n d w h o se p r io r ity is g ro w th te c h n o lo g y a n d s ta n d a r d s b u t n e g le c ts h u m a n r e la tions. Howeverth is leavespossibilities formy stific a tio n b e c au se o u r b u re a u c r a c y is n o t u n ite d b u t d iv id e d in to several groups that fighteachotherwhich cang iv e th e false im p re ssio n t h a t som e g ro u p s y e a r n to re v o lu tio n iz e th e so cial sy stem itself. B u t th ese a re o n ly v e rb a liz a tio n s, b e c au se a d e e p e r in sig h t rev e a ls th a t th is is ju st fighting for are-distribution of power and in fluenc e w ith in the e x is tings tructure. We find im med ia teproo f as to tru th o f th is a s su m p tio n in the f a c t t h a t e a c h o f th e s e g ro u p s a c cep ts a n d d e fe n d s som e fo rm o f n a tio n a lis m as its b a sic s ta r tin g p o in t.

The students, however, opposed nationalism with the old slogan of

» b ro th e rh o o d a n d u n ity «, w h ic h is o b v io u s n o t o n ly from the factthatduringmeetingsallthosewhotookn a tio n a lis t p o sitio n s w h e re w h is tled a n d sh o u te d d o w n . From the speech es of participants at the student mee tin g s it is obv io u s th a t th e y d i f e r e n tia te d b e tw e e n th e politic sofsafeguardingnationalequalityandthepo litic s o f b u ild in g o n e 's ow n n a tio n. N a m e ly, n o m a tte r h o w m u ch n a tio n b u ild in g is n e c e s sa ry a t th is sta g e o r o urdevelopment in the struggleagain stunitarisman d c e n tra lis tic m o n o p o lies, w e m u st n o t d is r e g a rd th e f a ctthattheexclusivebuildingofone's ownnationis ab o u rg e o is m o tiv e w h ic h r e g u la rly p resu p p o se s th e e x iste n ce o f a p r iv ile g e d c a ste a b o v e so ciety a n d its w o rk in g class. A c c o rd in g ly, the destruction of centralism does notautomatically bringaboutselfmanagementof w o rk in g p e o p le b ecau se th e p o litic a l sp h e re c a n be ta k e nupbycompetitionandcon-

flitcs of n a tionalolig archiesandotherright-wing forces whohave theirownvitalinterests. In such a situationthe only reliable barometerisclass relations. If massive unemploymentshould arise which primarily affects the

p o o r s tr a ta o f so c ie ty, a n d so c ia l d istin c tio n s a re s tre n g th e n e d, th e n in th e c o n d itio n s o f a g e n e ra l eco n o m ic s ta g n a tio n e v e ry d iscu ssio n o f so cialism b ecom es fo rc e d a n d h y p o c ritic a l. T h e s tu d e n t m o v em e n t g re w fro m th is c a u se a n d s o u g h t th e r e e s ta b lish in g o f a so c ia list p e rsp e c tiv e w h ic h in c o n so n an c e w ith o u r a p p ro a c h h a s a d ia c h ro n ic c h a ra c te r.

To the second question which is a typeofmodification of the first one, which expresses the viewpointthat the studentrevoltsloweddown the rhythmofourprogress, we could giveanegativeans weronthe basis of the afore mentioned facts. Howeveraclarification is necessary because for those whode fend the already mentioned viewpointprogress is merely increasing thepercapitain comefigures. We thinkthataside from this there is a typeofprogress in humanrelations that progress in thee conomydoes not necessarily bringabout progress in the field of humanrelations. In other words this means that the mere expansion of the economic system, based on the develop

ment of technology does not ensure human progress. It creates preconditions which can bring about human advancement and freedom but at the same time can be used as a means of enslavement and destruction. That is why I think that progress if it is to remain humane should not lose its socialist perspective. Accordingly, if we have decided to become part of Europe (i. e. to reach the economic level of Austria or Belgium as soon as possible) but under the conditions of abandoning the above mentioned perspectives then according to our officially claimed system of values, we are not creating progress. However if in accordance with real politics, due to purely pragmatic reasons, at this stage of development we disregard the above mentioned distinction and regard progress merely as the growth of national income, not even then do we have a basis for the assention that the student action has been harmful. There is small chance that the trends which the students opposed and which their opponents defended will lead the country on a safe road to progress.

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YUGOSLAV SOCIETY BETWEEN REVOLUTION AND STABILIZATION

Božidar Jakšić

Sarajevo

Today – when in the minds of many there is powerful apprehension that Yugoslav society is disintegrating - can one disucuss that society at all and not be accused of advocating some wism« as, for example, unitarism or nationalism? Even at the risk of becoming an object of suspicion to some or of amusement to others, I shall discuss Yugoslav society; I shall endeavor to show on an historical and theoretical plane some elements which could perhaps serve as coordinates in the search for an answer to the question where in truth Yugoslav society now finds itself. If the new type of society, which started with the Yugoslav peoples uprising against fascism, now deploys a whole series of ideological, political and economic measures characterized by the conception of stabilization, on what point of the span between revolution and stabilization are we situated? What is revolutionary in our society, and what needs stabilizing? If Marx was a revolutionary thinker and Comte a philosopher of the stable society, are we closer to Marx or to Comte? What is the significance of Yugoslavia's road from revolution to reform, and from reform to stabilization? Does it mean that the revolution is reforming and stabilizing or do the expressions »reform« and »stabilization« denote in actual reality a different tendency which has by-passed the revolution?

The questions are many, and fuller answers demand considerable analytical endeavours. Therefore, I shall only point out some of my own dilemmas and try to state an as yet insufficiently defined conviction.

It seems best to begin by tracing the line which leads from the uprising to the stabilization. There is no doubt that 1941 was the year of our Golgotha, when a fascist power, which had already turned all Europe into a prison, treacherously – if not unexpectedly – attacked a small and backward Balkan country. That country, primitive, backward, divided by twenty years of bourgeois dissension and strife, sunk in corruption and misery, for centuries plundered and exploited for

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others' benefit, became in only twelve days an all-too-easy prey for the occupier; indeed, it became one vast slaughterhouse. Brother killed brother; like lunatics we murdered each other barbarously, treacherously. Forces of unreason danced a bloody dance. Menaced by genocide, a terrified populace fled to the forests and other hideouts. The instinct for self-preservation, the desire to keep one's head on one's shoulders at any price, became the only guide in that flight from the slaughter.

The Communist Party's role in this moment of our history was great and unquestionable. Two decades experience of persecution while engaged in illegal work enabled the Party in those moments of tragedy for all our peoples to channel people's anger and thirst for revenge into battle against the occupiers and the quislings and to offer a programme of struggle for freedom and against every form of slaughter and oppression. The logic of the mind tipped the scales against the logic of the knife and against that which is irrational and animal in men. The peasantry en masse rallied to the red flag that the communists unfurled. But the uprising also suffered reversals, not only in those regions which were strongholds of the quislings, but also there where sectarianism of the Stalinist type was expressed in suspicion of the peasantry and in the attitude that the revolution must immediately be transformed into a proletarian revolution, overshadowing the general and patriotic national fight for freedom. The occurence of Red Terror in Montenegro and some parts of east Bosnia during 1942 clearly demonstrated this. A not inconsiderable number of peasants, failing to comprehend this sectarian logic, found themselves before the guns of the very squads they had commanded, thus sharing the fate of Gvozden, hero of Dobrica Cosić's the novel The Sun is Far Away. All in all, there is a need to consider carefully what was socialistic in our revolution.

So, the Yugoslav national liberation struggle, almost against the wishes of those who led it, and according to the social structure of its participants, took on the character of a peasant revolution. Naturally this does not mean that workers, intellectuals, and patriotically orientated members of the other section of population, did not take an active part in the struggle. But the fundamental mass of the national liberation army consisted of peasants. Could it have been otherwise in a country of peasants? It is self-evident that it could not. Even the Party-membership was predominantly peasant; on in 1946 258,000 Party-members, 130,000 or 50% were peasants.

The revolution arrived in this country neither with Anglo-American parachutes nor on Russian tanks. Hence a government constructed in the course of the national liberation struggle could be not other than a people's government which the Party apparatus had patiently and persistently built in the difficult years of war. From the ashes that remained after the war one Absolute Winner survived – the Communist Party. The eyes of all our peoples were focussed on that Winner. Regardless of the plans of the Great Powers which behind the partisan leaders' back were discussing the destiny of Yugoslavia, the people demonstrated by force of arms their preference for Com-

w e m u rd e r e d e a ch o th e r b a rb a ro u s ly , t r e a c h e r ously. Fo rces o f u n re a s o n d a n c e d a b lo o d y d a n c e . M e n a c e d b y g e n o cide, a te r r if ie d p o p u la c e fle d to th e fo re sts a n d o th e r h id e o u ts. T h e in stin c t fo r s e lf-p re s e rv a tio n , th e d e s ire to k eep o n e 's h e a d o n o n e 's sh o u ld e rs a t a n y p ric e , b e c am e th e o n ly g u id e in t h a t f lig h t fro m th e s la u g h te r.

TheCommunistParty's role in this momentofourhis to r y w as g r e a t a n d u n q u e stio n a b le. T w o d e c ad e s e x perience of persecution while engaged in illegal work enabled the Party in those moments of tragedy for all ourpeoples to channelpeople's angerand thirst for r e v e n g e in to b a ttle a g a in s t th e o c c u p ie rs a n d th e q u islin g s a n d to o f fe r a p ro g ra m m e o f s tru g g le fo r fre e d o m a n d a g a in s t e v e ry fo rm o f s la u g h te r a n d o p p ressio n . The logic of the mind tipped the scales against the logic of thek nife and againstthatwhichisirrationalanda n im a l in m en. T h e p e a s a n try en m a sse r a llie d to th e r e d f la g t h a t th e c o m m u n ists u n fu rle d . B u t th e u p ris in g also s u ff e r e d re v e rs a ls, n o t o n ly in th o se reg io n s w h ic h w e re s tr o n g h o ld s o f th e q u islin g s, b u t a lso th e r e w h e re s e c ta ria n is m o f th e S ta lin is t ty p e w as e x p re s s e d in su sp ic io n o f thepeasantry and in the attitudethattherevolu tio n m u s t im m e d ia te ly be tra n s fo r m e d in to a p r o le ta r ia n re v o lu tio n, o v e rs h a d o w in g th e g e n e ra l a n d p a tr io tic n a tio n a l f ig h t f o r fre e d o m . T h e o c c u re n c e o f R e dTerrorin Montenegroand someparts of east Bosnia d u r in g 1942

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So, the Y u g o s la v n a tio n a l lib e r a tio n s tru g g le, a lm o s t a g a in s t the w ishes of tho se w ho led it, a n d a c c o rd in g to the so cial s tructure of its p a rtic ip a n ts, to o k on the c h a ra c terofapeasantre v o lu tio n. N a turally this does not mean that w orkers, in tellectuals, and patriotically or ien tated members of the other section of population, d id not takean activepart in the struggle. But the fundamental mass of the national liberation army consisted

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munism. Consequently, the Party apparatus had a free hand in building a state of its own choice. Unfortunately, the alternatives available were extremely limited; the only practical example was that of the Soviet Union, or more precisely, Stalin's model of the state. And that model was faithfully transferred and emulated. This was perfectly logical if one takes into consideration the entire complex of socialhistorical and economic circumstances that confronted Yugoslavia: pressures exerted by Western countries; threats from remnants of the old bourgeois society and emigres; a desperate economic situation in a devastated country; and, a Party apparatus that had for too long been almost entirely and exclusively subordinated to decisions of the Comintern and Moscow. Let us remember only that immediately before the war, the Party apparatus, when faced with the danger of the fascist attack on the country and with the possibility that the Comintern would dissolve the Party, quite ruthlessly settled accounts with those Communist intellectuals who could not reconcile themselves with the Stalinist pogroms at the trials and in the concentration camps.

In fact, immediately after the war, the Party apparatus enjoyed a strong support of the people and had almost unlimited freedom of action in all spheres of the society. The Party was monolithic and undivided. There was a consistent subordination of the lower to the higher organs. Life went on in the shadow of the Victor's absolute monopoly while the political system which emerged from that life

searched for new supports.

The process of pressing back the peasantry to the margins of sociopolitical system became irreversible. Compulsory land-purchases and complusory collectivization (after the example of the Soviet »kolkhoz«) broke the links between the peasantry and the main bearers of sociopolitical life in the country. The process was lasting and inevitable. The results is well known. Of 1,046,000 members of the League of Communists in 1966 7.8% (77,000) were peasants, but although today the peasantry still comprises 50,2% of the population, they comprise only 2% of the party membership. Every second Yugoslav is a peasant – 54% of the population of Belgrade and 61% of that of Zagreb were born in villages – yet today Yugoslavia has to import foodstuffs (wheat, for example) in order to feed herself. Finally, and perhaps fortuitously, a single peasant has found a place on the benches of the Federal Assembly.

We are still too far from the day when agriculture will become a branch of industry. Self-management is even physically (by several tions of government, and the local communities are still in their for-Pope in Rome. The Commune is too distant and too sunk in the functions of government, and the local communities are still in their formative stage. Compulsory contributions are the closest the peasant ever approaches Self-management; tax-demands, military call-up and the local law-courts represent the nearest that he ever comes to the government for a public service. And no wonder nobody wants to be a peasant today. To call someone a peasant is to insult him. If this represented a protest against whe idiocy of peasant life« it would be very significant. But half of our population is still subject to that

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ple was that of the Soviet Union, or more precisely, Stalin's m odel of the state. A n d th a t m odel was fa ith fu lly tra n s fe rre d a n d em ulated. T h is was perfectly logical if one takes into co n sid eratio n th e en tire com plex of social-h istorical a n d economic circum stances that co nfronted Y ugoslavia: pressures exerted by W e ste rn countries; th re a ts from rem nants of the old bourgeois society a n d em igres; a d esp erate economic situ atio n in a d e v a sta te d co u n try; an d, a P a rty ap p a ra tu s th a t h a d for too long been alm ost e n tirely a n d exclusively su b o rd in ated to decisions of the C om in te rn an d M oscow. L et us rem em ber only th a t im m ediately before the w ar, the P a rty a p p a ra tu s, w hen faced w ith th e d a n g e r of the fascist atta c k on the co u n try a n d w ith th e possibility that the Com intern would dissolve the Party, quite ru th lessly settled accounts w ith those C om m unist in tellectu als w ho could n o t reconcile them selves w ith the S ta lin ist po grom s a t th e tria ls a n d in th e con cen tratio n camps.

In fact, im m ed iately a fte r th e w a r, th e P a rty a p p a ra tu s en jo y ed a strong su p p o rt o f th e people a n d h a d alm ost un lim ited freedom of action in a ll spheres of th e society. T h e P a rty was m onolithic a n d u n div id ed . T h e re w as a consistent su b o rd in atio n of the low er to the hig h er organs. L ife w en t on in th e shadow of the V ic to r's absolute m onopoly w hile th e p o litical system w hich em erged from th a t life searched fo r new supports.

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»idiocy«, and 80% still live on the minimum borderlines of existence. Frequently even massive migration to the towns fails to free these people from the misery and poverty of village life. It is estimated that the agricultural over-population of this country is still at the level of 1,300,000, and some 1,400,000 worker-peasants vividly express our population's dilemma between village and town. That section of our population has still not achieved the idiocy of city life (an idiocy of which our intellectuals frequently complain), expressed in the ideals of the massive consumer society. The »futility«, the »pointlessness« of city life constitute for the majority of our people an unattainable dream. The advertisements for expensive cars of for holidays in Palma de Majorca sound to the immigrant into the town – in which, in 99% cases, he continues his miserable existence – like the famous words of Marie Antoinette: »Let them eat cake?«

The peasantry, then, ceased to be that category of the population which comprised the social mainstay of the Party apparatus that was constructing the new social system. The town populations became that mainstay. Without doubt this was a natural process, although it is unnatural that half the population should live on the margins of the socio-political and economic system. Did the workers become that social mainstay? Did the working class become the basic social force for economic life? In a process of permanent revolution that would be entirely logical.

Has that logic of revolution triumphed in the practice of Yugoslav society as well? At first glance it might seem that it has. Between 1950 and 1952 workers' Self-management was introduced into the socioeconomic and political system. Factories to the workers! All power to the Workers' Councils! It looked as though the old ideal of the Communist movement had begun to be realized in practice.

Here I would like to draw attention to the word sintroduced, which seems adequate. The Yugoslav system at the time of the sintroduction of Self-management already had two firmly-organized, firmly-built supports: the bureaucratic power structure and the forces of repression best personified by the political police.

For both a decisive moment was the rejection of the Informbureau Resolution. That courageous and dignified act signified the decisive rejection of Stalin's domination over our society. But it was not possible to stop there. With the rejection of the foreign domination it became necessary also to reject the Stalinist model of the state, of economic development, and of intellectual life. It was necessary to find our own model of Socialist system, different from the Soviet. Thus Self-management manifested itself above all as a political act which should signify a national road towards Socialism.

It is necessary to emphasize that a powerful polarization within the Party characterized the resistance to the Informbureau Resolution. Party members had for too long been educated to trust Stalin. In the war they had died with His name on their lips. He was a symbol of Socialism for them. Thus some of them could not reconcile themselves to the fact that Stalin was, after all, wrong. They could not accept the fact that a world in which they had been brought up, and which

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H a s th a t lo g ic o f re v o lu tio n triu m p h e d in th e p r a c tic e o f Y u g o s la v so ciety as w e ll? A t f ir s t g la n c e it m ig h t seem t h a t it h a s . B e tw e e n 1950

a n d 1952 w o rk e rs ' S e lf- m a n a g e m e n t w a s in tr o d u c e d in to th e socioeco n o m ic a n d p o litic a l sy stem . F a c to rie s to th e w o rk e rs! A ll p o w e r to th e W o rk e r s ' C o u n cils! I t lo o k ed as th o u g h th e o ld id e a l o f th e C o m m u n is t m o v em e n t h a d b e g u n to b e r e a liz e d in p ra c tic e .

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they had helped to construct, should, all at once, overnight, be demolished. The graves of those Marxist intellectuals who could have helped the Party in a democratic way to resolve the dilemmas and conflicts had long since been overgrown with grass. Realizing that the stakes were too high and the risks too great, the Party apparatus, which had been built on the monopolist principle, had to »free« itself of those members in a very short space of time, using all the political police. Although that action brought about an exceptionally significant historical result - for the country's independence was preserved it had also some negative consequences which had a lasting influence on the development of Yugoslav society. Thus the social power which was at that time strengthened by the political police can be felt very strongly even today. The Party, in those times of historical necessity, assumed the shape - what irony for Gramsci's conception of »collective intellectual« - of a »collective policeman«. This would be repeated in some later moments of Yugoslav social development. It is necessary to stress here, especially with regard to these later moments in our development, that from the first day the most faithful, the most devoted, the most promising and the most obedient of Party personnel were selected for the ranks of the political police. From the first day the connection between the personnel section of the Party apparatus and the political police was exceptionally strong, if in fact it is possible to speak of a connection and not rather of an identification, considering the number of Party personnel who were in one way or another connected with the political police. Thus the bureaucratic mentality united with the police mentality.

What in fact did the orientation of Yugoslav society towards Selfmanagement mean? Theoretically it meant the beginning of a process abolishing hired labor, freeing the workers as human beings from hired relationships and from any form of authority exercised over their

work or the products of their work.

However, the fact that Self-management began as a political process illustrates the domination of political centers of power in the society which initiated that process. From the sphere of politics Self-management could advance only in two directions: into the sphere of ideology or into economics. And indeed it did move in these directions. Self-management, in its political form, crossed the thresholds of factories, businesses, educational, health and similar social establishments. In factories it spread through the management and economic units. On the other hand even the organs of government were named so as to indicate the development of society in the direction of Self-management. Thus the government became the Executive Council, the Ministries became Secretariats, and even the Communist Party changed itself into the League of Communists. But in fact these changes are a clear proof that Self-management had been even further transformed into an ideology.

What part did the workers play in the development of Self-management? To answer this question is at least partially and indirectly to give an answer also the question whether the working class had become the basic initiator of social development, the mainstay of the

th ey h a d h elp ed to construct, should, all at once, overnight, be dem olished. T h e g raves of those M arx ist in tellectu als who could have h e lp ed th e P a rty in a dem ocratic w ay to resolve th e dilem

m as an d conflicts h a d lo n g since been overgrow n w ith grass. Realizing th a t the stakes w ere too high an d th e risks too great, th e P a rty ap p aratu s, which h a d been bu ilt on the m onopolist p rinciple, h a d to »free« itself of those m em bers in a v ery short space of tim e, using all the political police. A lth o u g h th a t action bro u g h t about an ex ceptionally sig n ifica n t histo rical resu lt - fo r th e co u n try 's in d ependence was p reserved -

it h a d also some n eg ativ e consequences w hich h a d a lastin g influence on the dev elo p m en t o f Y u g oslav society. T h u s the social pow er which was a t th a t tim e stre n g th e n e d by th e p o litical police can be felt very stro n gly even today. The Party, in those tim es of h isto rical necessity, assum ed the shape - w h a t iro n y fo r G ra m sc i's conception of »collective in tellectu al« - o f a »collective policem an«. This would be repeated in some later m om ents of Y ug o slav social developm ent. It is necessary to stress here, especially with regard to these laterm oments in our d evelopm ent, th a t from the first d a y the m ost faith ful, the m ost d e v oted, the m ost pro m isin g a n d th e m ost o b edient of P a rty p ersonnel w ere selected for the ran k s o f the p o litical police. Fro m the first day the connection betw een the p ersonnel section of the P a rty a p p a ra tu s a n d th e p o litical police w as exception ally strong, if in fac t it is possible to speak of a connection a n d n o t ra th e r of an iden tificatio n, cons id e rin g th e n u m b er of P a rty p erso n n el w ho w ere in one w ay or a n o th er co nnected w ith th e p o litical police. Thus the bureaucratic mentality unitedw ith the police m en tality.

What in fact did the orientation of Yugoslav society to wards Selfmanagement mean? The oretically it meant the beginning of a process abolishing hiredlabor, freeing the workers as human beings from hiredrelationships and from any form of authority exercised over their work or the products of the ir work.

However, the fact that Self-management began as a political process illustrates the domination of political centers of power in the society which in itiated that process. From the sphere of politics Selfmanagement could advance only in two directions: into the sphere of ideology or in to economics. And in deed it did move in these directions. Self-management, in its political form, crossed the thresholds of factories, businesses, educational, health and similar social establish ments. In factories it spread through the management and economic units. On the other hand even the organs of government were

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Whatpartdid the workers play in the development of Sellmanagement?

em ent? To a n sw er th is question is a t least p a rtia lly an d in d irectly to give a n a n sw er also the question w h e the r the w o rking class h a d become the b asic in itia to r o f social d ev elo p m en t, the m ain stay of the 443

social system, and that category of society which had the greatest influence upon the overall social processes in Yugoslav society. According to the 1961 census, 2,464,000 or 30% of the active population were workers, while in 1967 the figure was 2,512,000 or 31%. Only the peasantry represented a numerically larger social groupation. Thus the working class according to its numbers could have represented the basic motive power in social development. But what in fact happened? Workers' Self-management was imprisoned within the walls of factories, businesses and institutions and within those frameworks it was divided into working sections and economic units and in that manner hyperinstitutionalised, which turned the real influence of the institutions themselves into a formal one. The organs of Self-management were in fact weighed down by the techno-bureuacratic structure, which did not look for the mainstay of its influence, and thence of its power, among the workers whose interests it served, but through its connections with the structures of political power outside the enterprises. This shows up especially when the techno-bureaucratic structure of an enterprise looks for excuses for its failures or behaves arbitrarily towards workers. When, for example, the organization of work is bad or a production programme does not succeed, that structure will blame Self-management (the decisions of the organs of Self-management); conversely for the results of faulty workmanship the worker is responsible and no one would think of blaming the Workers' Council. For we must not forget the fact that one fifth of those employed in this country (about 700,000 people) occupy posts for which they are not qualified. Among them are obviously a large number of workers who are not sufficiently qualified for the posts they occupy, but the incompetence of the bureaucratic structure has become almost proverbial. And bureaucratic structure often hides behind the decisions of the organs of Self-management.

The development and stagnation of Self-management was not paralleled by a widening of the influence of the working class on the overall plane. If we bear in mind that the Party structures have a political monopoly in society, then workers' membership of the League of Communists can be used as a relatively reliable indicator for this assertion. Only 13.4% of workers are members of the League of Communists, while of government administration that percentage is as high as 80.2. The number of workers accepted into the League of Communists was on the increase until 1959 when it stood at 43%, falling thereafter until in 1966 it was 30.1% of newly recruited members. On the other hand the expulsion of workers from the League of Communists has grown, rising from 24.5% in 1951 to 57.1% in 1965. Finally, workers are the most numerous group which of its own free will resigns from the League of Communists. In Croatia alone during 1969 and 1970, of 20,500 members to leave the League of Communists, 9,922 or 48,3% were workers. In the course of two decades (1946-1966) the number of workers in the League of Communists increased five times, the number of white-collar workers fifteen times, while membership as a whole increased four times. Workers constitute a proportionately small part of local, nothing of central, committees.

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Workers'Self-managementwasimprisonedwithinth e w a lls o f f a c to ries, busin esses a n d in s titu tio n s a n d w ith in th o se fra m e w o rk s i t w a s d iv id e d in to w o rk in g sectio n s a n d e c o n o m ic u n its a n d in t h a t m a n n e r h y p e rin s titu tio n a lise d, w h ic h tu rn e d th e r e a l in flu e n c e o f th e in s titu tion s them selves in to a form alone. Theorgans of Self-m anagementwere in factweigheddownbythetechno - b u re u a c r a tic s tru c tu re, w h ic h d id n o t look fo r th e m a in s ta y o f its in flu e n c e, a n d th e n c e o f its p o w e r, a m o n g theworkerswhoseinterestsitserved, but through its c onnections with the structures of political powerou tsid e th e e n te r p rises. T h is show s u p e s p e c ia lly w h e n th e te c h n o - b u re a u c r a tic s tr u c tu re o f a n e n te rp ris e looks for ex cu ses for its failure sorbehavesarbitrarily towa rd s w o rk e rs. W h e n, fo r e x a m p le, th e o r g a n iz a tio n o f work is bador a production programmedoes not su cceed, thatstructure will blameSelf-management (th e d e c isio n s o f th e o rg a n s o f S e lf- m a n a g e m en t); c o n v e rse ly for the results of faulty work manship the work e r is resp o n sib le a n d no o n e w o u ld th in k o f b la m in g th e W orkers'Council. For we must not forget the fact that on e f if th o f th o se e m p lo y e d in this c o u n try (ab o u t 700,000 people) occupy posts for which they are not q u a lifie d. A m o n g th e m a re o b v io u sly a la r g e n u m b e r o f w o rk e rs w ho a re n o t s u ffic ie n tly q u a lif ie d f o r th e p o sts th e y occupy, but the in competence of the bure aucra tic s tr u c tu r e h a s b eco m e a lm o s t p r o v e r b ial. A n d b u r e a u c r a tic s tr u c tu r e o f te n h id e s b e h in d th e d e c isio n s of the organs of Self-management.

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> w ill resig n s fro m th e L e a g u e o f C o m m u n ists. I n C r o a tia a lo n e d u r in g 1969 a n d 1970, o f 20,500 m em b e rs to le a v e th e L e a g u e o f C o m m u n ists, 9,922 o r 4 8 ,3 % w e re w o rk e rs. I n th e c o u rse o f tw o d e c ad e s (1 9 4 6 -

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Amongst the 140 delegates in the Council of Nationalities of the Federal Assembly there is not a single worker, while in the entire Assembly there are only four workers, and they are in the Economic Council. Amongst the 2,400 delegates to the Congress of Self-managers in Sarajevo there were only 80 workers. It follows clearly from all this that the representation of workers in the centers of social power is weak or non-existent; the workers' structures have no social power

It is clear, on the other hand, that the numerical representation of workers in various centers of social power need not indicate the extent to which those centers truly represent the workers' interests. Certain data concerning the life of workers are more meaningful in that respect. If we consider that the average income per-head of the population has risen in Yugoslavia to almost 600 dollars annually, then there is absolutely no doubt that, from this point of view, the standard of life of Yugoslav workers has notably improved in relation to any previous period during the development of our society. However, a more exact analysis would give a significantly different picture. The life of a worker depends not only upon his work, but also on the branch of industry to which his factory belongs, the commune in which he lives and on the means of subsistence which on various bases are provided from the factory's income: it is not at all the same thing to work in the textile or mining industries on the one hand or in the petrol and aircraft industries on the other in the center of Ljubljana, or in Kalesija, Prozor or Cazin. According to a Tanjug report of August 1969, in the south of Serbia 20% of the workers' organizations received a minimum personal income of 35,000 old dinars per person employed, 20% between 45 and 50,000 old dinars, 50% between 60 and 70,000 old dinars, while only 10% of them had an average income of between 80 and 90,000 old dinars. If we leave out of consideration certain extreme and isolated earnings in the entertainment professions and take into account that, while a director earns 600,000 old dinars a month (already not a rare occurrence), a worker, for instance a miner, earns 60,000, then it can very simply be calculated that the director in the course of his four-year mandate earns as much as the worker in the course of his entire 40-year working life. A worker's chances of getting a flat are as a rule small, and a worker's child, regardless of talent, has nine times fewer chances to become a specialist or a manager. Naturally, the other side of the coin presents a still more drastic picture: the likelihood is twenty times smaller that the child of a specialist or a manager will become a worker. The number of unemployed workers as evidenced by official statistics fluctuated at about 300,000 in recent years, while the number employed abroad neared the figure of one million. Finally, while the Yugoslav population's nourishment improved qualitatively from the Liberation until 1961, from 1961 until today that quality has stagnated.

Hence, however, much one may speak of Workers' Self-management, the workers' influence hardly extends outside the bounds of the factory. It seems that one of our writers was correct when he said that the Yugoslav working class found itself today in a reservation. He writes: "Workers' Self-management as the established structure

A m ongst the 140 delegates in the C ouncil of N atio n alities of the F e d e ra l A ssem bly th ere is not a single w orker, w hile in the en tire A ssembly th ere a re only fo u r w orkers, and they are in the

Econom ic Council. A m ongst the 2,400 delegates to the Congress of S elf-m an ag ers in S a raje v o there were only 80 w orkers. I t follows clearly from all this that the representation of workers in the centers of social power is weak or non-existent; the workers' structures have no social power.

It is clear, on the o ther hand, that the numerical representatio n of w orkers in vario u s centers of social pow er need n o t in d icate th e e x ten t to w hich those centers tru ly rep resen t the w o rkers' interests. C e rta in d a ta con cern in g the life of w orkers a re m ore m ean in g fu l in th at respect. I f w e consider th a t th e a v erag e incom e p e r-h e a d of the p o p u latio n has risen in Y u g o slav ia to alm ost 600 do llars an n u ally, then there is ab so lutely no d oubt th at, from this po in t of view, the stand ard of life of Y ug o slav w orkers has n o tab ly im proved in rela tio n to any previous p eriod d u rin g th e d ev elopm ent of ou r society. H ow ever, a m ore ex act analy sis w ould give a sig n ifican tly d iffe re n t p icture. T h e life of a w ork er d epends not on ly up on his work, b u t also on the b ran c h o f in d u stry to w hich his fac to ry belongs, the com m une in w hich he lives a n d on th e m eans of subsistence w hich on v arious bases are p ro v id e d fro m the fac to ry 's incom e: it is not a t all the sam e th in g to w ork in the tex tile o r m in in g in d u stries on the one h a n d o r in the p e tro l a n d a irc ra ft in d u stries on the o th er in th e center of L ju b lja n a, or in K alesija, Pro zo r o r C azin. A cco rd in g to a T a n ju g rep o rt of A u gust 1969, in the south of S erb ia 20°/o o f th e w ork ers' o rg anizations received a m in im u m p erso n al incom e of 35,000 old d in ars p er person em ployed, 2 0 % betw een 45 a n d 50,000 old d in ars, 5 0 % betw een 60

a n d 70,000 old d in ars, w h ile on ly 10% of them h a d a n a v erag e incom e o f betw een 80 a n d 90,000 old d in ars. I f w e leav e out of consideration c e rta in ex trem e a n d iso lated e a rn in g s in th e e n te rta in m e n t professions a n d tak e into account th at, w h ile a d ire c to r earn s 600,000 old d in ars a m o n th (alrea d y n ot a ra re occurrence), a w orker, fo r in stance a m in er, earn s 60,000, th en it ca n v e ry sim ply be c alcu lated th a t th e d ire c to r in the course of his fo u r-y e a r m an d a te earn s as m uch as th e w o rk e r in the course o f his e n tire 4 0 -y ea r w o rking life. A w o rk e r's chances o f g e ttin g a fla t a re as a ru le sm all, a n d a w o rk e r's child, regardless of tale n t, has n in e tim es few er chances to becom e a specialist o r a m an ag er. N a tu ra lly, th e o th er side o f th e coin presents a still m ore d rastic p ictu re: th e lik elihood is tw e n ty tim es sm aller th a t the child of a specialist o r a m an a g e r w ill becom e a w orker. T h e n u m b er of unem p lo y ed w o rkers as evid en

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H ence, h ow ever, m uch one m ay speak of W o rk e rs' S e lf-m a n a g em ent, th e w o rk ers' in flu en ce h a rd ly ex ten d s outside th e bounds of the facto ry . It seem s th a t one of o u r w riters was co rrect w hen he said th a t th e Y u g o slav w o rk in g class fo u n d itself to d ay in a reservation.

H e w rites: » W o rk e rs' S e lf-m a n a g e m e n t as th e established stru ctu re 445

for workers action that we know today is nothing more than a reservation in which the workers like a by-gone class live under the illusion that, in managing themselves as a section of society, they are controlling the destiny of society as a whole. Present-day Self-management is not management of the entire society by the working class but merely Self-management of workers amongst themselves. «*

The workers react in various ways in this situation. An increasingly frequent reaction is the strike, as a traditional means of defending the workers' interest. From 1958 to mid-1969 – 1,732 strikes were registered, which is in any case an indication that the workers could not always settle those problems which affected their interests within the institution of the Self-management system. Until now those have been for them problems concerning tarifs or problems of a narrow status character within the bounds of the factory, so that their demands have not in fact had a bearing upon the wider social context. But outside a very limited social framework and context strikes constitute the most significant evidence of social conflicts which clearly indicate that Yugoslav society is fundamentally a class society and that the working class is in search of roads leading to a full consciousness of itself.

What basic mechanisms led to such a situation? To demonstrate that the interests of the working class have not become the basic interests of the social system, but rather that those basic interests are in fact those of the bureaucratic structure, means in fact to speak of existing phenomena rather than of the elements which brought them about. The mechanisms of domination and manipulation by means of which the domination over the working class (in the name of the working class) maintains itself are numerous. If we leave to one side institutionalized mechanisms, it can be said that the domination of political centers of power projects itself in the absolute ideological and political monopoly of the Party apparatus, and that it maintains itself with the aid of a number of basic mechanismus of manipulation. Two of these will be mentioned here.

The first is based on the Stalinist conceptions of working people, of non-antagonistic contradictions in Socialism and of a society without conflicts. These ideas are at the basis of our thesis concerning the working man, or working people, or the nation of workers. Actual social contradictions conceal themselves more or less successfully under the basis that we are all working people. Groups with differing interests may eventually emerge, it may be possible to speak even of pressure groups, but we are all basically in a similar social situation, as working people we are all of a similar social status. Certain working people, it is true, have villas in the country, while others subsist in subhuman conditions and follow the plough, but what is important is that we are all working people. Certain working people can spend summer holidays in Switzerland, and send their children to be educated in English colleges, while others must exploit their children economically in order to maintain their households, and the notion of summer holidays, for such people, does not exist in any form—but we

for workers« action that we know today is nothing more than reservation in which the workers like a by-gone class live under the illusion that, in managing them selves as a section of society, they are

^{*} Milan Mirić, 'Reservations', p. 54. Razlog, Zagreb, 1970.

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Theworkersreactinvariouswaysinthissituation. An in c re a sin g ly fre q u e n t re a c tio n is th e strik e, as a tr a d itio n almeansofdefendingtheworkers' in terest. From 1958 to m i d - 1 9 6 9 - 1,732 strik es w e re r e g is te re d, w h ic h is in a n y case a n in d ic a tio n t h a t th e w o rk e rs c o u ld n o t a l w a y s se ttle th o se p ro b le m s w h ic h a ff e c te d th e i r in te re s ts w ith in th e in stitu tio n o f th e S e lf-m a n a g e m e n t sy stem. Untilnowthosehavebeenforthemproblemsco n c e rn in g ta r ifs o r p ro b le m s o f a n a rr o w s ta tu s c h a ra c terwith in the bounds of the factory, soth at the irdem andshavenotinfacthadabearinguponthewiderso c ia l c o n te x t. B u t o u tsid e a v e ry lim ite d so cial fra m e w o rk a n d c o n te x t strik e s c o n s titu te th e m o st s ig n ific a n t e v id e n c e o f so c ia l c o n flicts w h ic h c le a r ly in d ic a te t h a t Y u g o sla v so ciety is f u n d a m e n ta lly a cla ss s o c ie ty a n d t hat the work in g class is in search of roads leading to a fu ll c o n scio u sn ess o f itse lf.

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ia l c o n tra d ic tio n s c o n c ea l th em se lv e s m o re o r less su c ce ssfu lly u n d e r th e b asis t h a t w e a re a ll w o rk in g p e o p le . G ro u p s w ith d iff e rin g in te rests m a y e v e n tu a lly em e rg e , it may be possible to speakeven of pressure groups, b u t w e a re a ll b a s ic a lly in a s im ila r s o c ia l s itu a tio n, as work in gpeople we are all of a similar social status. Ce r ta in w o rk in g p e o p le, it is tru e, h a v e v illa s in th e c o u n try, while oth ers subsist in subhuman conditions and fo llo w theplough, but what is important is that we are a ll work in gpeople. Certa in work in gpeople can spend su m m e r h o lid a y s in S w itz e rla n d, a n d s e n d th e ir c h ild r e n to b e e d u c a te d in E n g lis h co lleg es, w h ile o th e rs m u st e x p lo it t h e ir c h ild r e n e c o n o m ic a lly in o r d e r to m a in ta in the ir hou se holds, and the notion of summerho lid a y s, for su ch p e o p le, d o es n o t e x is t in a n y f o r m - b u t w e

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^{*} Milan Mirić, 'Reservations', p. 54. Razlog, Zagreb, 1970.

are all working people. One working man can have a salary twenty times greater than another's but what matters is that both are working people. This thesis about working people is a mystification of the class and repressive role of the State, for it creates the illusion that we all have an equal chance to participate in and share common tasks. Thus we have a State which pretends not to wield State-power, because allegedly it surrenders its functions to the mechanisms of Self-management agreements. Those responsible for this mechanism of manipulation which obscures the true role of the State include not only the centers of political power but also numerous Yugoslav intellectuals who in their public activities help to broadcast this obscurantist thesis.

The second mechanism of mystification projects itself in the attempt to reinstate the idea of ethnic unity as the basic rallying point for all classes of a single nation and in that manner to make extremely diverse class interests seem fundamentally the same. If, for example, a Serb exploits a Serb, the fact of exploitation is not important; they are equal because they belong to the same-nation. One's national identity becomes more significant than one's class identity. If, for example, both the Croatian and the Serbian bourgeoisie exploit the Croatian working class, that is a national problem which will be solved as soon as the Croatian bourgeoisie alone exploits the Croatian working class. The struggle against every exploitation become insignificant beside the problem of rallying the nation with the object of uniting on the national level the interests of workers, of the technobureaucratic structure, of the political apparatus and of the financial oligarchy. In this way - and this is one of the fundamental objectives of this type of mystification - the techno-bureaucratic structure, the political apparatus and the financial oligarchy are offered an excellent chance of preserving their class interests behind the smokescreen of national unity. Instead of solving genuine social problems arising from the development of society, those structures offer national myths and symbols, national institutions and linguistic variations as the irrational basis of the system, that is of social activity within the framework of the system. Mere personal freedom becomes inessential beside national equality, which usally means the equality of national centers of social power.

The expansion of this form of manipulation resulted in a close cooperation between the national bureaucracies in the republics, which previously had most frequently a sectarian attitude towards the national question and those middle strata, not yet sufficiently strongly constituted, to whom nationalism in this various manifestations, including even clerical nationalism, was the true banner. In that bloc a particularly dark role was played by isolated groups of nationalistically orientated intellectuals. Those groups nowhere gave clearer expression of their membership of middle class strata or of their employment by the social elite than in the expansion of this mystification.

Naturally, no one can assert that the political solution of the national problem arrived at during the creation of the new Yugoslavia was a definitive one. That solution was merely a presupposition for the creation of genuine personal freedom, of national equality and de-

a re all w o rking people. O ne w orking m an can hav e a salary tw enty tim es g rea te r th an an o th e r's b u t w h at m atters is th a t both are w orking people. T h is thesis about w orking people is a m ystification of the class an d repressive role of the State, fo r it creates the illusion th a t we all h av e an equal chance to p a rticip a te in an d sh are comm on tasks. T hus we h av e a S tate which p retends not to wield State-power, because a lleg edly it surrenders its functions to the mechanisms of S elf-management agreements. Those responsible for this mechanism of manipulation which obscures the truerole of the S tate include not only the centers of political power but also numerous Y ugoslav intellectuals who in the ir public activities help to broad cast this obscurantist thesis.

The second mechanism of mystification projects itself in the a ttem p t to rein sta te the id ea of ethnic u n ity as the basic rally in g point for all classes of a single n a tio n and in that m an ner to m ake e x tre m elv d iverse class interests seem fu n d am e n ta llv the same. If, for e x am p le, a Serb exploits a Serb, the fact of e x p lo itatio n is n o t im p o rtan t; th ey a re equal because th ey b elong to the sa m e- n ation. O n e's n a tio n a l id en tity becomes m ore sig n ifican t th a n one's class id en tity. If, for exam ple, both the C ro a tia n a n d the Serb ian bourgeoisie ex ploit the C ro a tia n w o rk in g class, that is a national problem which will be solved as soon as th e C roatian bourgeoisie alone exploits th e C roatian w o rk in g class. The struggle againstevery exploitation become in sig n ific a n t beside the p roblem of rally in g the n a tio n w ith the object of u n itin g on the n a tio n a l level the in terests of w orkers, of the techno-b u rea u c ra tic stru c tu re, of the p o litical a p p a ra tu s a n d of th e fin an cial olig arch y. In this w ay - a n d this is one of the fundamental objectives of this type of my stificatio n - th e tec h n o -b u re a u c ratic structure, th e p o litical a p p a ra tu s a n d the fin a n c ia l o lig arch y are o ffe re d an excellen t chance of p reservin g th eir class in terests b eh in d th e sm okescreen of n a tio n a l u n ity. In ste a d o f solving gen u in e social problem s arisin g from the dev elo p m en t o f society, those stru ctu res o ffe r n a tio n a l m yths a n d sym bols, n a tio n a l in stitu tio n s a n d lin guistic v a ria tio n s as the irra tio n a l basis of th e system, that is of social activity with in the framework of th e system. M ere perso n al freedom becomes inessential b eside n a tio n a l e q u ality, w hich u sa lly m eans the eq u ality of n a tio n a l c enters o f social pow er.

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mocracy, and for the creation of centers of gravity upon the abolition of hired labor. But it was not the class interests of the workers which obscured that pre-supposition, but rather the struggle of the bureaucratic power center structures for their own position, as is best evidenced by their readiness to link up with authentic nationalists.

The protagonists of this type of manipulation forget that it is not sufficient to be a member of one nation and also a fighter for Self-managing Socialism. They forget that the working class can be and is exploited within the framework of its own nation — as though they had never heard that the workers' homeland is there where there is human freedom. They likewise forget that merely to have national freedom does not signify the possession of personal freedom, but that it can signify a freedom to be nationalistic. It is as though they had never heard the summons: »Proletarians of all countries, unite! « Lastly, and most appalling of all, they forget that national intolerance on this soil has always been a basis on which foreign powers have pursued their selfish ends, making use of our conflicts.

From the foregoing it seems to follow clearly enough that the peasantry and the working class constitute an object of social domination and are subject to constant ideological, political, economic and cultural manipulation. There remains the question of who occupies the dominant position of power and who carries out the manipulation. When it is said that the political apparatus possesses an absolute monopoly and a dominant social position, this question is partly answered. Closer consideration would lead to the conclusion that that uniform structure contains four sub-groups: the techno-bureaucratic structure in the economy and state administration, the political apparatus of the power centers, the financial oligarchy and the propaganda apparatus. These four sub-groups also at the same time comprise the fundamental nucleus of a social elite with which numerous intellectuals and managers also associate themselves. That »power elite« does not base itself upon the working class but on the petit-bourgeois middle classes. These strata consist of the intelligentsia, routine clerks, members of every type of apparatus of coercion and order, and partly of members of the independent professions.

That, existentially viewed, "care-free" category comprises the basic mass of League of Communist membership. In 1946 clerks comprised 10.3% of League of Communist members, but 39.1% in 1966. In 1958 they comprised 18.9% of newly recruited members, but 29.3% in 1965, while the number of clerks expelled during the same period stagnated. 60% of people in managerial positions, 50% of all in regularly employed intellectual professions, and 40% of routine clerks are members of the League of Communists, while the percentage of these groups in the active population is 12.4%. Of 140 members of the Council of Nationalities in the Federal Assembly, 106 are directors and professional functionaries. Employees in the health and social services and in education have their own special Assembly Councils, while the Council of Producers has been abolished!

itio n, b u t r a t h e r th e s tru g g le o f th e b u r e a u c ra tic p o w e r c e n te r s tru c tu re s fo r th e ir o w n p o s itio n, as is b e st e v id en c ed b y th e ir re a d in e ss to lin k u p w ith a u th e n tic n a tio n a lis ts.

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From these facts alone it emerges that there exists a close connection between the political apparatus which has a monopoly in social decision-making and the middle strata which have become the primary mainstay of that monopoly as well as an ally in that domination.

Two things should be emphasized here. On the one hand the political apparatus is not prepared to surrender its monopoly of social power. The practical results of the Fourth (Brioni) Plenum clearly bear witness to this. That was a genuine opportunity for Yugoslav society to resist the police mentality and, which is more important, to abolish the social power of the political police. The shock engendered by eavesdroppers, tape-recordings, investigations and dossiers was devastating. But to abolish that power meant to strike a blow at an entire section of the structure of the political apparatus - an organized sector of cadres which comprise the nucleus of the domination. The truth is that some people were politically condemned, the political police structure was altered in some degree, but everything was done in order to preserve the monopoly of the political apparatus as a whole. In the meantime various of the means which had caused the shock were legalized. Yugoslavia began to obtain and produce intercepting devices. The argument about the political police turned into an argument about unitarism, and even here there was plenty of empty talk. Unitarism is a real social danger, for a unitarist can belong to any one nation amongst us: his aim being to make Yugoslavia a happy hunting ground for the selfishly comprehended aspirations of his particular nation. But an even greater danger to democracy is the unlimited power over society of the political police, whether or not it be nationalistic.

On the other hand the middle strata, characterized by a parvenu mentality and by the psychology of easy and quick success, accept every measure and every political situation under the condition that they are offered thereby a chance to enjoy the benefits of a consumer society. They also accept the ideals of the Self-managing society especially if they are ideals and not practice – under the condition that they preserve their own security and position. They are the supporters of the consumer society's ideals, as opposed to the ideals of the revolution. It is the clash between these two systems of ideals which characterises present-day Yugoslav society.

Yugoslav society, when all is considered, has a class structure. While it is possible to speak of strata (in order to escape from the term 'class'), or of quasi-classes or counter-classes, it seems better to accept in a limited way Marx's traditional division to describe this new type of bourgeoisie, the working class, and the peasantry. Each of these three basic classes in our society is divided into strata, and the bourgeoisie has, as yet, not even fully constituted itself as a class. It has not yet sufficiently confirmed itself as a class. Its social power is based on political power, as distinct from the classical bourgeoisie whose power is based on economic power. It translates its power from the political sphere to all other spheres of life, which confers upon our

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While it is possible to speak of strata (in order to escape from the term 'class'), or of quasi-classes or counter-classes, it seems better to accept in a limited way Marx's traditional division to describe this new type of bourgeoisie, the work in g class, and the peasantry. Each of these three basic classes in our society is divided into strata, and the bourgeoisie has, as yet, not even fully constituted itself as a class. It has not yet sufficiently confirmed itself as a class. Its social power is based on political power, as distinct from the classical bourgeoisie whose power is based on economic power. It translates its power from the political sphere to all other spheres of life, which confers upon our 449

society the character of a particular (new) type of middle class society. It is indispensable that the peculiarities of this type of society should be separately examined.

Finally, the answer to the question where does Yugoslav society now find itself could be formulated in the following manner. It is situated between revolution and stabilization and in a profound political, economic and spiritual crisis. The shadow of crisis has fallen upon this society, threatening to keep it on the borderline between underdevelopment and petit-bourgeois provincial poverty. According to some estimates, 70% of the working and peasant population receive an income below the average and merely »make ends meet«, while 20% can scarcely maintain themselves on the minimal margins of existence. The depth of the crisis is corroborated by the fact that we have the highest rate of inflation in Europe, a 16% yearly average. It is an interesting fact, from the economic point of view, that high rates of inflation are usually followed by high rates of economic growth, but in our society high rates of inflation have been accompanied by a tendency for the economy to stagnate.

To conclude: either the working class will consistently realize the Communist idea by capturing social power and occupying a dominant position in decision making on an over-all social scale, abolishing every kind of authority over its labour, and marrying Self-management to an integral system, or Yugoslav society will stabilize itself as a middle-class society and tear itself apart by crises and corruption, so that its existence at all as an organized society will become a matter for wonder. I am for the first alternative, and I want to believe that it will triumph.

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PHÄNOMENOLOGIE DES IDEOLOGISCH-POLITISCHEN AUFTRETENS DER JUGOSLAWISCHEN MITTELKLASSE

Milan Kangrga

Zagreb

"Die Kommunisten unterscheiden sich von den übrigen proletarischen Parteien nur dadurch, daß einerseits sie in den verschiedenen nationalen Kämpfen der Proletarier die gemeinsamen, von der Nationalität unabhängigen Interessen des gesamten Proletariats hervorheben und zur Geltung bringen, andrerseits dadurch, daß sie in den verschiedenen Entwicklungsstufen, welche der Kampf zwischen Proletariat und Bourgeoisie durchläuft, stets das Interesse der Gesamtbewegung vertreten«.

K. Marx - F, Engels, Manifest der kommunistischen Partei

In diesem Artikle ist die Rede von unserer, der jugoslawischen Mittelklasse (oder, wenn wir wollen: von den jugoslawischen Mittelklassen, was historisch gesehen wesentlich dasselbe ist), wie auch von den politischen und sozialen Momenten, die sie mit sich bringt und in das gesamte Leben dieser Gemeinschaft trägt. Er soll ein Versuch sein, einige Grundphänomene unserer gesellschaftlichen Bewegung deutlich zu machen und als solcher ein Beitrag zu diesem Thema sein. Einige Phänomene unseres gesellschaftlichen Lebens drängen sich schon seit einer Reihe von Jahren so klar und deutlich auf, schieben sich mit einer Tendenz, sich herauskristallisieren in den Vordergrund, daß es fast unmöglich ist, an ihnen vorbeizugehen, als bestünden sie nicht.

Außerdem ist es eine unserer Thesen, so gutwillig (und nach Möglichkeit in der Analyse je objektiver) zu sein, wenn die grundlegenden politischen, ökonomischen und sozialen Kräfte einer Gesellschaft – und hier handelt es sich natürlich um die jugoslawische Gesellschaft – zäh und dauernd, auf jede mögliche Art und Weise, mit allen zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln darum kämpfen und es versuchen, sich die ideologische Last (den Ballast) der eigenen Vergangenheit vom Hals zu schaffen, dann also zu helfen. Dafür gibt es, wie man sehen wird, genügend Gründe. Einer der bestimmendsten Gründe, der den

ASSE

M ila n K angrga

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»The com m u nists differ from the other proletarian parties only in that, on the one hand, in the various national struggles of the proletarians they share the common, v o r n a tio n a t a t independent interests of the entire proletariat and bring them to bear, on the other hand, by the fact that they are in the various stages of development, which the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie through u ft, always representing the interest of the whole movement«.

K. M a rx - F, Engels, M a n ife st d er kom m unistischen Partei

This article talks about our, the Yugoslavian middle class (or, if we want to: about the Yugoslavian middle class, which is historically seen is essentially the same), as well as of the political and social m om ents that it brings with it and carries into the com plete l e t life of th is communi ty. It is meant to be an attempt to elucidate some of the basic phenomena of our societal movement and as such to be a contribution to this topic.

S ome p h a n o m e n s of our societal life have been coming up so clearly for a number of ye ar e u crystallize in the foreground that it is almost impossible to walk past them as if they didn't exist.

In addition, it is one of o u r theses to be as benevolent (and, if possible, more objec tive in the analysis) when the fundamental political, econom ic and social forces of a society -

u n d h ier h a n d e l t e s sich n a t u r l h um die jugo slaw isch e G esellsch aft -

tough a n d t u e m d , in every m a n s p o s ta b le m e a n d e , w ith a lia n e d e s s u s ta b l e s available, fight for it and try to get rid of the ideological load (the ballast). own to get rid of a past, so to help. As you will see, there are enough reasons for that. O ne o f th e m e t r ason s , t h e d e n 451

Autor dises Artikels zu tiefst anregt, ist der folgende: man kann nicht in der ideenhaft-theoretischen Unbestimmheit oder Zerstreutheit im Bezug auf einige wesentliche Fragen der gesellschaftlichen Bewegung verharren, in einem Moment, da diese Unbestimmtheit an Unverantwortlichkeit grenzt (oder an ein Abschieben aller Verantwortung für das, was geschieht), da das mögliche ideehafte Vakuum – und dies ist schon eine bekannte historische Tatasache – für jede, und deshalb auch für unsere gesellschaftliche Gemeinschaft vernichtend ist. Daher stammt auch die grundlegende Anregung zum Schreiben dieser Zeilen. Denn einige Dinge konnten bisher nicht artikuliert werden, so daß sie in ihrer, wenn auch nicht wesentlichen, so doch anderen oder unterschiedlichen Beleuchtung erkannt werden. Wir wollen dies wenigstens versuchen, haben keine andere Absicht.

Es besteht dennoch eine Absicht: diese unsere Betrachtung soll sich auf der Basis einiger Erkenntnisse und Standpunkte von Marx befinden, da wir nicht der Ansicht sind, daß diese veraltet sind.

Wir haben gleich zu Beginn gesagt, daß hier die Rede von der Mittelklasse unserer Gesellschaft ist, die auf die Bühne tritt und sich immer mehr als grundlegende Kraft des gesellschaftlichen Ereignens bei uns aufdrängt. Die Mittelklasse, oder um in der Terminologie von Marx zu bleiben: die bürgerliche Klasse ist eine bekannte historische Kategorie unserer Zeit. Sie wurde zur dominierenden Kraft und ihre Ideologie zur führenden Ideologie der zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft und der Welt im ganzen. Deshalb beziehen sich ihre wesentlichen Bestimmungen und Charakteristika, auch auf unsere Mittelklasse im Aufstieg, obwohl auch hier einige, vielleicht wesentliche Besonderheiten bestehen. Sie liegen nicht darin, daß sie sich erst bildet und konsolidiert und auf diesem Weg »ihre wahre Seele« sucht. Dieses Stadium ihrer Formung ist aus der Geschichte schon genügend bekannt. Ihre Besonderheit liegt in etwas anderem. Nun, ohne Rücksicht darauf, im Allgemeinen betrachtet, ist die besagte »Hilfe« zum Verständnis der eigenen Situation und des Strebens dieser Klasse deshalb notwendig, da sie durch ihre Natur, ihre historische Rolle und Lage, also philosophisch gesprochen, durch ihr Sein notwendig sich selbst und den anderen die eigenen wesentlichen Interessen und Beziehungen mystifiziert, sie in eine bestimmte ideologische Bemäntelung steckt, sie anders darstellt, als sie wirklich sind. Dies kommt von der Widersprüchlichkeit ihrer Natur. Da ihre eigene geschichtliche Position wesentlich unwahr ist (worüber es schon genug Literatur gibt, aber die Praxis ist noch eindrücklicher), kann sie, wenn sie sich selbst treu sein will, nicht danach streben, die Wahrheit zu entdecken, weder die Wahrheit der eigenen, noch der fremden Position. Dies ist ihre »allgemeine Bestimmung«.

Was nun die jugoslawische Mittel-(bürgerliche)klasse im besonderen angeht, in ihrem eigentlichen Aufstieg (nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg), so hatte sie neben allem anderen das »Pech« (und darin liegt die angeführte Besonderheit, obwohl sie darin weder die einzige, noch einsam ist), daß sie durch historische Bedingungen dazu veranlaßt, völlig paradoxal und bis zuletzt widersprüchlich, mit einer ihr wesentlich gegensätzlichen, ja sogar feindlichen Ideologie, nämlich der

e s e llsch aftlichen Bewegung v a r r e n , in a Moment, d a d iese Unb e s tim m theitan Unverant-worthlich k eit grenz t (o d e r a n e in A b s c h e b e n a l e r V e r a n t w o r t u n g fiir das, w as g e s h i e h t), d a d a s m o g l h i c h e i d e ee hafte V a c u m - u n d d i s i s s h o n e i n e b e c a n n t h i s t o r i s ch e T a ta s a c h e - fiir je de , unde s h a l b a u c h fiirun se rege s e llsch aftlic h e G e m e in s chaft v e r n i c h tendist. D a h e r s t a m m m t a u c h d i e g r u n d legend e An r e g u n g zu m S c h e i b e n d i e s e r Z e ilen D e n n e i ig e Ding e k o n t e n b i s h e r n i c h t a r t i c u l e r t w e r d e n , so dafi sie in ih re r, w h e n a u c h n i c h t we s e n t l i c h e n , so d o c h a n d e r n o d e r u n -

te rs c h i e d l i c h e n B e l u c h tunger k a n n t w e r d e n W i r v o lle n d s w e n i g s -

ten s v e rsu c h e n, h a b e n k ein e a n d e re A b sic h t.

It is better than this chain of Ab s i ch t: this unse re B e trach tung so li sicha auf der Basis e in ig e r E r k e n n t n i s seen M a r x ' s standing point -

 $fin\ d\ e\ n\ ,\ d\ a\ w\ ir\ n\ ic\ h\ t\ d\ e\ r\ A\ n\ s\ ic\ h\ t\ sin\ d\ ,\ d\ afi\ d\ iese\ v\ e\ r\ a\ lte$ $t\ s\ in\ d\ .$

Wirhabengleich zu Begingesagt, dafier die Redevonder Mit-telk lasse unserer Gesells chaft ist, die auf die Biihnetritt und sichimmehrals groundlegende Kraft des gesellschaftlichen Recognition bei un saufdrangt. The Middle Class, or in Marx's Terminology, is called: the larger Class is known as the Category of History rie unserer It. Sie wurde zurdomiernden Craft undher Ideologic zurfiihrenden Gesells chaft under Weltimganzen. Deshalbeziehensschaft under Weltimganzen. Deshalbeziehenschaft under Sein Aufstieg, obwohlauchiere in ige, vielleichtwesentliche Besonderheitunden Jehrnessender

s o l i d i e r u n d a u f d iesem W e g » ih re w a h r e S eele« such. D ie ses S t a d i u m i h re r F o r m u n g i s t a u s der G e s s h i c h t e sch o n g e n i g e n d b e c a n n t.

I h re B e so n d e rh e it lie g t in e tw a s a n d e re m . N u n , o h n e R iic k sic h t d a -

r a u f, im A llg e m e in e n b e tr a c h te t, ist d ie b e s a g te » H ilfe

«zum Ver-

standing is the same Situation without Streben s die ser Klasse de s alb notwithstanding, it is due to its Nature, its historical Role and Lage , also p h ilo so p h isch g e p ro ch e n , dur chih r Seeing not to be self-conscious standing in one another's own interests and Beziehungen my stifiziert, sie in ein e b e s tim m te ideo lo g ische Be m a n te lungste c k t, sie a n d ers dar s tellt, als sie w irk lich sind. D i e s c o m m t v o n d e r Wider -

sp riich lich k e it ih re r N a tu r. D a ih re e ig e n e g e s c h ic h tlic h e P o s itio n w e -

se n tlic h u n w a hrist (w o r i b e r e s sch o n g e n g l i t e r a t u r g i b t, a b e r d i e P r a x i s i s noche in drucklicher), can see, when he sees himself lb st treuse in w ill, n ich t d a n a c h s t r e b e n , the W a h r heit zu e n tdeck k e n , where the W a h r heit is recognizable, nor from the Position. T h i s is an "all-game B estimmung" system.

The Mittel-(biirgerlic)class was a Slavic juice.

re n a n g e h t, in ih re m e ig e n tlic h e n A u fs tie g (n a c h d e m z w e ite n W e lt -

k rie g), so h a tte sie n e b e n a l m a n d e r n d a s » P e c h « (under the lie g t d ie ange fiihrte Besonderh eit, ob w o h l sie d a r i n w e r d ie ein z i g e , n o c h e in sa m ist), d afi sie d u r c h h isto ri s ch e B e d i n g u n g e n d a z u v e r n la fit, vol lig g paradox a l u n d bis z u le tz t w i d e r s p r i c h l i c h , m i t e i n e r i r w e -

s e
n tlichgegensatzlichen , jasogarfe indlichen Ideological , namely
 $\mathbf{4}$ 52

Ideologie des marxistischen Sozialismus (im ersten Moment auch Stalinismus) starten mußte. Dieses gegensätzliche, widersprüchliche, ihr von der Geschichte zugesteilte Schicksal wollte sie zwar auf jede erdenkliche Weise umgehen - dies von Anfang an - was ihr auch wenn nur stufenweise mit Hilfe der Hegel'schen »List der Vernunft« auch gelang: durch die theoretische und praktische Kompromittierung des marxistischen Sozialismus in seiner Basis, dies durch die Infiltrierung des bürgerlichen Elements in ihn. In dieser zweifachen historischen Rolle aber: einerseits das zu sein, und nicht zu sein, was sie wirklich ist, also die Mittel-(wesentlich bürgerliche)klasse, geriet sie in die Situation, in der sie, wirklich nicht zu beneiden ist (in diesem Sinne sogar unschuldigerweise, da sie ihre eigene bürgerliche Revolution durchführen will), daß sie heute sogar wegen Konterrevolution unter Anklage gestellt wird. Eine der nebensächlichen Aufgaben dieses Artikels besteht darin, sie vor dieser gotteslästerlichen Anklage zu verteidigen, die mit ihr keinerlei Verbindung hat. Denn, wenn wir vom Standpunkt der Mittelklasse ausgehen, so ist auch keine Konterrevolution am Werk. Den Sinn dieses Standpunktes werden wir aus der weiteren Betrachtung entnehmen.

Wenn von der Konterrevolution die Rede ist, dann kann sich dies nur auf die auf sie bezogene Revolution beziehen. Die sozialistische ruft also nur eine sozialistische, die bürgerliche nur eine bürgerliche Konterrevolution hervor. Dies heißt: die Revolution ist das Kriterium der eigenen Konterrevolution (oder: Stagnation, Anfechtung, Behinderung, Abweichung, Rückkehr, des Mißerfolges, der Schwierigkeiten usw., dies in der eigenen wesentlichen Bewegungsrichtung), nicht aber umgekehrt. Die Konterrevolution trägt in sich und mit sich alle wesentlichen Merkmale der eigenen Quelle, also der Revolution selbst, und so kann sie überhaupt in Beziehung zur Revolution genant werden. Nun stellt sich die Frage: Kann die Durchführung der bürgerlichen Revolution (wenn sie die Kraft hat, für eine Bewegung maßgeblich zu sein) auch Konterrevolution genannt werden?

Bevor eine Antwort auf diese Frage gefunden wird, ist es notwendig zu wissen, worum es geht. Denn die Sache selbst ist viel komplizierter und widersprüchlicher als die auf den ersten Blick erscheint. Die Rede ist nämlich von einer gesellschaftlichen Bewegung, die in sich selbst das eigene Prinzip enthält (ihr »Konzept« oder die »ideenhafte Grundlage«), ohne das diese Bewegung sich und den anderen völlig unverständlich erschiene. Es gibt keine Bewegung »aus dem Leeren in das Leere« im Sinn einer bloßen Ziellosigkeit! Sie ist auf diese oder jene Weise auf etwas gerichtet als eigene objektivgeschichtliche Tendenz, und sie wird von den Kräften getragen, die daran lebenswichtig interessiert sind, und sie streben danach, dies früher oder später zu verwirklichen, wenn es ihnen gelingt. Einfacher gesagt: wenn die Mittelklasse zur dominierenden Kraft unserer Gesellschaft wird, dann realisiert sie die wesentlichen Voraussetzungen ihrer Revolution und setzt sie in die Tat um.

Gerade darüber wollen wir hier sprechen. Unsere Grundthese, von der wir ausgehen, auf der unsere Analyse beruht, wäre diese: Unsere Mittleklasse versucht das revolutionäre Ereignis von 1941 bis 1945 beginning - which she did, even if only gradually with help he Hegelian "list of reason" also succeeded: through the theoretical and practical compromising of the basis of marxist socialism, through the infiltration of the bourgeoisie erlich en elements in him. But in this twofold historical role: on the one hand to be and not to be what it really is, i.e. the middle (essentially bourgeois) class, it got into the situ ation in which she is really not to be envied (in this sense even innocently, since she wants to lead her own bourgeois revolution through her), that today she even because of counterrevo lu tio n is indicted . One of the subsidiary duties of this article is to defend her from this blasphemous accusation , which has no connection with her . D If, if we start from the middle-class point of view, then there is no counter-revo lu tio n at work. We will glean the meaning of this point of view from further consideration.

B efore an answer to this question is found, it is necessary to know what it is about. Because the thing itself is much more complicated and contradictory than it appears at first glance.

The speech is namely about a social movement, which in itself contains its own principle (your "concept" or the "idea lative basis"), without this movement appearing completely incomprehensible to oneself and the others. There is no movement "from the emptiness into the emptiness" in the sense of a mere aimlessness! It is aimed at something in this or that way as its own objective-historical tendency, and it is carried by the forces that are vitally interested in it, and they aspire to do so sooner or later, if they succeed. To put it simp ly: if the middle class becomes the dom inating force in our society, then they will realize and set the essential prerequisites for their revolution them into action.

W e w o w o talk about t h e r h e e r. O u r ba sic thesis, w hich w e start from, o n th which o u r a n alysis is based, w a re this: U r middle class is trying the rev o lu tio n a re e event from 1941 to 1940 453

zur eigenen (bürgerlichen) Revolution zu machen. Dies auf diese Weise, daß sie versucht, die klar ausgedrückten sozialistischen Elemente dieses Geschehens, wie auch die Bewegung zum Sozialismus von innen zu zerstreuen und auf die eigene historische Grundlage zu reduzieren: die bürgerliche. Dabei versucht sie, sich unserer Gesellschaft im ganzen als dominierende Kraft aufzudrängen. Wie weit ihr das gelingt und wie weit ihr das gelingen wird, bleibt bisher eine offene Frage, mit der man sich klar und offen auseinandersetzen muß, denn dies ist die grundlegende Aufgabe, vor der sich die fortschrittlichen Kräfte dieser Gesellschaft sehen. Uns interessiert hier vor allem die Phänomenologie der nachrevolutionären Konstituierung unserer Mittelklasse und ihre widersprüchliche Lage innerhalb dieser gesellschaftlichen Ereignisse heute.

Für den Beginn dieser Betrachtung ist es nützlich, sich (um das so zu nennen) einen methodologisch instruktiven Moment in Erinnerung zu rufen: Die Kommunistische Partei Jugoslawiens stellt bei ihrem ersten programmäßigen Konstituieren (Kongreß von Vukovar 1920) zur Zeit der revolutionären Bewegungen in Europa und auf unserem Boden den klar formulierten Standpunkt in das Programm, nach dem, wenn das Proletariat die Macht ergriffen hat, Parlamentarismus unmöglich ist. Wenn wir nun die bestehende Struktur der politischen Macht und ihr System bei uns im Auge haben, kann man die Frage stellen: ist nun dieser Standpunkt als solcher falsch oder ist er veraltet (und blieb so die Sünde der eigenen »romantischen« Vergangheit und »Unreife« der Bewegung), oder das Proletariat hat die Macht noch nicht ergriffen, oder es hat sich etwas Drittes ereignet. Ohne Rücksicht darauf, was nun genau zutrifft, müßte die kommunistische Bewegung auf der heutigen Entwicklungsstufe, auch wegen der Klarheit der eigenen Perspektive der weiteren Bewegung diesem Standpunkt in dieser oder jener Weise Rechnung tragen: ihn entweder abwerfen oder ihn revidieren, ihn aufnehmen, ihn in die Tat umsetzen, da dieses programmatische Prinzip zu tiefst in das Begreifen des Charakters des zeitgenössischen Sozialismus selbst dringt, wie bei uns, so auch in der Weltbewegung und dem gesellschaftlichen Prozeß. Sonst bleibt der Sozialismus sowohl in der Theorie, als auch in der Praxis ohne eine seiner wesentlichen Dimensionen, die, um Unklarheit zu schaffen, an die Peripherie der Bewegung gestellt wurde.

Gerade deshalb bleibt immer noch die Frage offen, die sich von selbst stellt, die zum Verständnis dieses unseres jugoslawischen Weges in den Sozialismus unumgänglich ist; die ist: die Frage der Beziehung der durchgeführten Revolution zur eigenen Situierung und Uerwirklichung. Hier liegt nämlich die Wurzel der Sache selbst. Marx hat gerade auf diese Weise eine ausgezeichnete und tiefe Analyse der bürgerlichen Revolution gegeben, indem er dabei ihre wesentlichen Voraussetzungen hervorhob, so auch ihre politischen, sozialen

¹ Dieser Standpunkt lautet in seiner Gänze: »Die KP Jugoslawiens ist ein Gegner des Parlamentarismus als Mittel der Klassenherrschaft. Nach der Erlangung der politischen Macht seitens des Proletariats ist der Parlamentarismus »unmöglich«.

s v o n i n n n e n s u s e rs tre u n u n d a u f d i e i g e n e h i s t o r i s h e G r u n d l a g e z u r e d u z i e r e n : d ie b iirgerlic h e D a b e i v e r s u c h t sie, if G e s e lls chaft imgan -

z e n a s d o m i n i e r e n d e C r a f t a u f z u d r a n g e n w ie w e it ih r d a s g e lin g t u d w e it ih r d a s g e l e n w ir , b le ib t b is the o ffe n e ffe n e f r a g e , m i d e r m a n sch khich khich ffe n a s e in a n d rs e tz ist d ie g r u n d le g e n d e Aufgabe , v o r d e r sich die forts chrittlichen Kraf te dieser Ges ells chaft seh en U n s i n t e r s s i e r v o r a l l y P h a n o -

m e n o l o g y o f n a t h e r e v o l u t i o n a r e n K o s t i t u i e r u n g u n s e r e r Mitte lk la s s e u n d h i r e w i d e r p r i c h l i c h e L a g e inner halb die serge s e llsch a ftlic h e n E re ign is se h e u te

F iir d e n Begin n d i e s e r Betrachtungists niitzlich, sich (u m d a s so zu n e n n e n) e in a methodology of instructive Moment in E r i n n e r u n g zu r u f n : The Communist Party of Jugoslavia has decided to take into account its Constituent Assembly program (K o n g refi v o n V u k o v a r 1920) z u r Z e it de r re v o l u t i o n a r e n Bewegungenin in Europe au n d a u f n s e r e m Bodenden clarified the formulation of the Stand Point in the Days Programme, then they, w e n n d a s P r o l e t e r ia t die March riffenhat, Parliamentarism m u s -

m o g lic h ist.1 W h e n w h i n d e b e s t h e n d e Structure of the Political March of their System beyond sim Augehaben, you can see Fr age ste lle n: this is the standing point ls s o l c h e r f a l s c h o d e r i s t e r v e r a l t e t (and b lie b so d ie Siin dereignen » romantic « V ergangheitund

» Un re ife « der Bewegung), or else the Proletariat that die March night riffed, or else what was Dr itte sere ignet. O h n e Ruck -

sic h t d a r a u f , w a s n u n g e n u z u t r iff t, m u fite die k o m m u n istisch e Bewegung auf derheutigen Entwic klungs s tufe , au chwegen der Klarh eit de r e i g e n e n Perspek tiv e d e r w e i t e r B e v e g u n n g d ie m s tan d p u n c t in d ie r o d e r je n e is e r e c h n u n g t r a g e n : ih n e n e n t w e r a B w e r s n o ffe n o d e r ih nre v id Ih n a u fn e h m e e n , d a dieses p ro g r a m m a t i s c h e P r i n s i c a t i o n s t o t h e f s t i n d a s B e g r e i f e n d e s C a r a c t e r s d e s z e i n o s i s h e n Socialism m u s se lb st dr i ng t, w ie be iun s, so auchinder Weltbe wegungund them gesellschaftlichen Prozefi. S o n st b le ib t der Sozialism u s so w o h l i n e r Theory , although in P r a x i o h n e e i n e s e n e r w e s e n t l i c h e n t l i c

h e n d i m e n s i o n , die, um Uncla r heit z u s chaffe n , and the Periphery of Bewegunge s tell t w u r d e

G e r a d e d e s h a lb b le ib timmer noch die Fr a g e offe n , die sich von selb st stellt, die z um V e r s t a n d n i s d e e s u n s e r e s ju g o s l w is c h e n W e -

gesture into Anglican Socialism; the ist: the Fragmentary B e -

z ie h u n g d e r d u r c h g e fiih r te n R e v o l u t i o n z u r e i g e n e n Situation and Verification. H ie r lie gt named the Wurzelder Sache itself.

M a rx h a d e r t h e t h e w a n g e g e n t h e a t i n g a t i n g a n d i n g a n d e l i c t i o n t h e r e v o lu tio n g , n o t h e t e m e r da y h e r e s n e s t i n a l r e d e d a c t i o n s h e rv o rh o b , so o u r p o litic , so c ia l 1 This point of view reads in its entirety: »The CP of Yugoslavia is an opponent of parliamentarism as a means of class rule. After the attainment of political power by the proletariat, parliamentarism is 'impossible'.

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und ökonomischen Konsequenzen und Tragweiten.² Diesen Weg versuchen wir auch bei der Beleuchtung unseres aktuellen gesellschaftli-

chen Moments und der Bewegung heute zu gehen.

Die Nationalbourgeoisien des alten Jugoslawien (die noch in keinem Fall fest auf den eigenen Füßen standen, sie verhielten sich fast halbkolonial) führen das Land zum Zerfall, der Besatzer, mit dem sie schon vorher paktiert hatten, nimmt das Land ein und unterdrückt es, teilt es unter sich und seinen (inneren wie äußeren) Verbündeten auf, die korrupte bürgerliche Klasse hat weder den Willen noch die Absicht, noch die Kraft, auch nicht das Interesse, sich ihm zu widersetzen, die Völker gegen den Okkupator in den Kampf zu führen, da sie sich außerdem auch noch sehr stark kompromittiert hat. Die einzige ideenhafte und moralische Kraft, die dies in dem Moment (1941) durchführen kann, ist die Kommunistische Partei Jugoslawiens, die den Volksbefreiungskampf organisiert und führt, der in seinem Verlauf zur allgemeinen Revolution wird.

Es wurde die politische und zugleich auch eine gewisse soziale Wendung durchgeführt (1945), die Macht wurde erreicht, die politische Revolution hat gesiegt, womit der Weg offen war für eine neue sozialistische Gesellschaftsordnung, sowohl mit Rücksicht auf die gesellschaftliche Richtung der Revolution, als auch auf das ideenhafte Konzept, durch das sie getragen wurde und die führende Kraft, nämlich die Kommunistische Partei. Von Anfang an aber sind seit dem Akt der Machtergreifung und Konsolidierung notwendig auch die wesentlichen Elemente der bürgerlichen Revolution am Werk, so lange die politische Macht als solche das vorherrschende Moment eben dieser Revolution bleibt. Dies war nicht nur für Marx und Lenin das brennende Problem der sozialistischen Revolution (in dem sich die grundlegende Gefahr für diese Revolution birgt), sondern auch der Index ihrer Verwirklichung: wenn nämlich nicht in einem Zug gesichert wird, daß sich das Politische mit dem Sozialen berührt, wenn der politische Umsturz und die Machtergreifung seitens des Proletariats nicht zugleich der Umsturz der wesentlichen Spannungsbogen, in diese Unentschlossenheit des sozialistischen praktischen Tuns zwischen dem Politischen und dem Sozialen schneller oder langsamer aber notwendig jene Kräfte, die nach ihrem eigenen ökonomischen und sozialen Status (oder der historischen Tendenz) keinesfalls an einem sozialistischen Prozeß interessiert sein können. Uor diesem immer noch nicht gelösten Problem steht auch heute die jugoslawische Revolution. Diese Ungelöstheit des Problems will heute unsere angewachsene Mittelklasse ausnützen.

Die bürokratische politische Struktur und das etatisierte wirtschaftliche System einerseits, der Wachstumsboom der Mittelklasse andererseits, und damit in Verbindung eine ganz und gar nicht beneidenswerte Lage der Arbeiterklasse schließen diesen politischen sozialen und ökonomischen Teufelskreis, aus dem man einen Ausweg sucht. Die Schwierigkeiten sind natürlich nicht gering. Auch das Selbstver-

² Siehe darüber genauer in unserem Buch »Sinn des Geschichtlichen« (Smisao povijesnoga) Razlog, Zagreb 1970, besonders »Die politische und soziale Revolution«, S. 91-115.

The N atio n alb o rgeoisia of the old Yugoslavia (which in no case stood firmly on their own feet, they behaved almost semi-colonial) lead the country to the Decay, the occupier, with whom they had pacted before, takes over the country and oppresses it, divides it among themselves and their (inner and outer) Allies up, the corru p te bourgeois class has neither the will, nor the intention, nor the power, nor the interest, to oppose it, the V o lker against the o k k u p a to r in the fight, since she also com p o m ed herself very strongly (1941) is the C om m unist P a rty of Yugoslavia, which o rg anizes and leads the people's liberation sk am p f , which in its run to a general r evolution.

The political and at the same time also a certain social wen-

d u n g led through (1945), power was attained, the political r evolution has triumphed, w hich the way was open for a new socialist social order, both with regard to the societal direction of r evolution, as well as to the imaginative concept by which it was carried and the leading force, namely -

the Communist Party. V on A n fa n g an ab er sind seit dem Akt der M ach te rg re ifu ng u n d K o n so lid ieru n g n o t w e n d i g a u s t h e w e s e n t l e c h e l e m e n t o f t h e b iirg erlich en Revolution am W e r k , so long as the political march remains the cause of the moment even this Revolution. This is only for Marxund Lenin in his brain -

n d e p ro b lem o f th e socialist r evolution (which poses the fundamental danger fo r this r e v olution), but also the index o f th eir r e v o u tio n e n g : if it is not ensured in one go that the politic touches on the social, if the politic overthrow and the seizure of power on the part of the P ro le ta ria ts not at the same time the overthrow of the essential arc of suspense, in this indecisiveness of socialist p rac tical action betw een the political and the social faster or lan However, it is necessary to have those forces who, according to their own econom ic and social status (or histori cal tendencies), are by no means interested in a socialist process can. T h e Y u g o Slavic R evo lu tio n is facing this p ro b lem , which is still not the mon est.

D iese U n g e ld sth e it des P roblem s will h eu te u n sere angew achsene M ittelklasse au snutzen.

The bureaucratic e politic s tru c tu re and the eta tized economic system on the one hand, the growth b o o m of the middle class on the other hand, and the in connection with a whole u n d a r not me T he

enviable situation of the w o rkin g class closes this political, social and econom ic vicious circle, from which m any seeks a way out.

D ie Sch w ierig k eiten sin d n a tiirlic h n ich t gering g A u ch the belbstver-

""See" about it in our book »Sinn d « G e sch ic h tlic h e n « g n w a o

p o v ije s n o g a) Razlog, Zagreb 1970, especially »The political and social revolution«, pp. 91-115.

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waltungsprinzip erhält in diesem Zusammenhang eine überwiegend politische Dimension, denn seine Quelle und die erste Anregung waren primär parteipolitisch, und sie konnten noch nicht sozial-ökonomisch sein. Deshalb trägt es auch in sich die gefährlichen Tendenzen zur Ausgeburt in sich (sogar die Tendenz zum Umschwung ins Gegenteil, denn die Mittleklasse hat es als ihr Prinzip »aufgenommen« und »praktiziert« es, natürlich auf ihre Weise und in ihrem Interesse, womit es faktisch entwertet wird). Aber auch die erste ursprüngliche Formulierung des Selbstverwaltungsprinzips (obwohl sie sich an den Leitspruch von Marx hielt) war nur unvollkommen, womit sie zum guten Teil sowohl ihren geschichtlichen als auch den empirisch-praktischen echten Sinn verlor, die Durchschlagskraft und Wirkung: man begann damit und blieb dabei hängen »die Fabriken den Arbeitern« (was Raum für verschiedene Bedeutungen und Deutungen läßt, wie etwa: und die politische und ökonomische Macht für die Bürokratie und die Technokratie, und damit auch die Mittelklasse), ohne je den Leitspruch zu prägen oder gar durchzuführen: »Alle Macht für die Arbeiterklasse« (den Arbeiterräten, ihrem möglichen höchsten Organ - dem Kongreß der Arbeiterräte), womit der Gedanke von Marx über die »Assoziation der unmittelbaren Produzenten« in die Tat umgesetzt würde, als neues gesellschaftliches Grundverhältnis. Deshalb wurde das grundlegende sozial-ökonomische Problem in seiner Tiefe nicht auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt (also das Klassenproblem, damit auch das sozialistische), und dies bedeutet eigentlich, daß wir uns vom politischen Prinzip immer noch nicht um diesen wesentlichen Schritt weitergewagt haben, trotz der unzweifelhaft erreichten Errungenschaften innerhalb der Selbstverwaltungssphäre (besonders innerhalb des Ausbildens eines Selbstverwaltungsbewußtseins). Und daraus erstehen alle grundlegenden Schwierigkeiten unseres gesellschaftlichen Moments.

Hier beginnt nun das »große Spiel« unserer Mittelklasse und ihr »historischer Seiltanz«. Zunächst nämlich trug diese feste Verankerung im politischen Moment der Revolution von Anfang an den Keim und auch den vorgezeichneten Weg in sich zu einer gesellschaftlichen Bewegung, die auf diese Weise nicht die Möglichkeit öffnete und die Chance bot, den Horizont der bürgerlichen Situierung der Revolution und aller aus ihr (als solcher) hervorgegangenen Resultate zu überschreiten. Zu anderen führt das hier notwendig, den eigenen immanenten Gesetzen folgend - und das ist heute schon klar herauskristallisiert - in die Richtung einer wesentlichen, dominierenden, in einigen Sphären sogar einzigen Tendenz des Prozesses der gesellschaftspolitischen, ökonomischen und kulturellen Entwicklung: ein Verhalten überwiegend auf dem Prinzip der durchgeführten bürgerlichen Revolution (also: auf dem Politischen) hat stufenweise in seinem Schoß die Kraft dieses etablierten gesellschaftlichen und politischen Systems geschaffen, also die Mittelklasse. Schon eine Reihe von Jahren können wir von Tag zu Tag vor unseren Augen diesen rascher werdenden Prozeß dieser Geburt, des Wachsens, des Erstarkens, Situierens, Etablierens, des Durchdringens und Konsolidierens der Mittelklasse auf allen Lebensgebieten beobachten, die schwindelerregend (in unserer

r e n p r im a r p a rte ip o litisc h , u n d sie k o n n te n n o c h n ic h t so z ia l-5 k o n o -

m isch sein. D e s h a lb t r a g t e s a u ch in sich die g e f h r l i c h e n T e n d e n z e n z u r Ausgeburt in sich (so g a r d ie T e n d e n z z u m U m s c h u n g in s G egen -

for example, the Middle class has its own P r i n z i p » aufgenom m e n « and

» p r a c t i z i e rt« es, n a t u r l i c a u f i h re W eise u n d i n i h r e m Interests , w o -

m i t e s facts twerte t wird). A b e r a u c h d e e r s te u r s p r i n g l i c h e F o r -

m u lie rung des S e lb stverwaltu n g s p r i n z i p s (s o b o h l sie sich a n d Le its pr u ch von M a rx hielt) w a r n u r u n v o llk o m m e n , w h o m i t si e z u m g u t e n T e il so w o h l ih r e n g e s c h i c h tlic h e n a l s a u c h d e n e m p r i s h -p r a k -

tisc h e n e c h te n S in n v e rlo r, d ie D u r c h s c h la g s k ra f t u n d W ir k u n g : m a n b e g a n n d a m it u n d b lie b d a b e i h a n g e n » d ie F a b r ik e n d e n A r b e ite rn «

(was R aum fiir vers ch ie d e n e B e d e u t u n g e n d D e u t u n g e n la fit, w i e e t w a : in the political and economic March for the Bureau and the Technocracy tie , u n d d a m i t a u c h d ie M itte lk la s s e), one of Leits p r u c h s u p p r a g e n o d g a r d u r c h z u f i i h r e n : » Alle M a ch t fiir die Arb e ite rk la s se « (the Arbeit err a te n , ihre m moglichenhochsten Organ

- d em C o n g r e f i d e r A r b e i t r a t e), w h i c h G e d a n k e v o n M a rxiiber die » Association of Producers « in India Tatumge -

setzt w urde , als n e ues ge s e llsch a ftliche s Grundverhaltn is D e s h a lb w a r d e d a s ground legend of the social-economic Problem in Seiner Tiefenichtauf die Tagesord nunggesetzt (also a Klassen problem, too it au c h d as so z ia listische), und dies b e de ute t e i g e n t l i c h , d a f i w i r o n s v o m p o l i t i c h e n P r i n z i p i m e r n o c h n i c h t h u m die s e n w e s e n t l i c h e n S chrittwe ite rge wag thaben , tro tz d e r u n z w e ife lh after reaching E r r u n g e n -

s c h a fte n in n e r h a lb d e r S e lb s tv e rw a ltu n g s s p h a r e (b eso n d e rs in n e rfta lb des A u s b ild e n s ein es S e lb stv e rw a ltu

n g s b e w u fitse in s). U n d d a ra u s e r-s te h e n a lle g ru n d le g e n d e n S c h w ie rig k e ite n u n s e re s g e s e llsc h a ftlic h e n M o m en ts.

Herebegintnundas» gropiel « unserer Mittelk lasse undihr

» Seiltanz h i s t o r i s h e r Z u n a c h s t n a m li ch t r u g d i e s e f e s t e V e r a n k e r u n g i m p o l i t i s h e n M o m e n t de r R e v o l u t i o n v o n Anfangande n K e i m u n d a u c h den v orge z e i ch n e t e n W e g in sic h zu e inerges and llsc h a ftlic h e n Bewegung, die auf diese W eise nich t die M o g lich ke it of fne te u n d die Chance boat, the Horizon t der b iirgerlichen Situ ie rung der Revolu tio nundalle r au s ih r (als solcher) h e r v o r g e g a n g e n e n The results are iber-scheduled. Z u a n d e r n fiih rt d a s h i e r n o t w e n d i g, d e n e g e n e n i m a -

n e n t n G e set t h e folgen - and this is the crystalline clarity - in the Richtunge inerwe sentlichen, dominating, ine in ig e n S p h a r e n so g a r e in z i g e n T e n d e n z des s p r o s e s leading to political, economic and cultural scholarships in Entwic klung: e in V erhalte niiberwieg e n d a u f d e m P r i n z i p d e r d u r c h g e f i i h r t e n b iirgerlichen R e v o l u t i o n (also : a u f d e P o l i t i c h e n) has also sometimes seen in em Schofidie Kraft these establishments n g e s e llsch aftlichenund political systems g e -

sc h a ffe n , also the M itte lk la sse S c h o n e ine R eih evon J a h r e n k n e n w i r v o n t a g zu Tag v o r u n s e r e n Augendie sen ra s c h e r v e r d e n Prosephidiese s e r Geburt, des Wachsens , des Erstarkens , S i tu i e r s , E ta -

b lie rens, des D u rc h d r i n g e n s u n d K o n s o l i e r n s der Mitte lk la s s e a u f a l i e n Lebens gebie ten beobachten, dies chwind de le regen d (in unsere r 456).

spezifischen und verlängerten »ursprünglichen Akkumulation des Kapitals«) ökonomisch stärker wird, sich bereichert, in die eigenen Hände die Führung der ganzen Geselschaft übernimmt, in dieser Richtung alle die übrigen Elemente nach sich zieht, wie auch Gesellschaftsschichten, sie korrumpiert, ideologisch verwässert, sich so in alle Poren der Gesellschaft setzt, und politisch, ökonomisch, sozial, kulturell und philosophisch, also geistig und ideologisch immer mehr zur dominierenden Kraft unserer Gesellschaft wird. Deshalb ist es auch nicht verwunderlich, daß sie sich auch im Bund der Kommunisten selbst infiltriert und »gut placiert« hat (also in der kommunistischen Bewegung überhaupt), indem sie in ihm Ideen vertritt und durchführt, die Marx die Ideen des sogen. »Sozialismus der Bourgeoisie« nennt, was natürlich völlig im Einklang mit ihrer eigenen Natur steht (eine gründliche Analyse, die diesem Problem gewidmet wäre, könnte das deutlich zeigen, aber hier ist dies nicht möglich). Ihre Anhänger machen so die Diversion im Kern der Bewegung selbst. Damit bemüht sie sich, selbst den Bund der Kommunisten in ihre eigene Massenpartei zu verwandeln (was man seit einigen Jahren sowohl statistisch, als auch nach der zahlenmäßigen Zusammensetzung und dem sozialen Charakter der Mitgliedschaft beim Bund der Kommunisten leicht beweisen kann). Fast alle Massenmedien übernimmt sie stufenweise in ihre Hände - auf der Grundlage der »Selbstverwaltung« auf eigene Art aufgefaßt - mit einem Monopol,4 das sich kaum eine bürgerliche Partei sogar in den höchstentwickelten kapitalistischen Staaten des Westens, erträumen oder erdenken kann, wo – wie allen bekannt ist - die Vorherrschaft der bürgerlichen Klasse und ihrer Parteien unangefochten ist. Was dies bedeutet und was für eine Manipulationsgewalt und gut berechnete, dosierte Informationen sie damit in Händen hat, muß man nicht besonders beweisen, und diese Macht nützen die Mittelklasse und ihre Ideologen weidlich und alltäglich aus. Unser Zeitungswesen hat sich (natürlich nicht nur in unserer Republik Kroa-

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specific a n d e n d e d e d »original a c k um ulation of capi tal«) becomes economically s tron g, enriches itself, takes control of its own

³ Wenn wir schon darüber sprechen, dann ist zur Beleuchtung unserer allgemeinen Situation und ihrer Atmosphäre es belehrend, hier Marx anzuführen: "Das Kapital ist notwendig zugleich Kapitalist und der Gedanke von einigen Sozialisten, wir brauchten das Kapital, aber nicht die Kapitalisten, ist durchaus falsch. In Begriff des Kapitals ist gesetzt, daß die objektiven Bedingungen der Arbeit – und diese sind ihr eigenes Produkt – ihr gegenüber Persönlichkeit annehmen, oder was dasselbe ist, daß sie als Eigentum einer dem Arbeiter fremden Persönlichkeit gesetzt ist. Im Begriff des Kapitals ist der Kapitalist enthalten... Das Kapital ist wesentlich Kapitalist... und danach Kapital ist oder nicht ist. Es ist offenbar so ein Verhältnis und kann nur ein Produktionsverhältnis sein«. – Karl Marx, Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie, Rohentwurf 1857-1858, Dietz Verlag. Berlin 1953, S. 412-413.

⁴ In den Mai-Ereignissen 1968 an der Universität in Zagreb haben die Studenten z. B. das Haus Ujesnik »unseren Springer« genannt, worauf die Vjesnik-Leute schaff reagierten und skrupellos mit den linksorientierten Studenten abrechneten, sich aller möglichen Unwahrheiten bedienend, sogar Falsifikate, sie sahen aber nicht, daß ihnen die Studenten damit aber Komplimente machen! Denn Springer hatte damals kein solches Monopol in Händen wie es Ujesnik in der Sozialistischen Reepublik Kroatien hat, sondern »nur« 38% der gesamten westdeutschen Presse. Da aber dieser Anteil der Verfassung nach in Westdeutschland 25% nicht überschreiten darf, mußte Springer die überzähligen 13% seiner Aktien verkaufen. Dies des Vergleichs halber! Springer müßte zu uns übersiedeln, denn hier könnte er vorwärts kommen.

which takes over the leadership of the whole society, in this direction pulls all the other elements after it, as well as social strata, it corru m pates, ideologically watered down, so in all PO -

r e which society sets, and politically, economically, socially, culturally and philosophically, i.e. mentally and ideologically, it is becoming more and more the domi-nating force of our society.3 D It is therefore not surprising that she also filtered herself into the B and der com m unists and »well placed« (i.e. in the com m unist movement at all). "Socialism of the bourgeoisie" designates what is, of course, fully in line with their own nature (a thorough analysis corresponding to this sample lem w id m et w are could show that clearly, but here it is not possi ble). Th eir followers do the div ersion at the core of the movement itself. The with it, the striving to convert even the Ban d th e com m unists into th eir own mass party c h a n d e n (which has been known for a few years both statistically and according to the number of m a liig composi tion and the social character of the m embership at the B and the com m unist can easily prove). Almost all mass media is gradually taking it into their hands - on the basis of "self-governance" in its own way, as it is thought - with a monopoly4 that hardly differs A bourgeois party, even in the most highly developed capitalist states of the West, can dream or imagine, where as a lien is known

- die V o rh e rrsc h a ft d e r b iirg erlich en Klasse un d ih re r P a rte ie n u n a n -

is fought. What this means and what kind of manipu latio n violence and well calculated, dosed in fo rm a tio n it has in hand, does not have to be particularly proven , and this power is used by the middle class and their re ldeolog e s in a n d d a yday way. O ur newspaper has existed (not only in our Republic of K roa, of course). and your a tm o s p h e r it is instructive to quote M arx here: »Capital is necessary at the same time a capitalist and the thoughts of some socialists.

w e n eed c a p ital, b ut n o t the capitalists, is quite ialsch. In the concept of capital it is posited that the objective conditions of work - and these are their own product - assume their respective personality, or what is the same, that they is protected as the property of a personality belonging to the worker. The concept of capital includes the capitalist. . . C apital is essentially capitalist. . . and then c a d ta l is or isn't. It is obviously such a relationship and can only be a production relationship«. - K arl M arx, G rutul-risse der Criticism of the political economy, R ohc ntw urf 1857-1858, Dietz V crlag, B erlin

1953, pp. 412-113.

4 In the events of May 1968 at the Un iv c rsita t in Z ag reb, the students had z. For example, the house from V je sn ik was called »our jumper«, to which the V jcsnik people reacted sharply and unscrupulously with the lin k so ri en t students abrechneten , using all possible untruths, even f alsificates, but they didn't see that the students made them but compliments! At that time, Springer did not have such a monopoly in its hands as V je snik did in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, but »only« 38% of the entire West German press. However, since this proportion is not allowed to exceed 25% according to the constitution in West Germany, Springer had to sell the excess 13% of his shares. This for the sake of comparison! Jumper had to move to us, because here he could come forward.

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tien, sondern überall) schon so gut »eingeübt« in dieses Handwerk, daß es in keiner Weise der sogen, »Boulevardpresse« des Westens zurücksteht, sie manchmal sogar übertrifft, da es durch seine Monopollage so erstarkte, daß es jedes gegenteilige oder kritische Denken ausschaltet, und dies gestattet ihm ein Manipulieren mit der öffentlichen Meinung, so wie es will, ohne jedes Maß und Kriterium. Dies ist wieder der kürzeste Weg zu dem, was Lukács »Prostitution« nennt.5

Aber aus der widersprüchlichen Lage unserer Mittelklasse, deren ideologischer Kämpfer und Lautsprecher gerade das Zeitungswesen ist, ergibt sich eine doppelte »Prostitution«, verdoppelt durch ein wesentliches Moment: wenn nämlich die bürgerliche Presse des Westens und in der Welt im allgemeinen ganz normal und offen die Interessen der eigenen Klasse vertritt, so befindet sich unser Zeitungswesen wie ein Zwitter in der »nicht beneidenswerten« Lage, daß es sich offiziell auf die Interessen der Arbeiterklasse und des Sozialismus berufen muß, faktisch aber und oft auch perfide die Interessen der eigenen Mittelklasse verteidigen oder durchbringen soll, was in einer nackten Perversion resultiert und so könnten wir - wenn wir uns an die Bestimmung von Lukács halten - zum Unterschied von der bürgerlichen »gewöhnlichen Prostitution« unsere spezifische »perverse Zeitungsprostitution« bekommen (im Stil der bis zu Ende durchgeführten »sexuellen Revolution« auch auf diesem Gebiet!). U maber nicht nur bei bloßen Behauptungen zu bleiben (die dann mancher als Phantasieprodukte bezeichnen wird), wollen wir eine der neuesten typisch zeitungsmäßigen Perversionen »großen Stils« anführen (unter den bisher fast zahllosen): In der Nummer vom 1. Mai(!) d. J. 1971 bringt Ujesnik unter dem Titel »Links, linker - und jenes dritte« auf eineinhalb Seiten (S. 11 und 12) Berichte seiner Auslandskorrespondenten, unter denen gleich unter der Überschrift in Blockbuchstaben MODE-MARX hervorsticht (es handelt sich um einen Bericht aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland), und dies gibt der geschickten pervers-prostituierten Tendenz der Redaktion den Grundton, »unaufffällig« der Leserschaft einzuhämmern (wie dies systematisch jeden Tag gemacht wird), alles in der durchsichtigen Absicht, Marx, den Marxismus und das »Linke« herabzusetzen! Denn Marx ist eine ganz gewöhnliche Mode, wißt Ihr liebe Leser, und die Linke und »Das Linke«-tja, man kann heute nicht mehr wissen, was rechts und was links ist, wie das auch die ganze Welt annimmt, und das sieht man deutlich aus den Berichten unserer Berichterstatter! Und so weiter in dem Sinn. Hier sind »große Meister der Hinterlist« am Werk und menschlich schon »verbrauchte« Konjunkturritter!

⁶ Über die Verdinglichung in der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft sprechend meint Lukäcs: »Am groteskesten zeigt sich diese Struktur im Journalismus, wo gerade die Subjektivität selbst, das Wissen, das Temperament, die Ausdrucksfähigkeit zu einem abstrakten, sowohl von der Persönlichkeit des »Besitzers« wie von dem materiell-konkreten Wesen der behandelten Gegenstände unabhängigen und eigensetzlich in Gang gebrachten Mechanismus wird. Die »Gesinnungslosigkeit« der Journalisten, die Prostitution ihrer Erlebnisse und Überzeugungen ist nur als Gipfelpunkt der kapitalistischen Verdinglichung begreifbar«. – Georg Lukács, Geschichte und Klassenbewußtsein, Luchterhand Verl. Neuwied und Berlin 1970, S. 194.

d a e s d u r c h s i n e Monopoly-lage soers tark te , defies these opposing critics of Denkenaus -sc h a lte t, and this ges tatte that I in Manipuli ren meet de roffentlichen Meinung , so w ie es will, o h ne je d e s Mafiund Krite rium D i e s ist w i e -

d e r d e r k u rze ste W e g zu d em , w a s L u k a c s » P ro s titu tio n « n e n n t.5

A b e r a u s d e r w i d e r s p riichlichen Lageunserer Mittelklasse , whose ideologists Kampferund Lauts preached as Zeitungswesenist, obviously e in e oppelte » Pro s titution « , very oppelt durche in wesentliches Moment: when name is like the Western Press within We lt im a llg e m e i n e n g a n z n o r m a l u n d o f e n d i e Interest in the K lasse vertrit, so be found that sichunser Zeitung swesen w ie ein Zwitterin der » nich t b e n e i d e n s w e r t e n « L age , the Arbitrator's classes of Socialism bear muffins, facts and of all the perfidies of the Interests e n e n M itte lk la s s e v e r t i o n s i g e n o d e r d u r c h b r i n g e n c o i l , w a s i n e i n e r n a c t e n Perversion results and therefore contains the B estimation of Lukacschalten- z u m U n te rs chie d vonderbiergerlichen

» g e w o h n lic h e n P ro s titu tio n « u n s e re sp e zifisc h e » p e rv e rs e Z e itu n g s -

p ro stitu tio n « b e c o m m e n (im S til d e r b is zu E n d e d u r c h g e f iih r te n »se-x u e lle n R e v o lu tio n « a u c h a u f d iese m G e b ie t!). U m a b e r n ic h t n u r bei blofien B e h a u p tu n g e n zu b le ib e n (d ie d a n n m a n c h e r a ls P h a n ta s ie -

p ro d u k te b e z eic h n e n w ird), w o lle n w ir e in e d e r n e u e ste n ty p is c h zei-tu n g sm a fiig e n P e rv e rs io n e n » g ro fie n S tils« a n fiih re n (u n te r d e n b ish e r f a s t z a h llo sen): I n d e r N u m m e r v o m 1. M a i(!) d. J . 1971 b r in g t V j e sn ik u n te r d e m T ite l » L in k s, lin k e r - u n d je n e s d r itte « a u f e in e in h a lb S e ite n (S. 11 u n d 12) B e ric h te s e in e r A u s la n d s k o r r e s p o n d e n te n , u n te r d e n e n g leic h u n te r d e r O b e r s c h r if t in B lo c k b u c h s ta b e n M O D E - M A R X

h e r v o r s t i c h t (e s h a n d e l t sich u m e n e n B erichtaus der Bund es rep u b lik Deutschland), a n d dies gib t derge schick ten perverse-prostitute Tendenzder Grundton's redaction, "a disappointment" of the Lesers chafte in Zuhammer (who's system is called Taggemach twice), is also in the dark ic h t i g e n A b s i c h t, M a rx , and M a rxism m u s u n d a s » L i n k e «

h e ra b z u se tz e n ! D e n n M a rx ist e in e g a n z g e w o h n lic h e M o d e , w ifit I h r lieb e L e se r, u n d d ie L in k e u n d » D a s L in k e « - tja , m a n k a n n h e u te n ic h t m e h r w issen , w as rec h ts u n d w a s lin k s ist, w ie d a s a u c h d ie g a n z e W e lt a n n im m t, u n d d a s s ie h t m a n d e u tlic h a u s d e n B e ric h te n u n s e re r B e ric h te rs ta tte r! U n d so w e ite r in d e m S in n . H i e r s in d »g ro fie M e is te r d e r H in te r lis t« a m W e r k u n d m e n s c h lic h s c h o n » v e rb ra u c h te « K o n -

ju n c tu r ritter!

& O b e r d ie V e r d i n g l i c h u n g i n d e r c a p i t a l i s t i s h e n Gesells ch aft sprechend m e int Lu ac s: »A m gro te skesten z e ig t sich die se Struk to J o u r n a l s m u s , where the Subject itself, the Wisdom, the Temperament, the Ausdrac ks fa hig ke it zu ein em a b s t r a c t e n , sow ohl v o n d e r Persons like the »B esitzers« with their material ll-

- c o n c r e t e n W e s e n d e r b e h a n d e l t e n G e g e n s t a n d e u n a b h a n g i g e n u n d e i g e n s e t s l i c h in G a n g e b r a c h ten M e ch a nism is used The "Ge s in a slow sigh" of the J o u r n a l i s t e n , the Pro s titution iher Erle bnisse and Oberzeuggenistnurals Gip felpunkt der capitalism tis c h e n English meaning beg re ifbar« - George Luk&cs, Geschteund and Klassenbewufltsein, Luchter and Verl. New Knowledge Berlin 1970, p.

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Kehren wir aber zum Grundlegenden zurück. Wenn die Rede von unserer Mittelklasse ist, muß erwähnt werden, daß sie (wie dies historisch gewöhnlich ist), aus allen Gesellschaftsschichten kommt, die nicht besonders aufgezählt werden müssen. Um aber das ABC des Marxismus selbst nicht zu vergessen (der für einen Teil der jüngeren, besonders der Intellektuellen-Generation abstoßend, manchmal schon bei seiner Erwähnung geworden ist, da ihn Politiker und Ideologen der Bürokratie und der Mittelklasse, sich verbalideologisch auf ihn berufend systematisch in der Praxis und der Theorie völlig kompromittiert haben), ist es notwendig, hier eine Erklärung von Marx anzuführen:

*Die einzelnen Individuen bilden nur insofern eine Klasse, als sie einen gemeinsamen Kampf gegen eine andre Klasse zu führen haben; im übrigen stehen sie einander selbst in der Konkurrenz wieder feindlich gegenüber. Auf der andern Seite verselbstständigt sich die Klasse wieder gegen die Individuen, sodaß diese ihre Lebensbedingungen prädestiniert vorfinden, von der Klasse ihre Lebensstellung und damit ihre persönliche Entwicklung angewiesen bekommen, unter sie subsumiert werden. Dies ist dieselbe Erscheinung wie die Subsumtion der einzelnen Individuen unter die Teilung der Arbeit, und kann nur durch die Aushebung des Privateigentums und der Arbeit selbst beseitigt werden«.6

Dieser »gemeinsame Kampf gegen eine andere Klasse« wurde von unsere Mittelklasse schon durch ihr eigenes Konstitutieren gegen die Arbeiterklasse begonnen, und auf dieser Ebene vereinigen sich ihre »zerstreuten« und untereinander noch unbestimmt »konkurrenten« Elemente. Sie fürht diesen Kampf praktisch durch ihr Bestehen, also durch die Ausbeutung der Arbeiterklasse und in der Teilnahme an der Aneignung ihres Arbeitsmehrwertes und zugleich durch die Manipulation, durch die sie als der »wahre Vertreter« der Arbeiterklasse erscheint (als bräuchte die Arbeiterklasse überhaupt »Vertreter« und »Vermittler«, am wenigsten die aus der Mittelklasse!). Andererseits aber führt die Mittelklasse den Kampf theoretisch-ideologisch durch dauernde Angriffe gegen die marxistische und linke Intelligenz, die gerade als solche sich ihrer Proletarisierung bewußt und geschichtlich wie intellektuell notwendig an das Schicksal des Proletariats gebunden ist.

Hier muß man aber auch unserer Mittelklasse Lob sprechen. In ihrem Auftreten trägt sie nämlich auch die eigene historische Wahrheit mit sich, die sich in einer besonderen Offenheit und Ehrlichkeit zeigt: sie spricht sich nämlich klar und deutlich gegen das »Linke« aus, und so ist es geradezu verwunderlich, daß man ihr darin nicht glauben will!? Denn hier erscheint sie ehrlich, wirkt und kämpft offen ganz im Einklang mit ihrer eigenen historisch-sozialen Natur. Wozu also immer noch die Dilemmas und »Mißverständnisse«, wie auch das schon langdauernde gegenseitige »Versteckspiel«. Man muß der Mittelklasse auf's Wort glauben, wenn sie dieses Wort Tag für

But let's go back to the basics. When speaking of our middle class, it must be mentioned that they (as is historically usual) come from all social strata that do not need to be specifically enumerated. But in

Karl Marx - Friedrich Engels, Die deutsche Ideologie, Herausgegeben von V. Adoratskij, Verlag für Literatur und Politik, Wien-Berlin 1932, S. 43.

order not to forget the ABC of M arxism itself (which is repulsive for a part of the younger generation, especially the intellectual generation, sometimes already in its E W e n d e n e c e n t , that p o liticists and ideologues of the bureaucracy and the middle class, refer to him verbal ideologically and systematically in practice and th e o ry completely have compromised), it is necessary to cite a declaration by M arx here:

»The individual individuals form a class only insofar as they have to wage a common fight against another class; for the rest, they are hostile to one another, even in competition. On the other hand, the class becomes independent again against the indiv idu e, so that they find their living conditions p ra d e stined, their position in life from the class and thus their position in life p e s o n li e d e v e l o pm e n t o wn o w n th e m e n t . This is the same phenomenon as the subsumption of the individual in d iv idu e under the division of labour, and can only occur through the abolition of private property and the work itself w ill be eliminated « .6

This »common struggle against another class« was started by our middle class already by their own constituting against the working class, and at this level they unite her

»scattered« and a n t e r a n t e r »competitors«

Elements. She fights this struggle practically by her very existence, i.e. by the exploitation of the working class and by taking part in the appropriation of her labor value and at the same time through the manipulation that makes it appear as the »true representative« of the working class (as if the working class needed it at all "representative" and

»mediators«, least of all those from the middle class!). On the other hand, the middle class is waging the fight theoretically and ideologically through constant attacks against the Marxist and leftwing intelligentsia, which as such see their P Ro le ta rization is consciously and historically as well as intellectually necessarily tied to the fate of the pro le ta riat.

Her man and out our middle class has to speak praise. In her appearance, she also carries her own historical truth, which is shown in a special openness and honesty: she speaks nam lich clear and distinct against the "left"

out, and the istournanget that mondontbeidenyour

in it!? Because here she appears honest, acts and fights openly, entirely in harmony with her own historical-social nature.

So why still the dilemmas and »misunderstandings«, as well as the mutual »hide and seek« that has been going on for a long time. You have to believe the word of the middle class when they say that word t a g for

• K arl M a rx - F rie d ric h Engels, D ie dcutschc Ideologic, H crausgegeben von V .

Adoratskij, Verlag fur Literature und Polilik, Wicken-Berlin 1932, p.

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Tag gebraucht und im Handeln bekräftigt. Hier gibt es zwischen dem Tun und dem Wort keine Divergenz. Der Klarheit der Sache selbst, der Arbeiterklasse und der marxistischen Intelligenz erweisen hier die unverbesserlichen »Aufklärer« und »Reformatoren« (wie immer) keinen Dienst, die in diesem kompromißlosen Auftreten der Mittelklasse bei uns immer noch an angebliche augenblickliche »Abweichungen«. »Fehler« und »Anomalien« im Vorgehen eben dieser selben Klasse mit Rücksicht auf ihren scheinbaren und durchscheinenden ideologischen Deckmantel (in Gestalt des Marxismus, Sozialismus, der Selbstverwaltung, im verbalen Sich-Berufen auf die Interessen der Arbeiterklasse u. A.) glauben, den sie selbst schwer trägt und gerne loswerden möchte. Darin sollte man ihr behilflich sein, nicht aber hinderlich, und dies im Interesse des Sozialismus. Übrigens sollten wir ihr wenigstens so weit helfen, daß sie sich selbst erkennt, daß sie die anderen besser erkennen, hier, was Marx schon lange, lang bevor sie auf der historischen Szene erschien über unsere Mittelklasse in ihrer heutigen Form ausgesagt hat:

»Er (der deutsche Sozialismus, Anm. d. Verf.) proklamierte die deutsche Nation als die normale Nation und den deutschen Spießbürger als den Normalmenschen. Er gab jeder Niedertracht desselben einen verborgenen, höheren, sozialistischen Sinn, worin sie ihr Gegenteil bedeutete. Er zog die letzte Konsequenz, indem er direkt gegen die »rohdestruktive« Richtung des Kommunismus auftrat und seine unparteiische Erhabenheit über alle Klassenkämpfe verkündete. Mit sehr wenigen Ausnahmen gehört alles, was in Deutschland von angeblich sozialistischen und kommunistischen Schriften zirkuliert, in den Bereich dieser schmutzigen, entnervenden Literatur«.⁷

Diese letzte Konsequenz, das Sich-Aussprechen gegen die »rohdestruktive« Richtung des Kommunismus hat unsere Mittelklasse gemeinsam mit der Bürokratie (ihre Politiker, Ideologen und Zeitungsleute) schon seit langem gezogen, und nun zieht sie die andere, nämlich den der unparteijschen Erhabenheit über alle Klassenkämpfe. Wir würden aber nicht darin mit Marx übereinstimmen, daß dies »schmutzig und entnervend« ist, wenn es sich um unsere Mittelklasse handelt. Denn weder wirkt der schmutzig oder handelt er entnervend, der, wie unsere Mittelklasse klar und deutlich, ehrlich und offen gegen die »radikale Linke«, den »rohdestruktiven« Kommunismus und Sozialismus, den linken Marxismus (denn wahrscheinlich besteht auch ein »rechter Marxismus«?) vorgeht, der zu wissen gibt, daß er es nicht zulassen wird, daß sich das Linke (= Sozialistische, Kommunistische und Marxistische) in die eigenen Reihen einschmuggelt, wenn doch ihr wesentliches, lebenswichtiges Interesse dem entgegesteht. Den Schmutz machen die und demoralisierend wirken vor allem die, die immer noch nicht daran glauben oder es nicht wahrhaben wollen, daß sie es damit ernst nimmt, daß sie es morgen noch ernster meint, und daß sie sehr ernst in dieser Richtung arbeitet, da sie desorientieren.

⁷ Karl Marx - Friedrich Engels, Manifest der kommunistischen Partei, in: Werke, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1959, Bd. 4, S. 488.

Intelligence nzerweisen h i er die unverbase serlichen » A ufk la re r« u n d » R e f o r m a t o r e n « (w ie i m e r) k e i-n e n D ienst, die in diesem compromise A u f tre tender Mitte lk la s s e be i o n si m m e n o ch a n a n g e b l i c h e a u g e n b l i c k lic h e » A b w e i c h u n g e n « ,

» F e hler« and » Anomalie n « im V orgehen b e n d i e s e r s e l b e n K l a s e m i t R iick sich taufihrensche in barenund d urch sch e n d e n i d e o l o g y-sche n D eckmantel (in Gestalt des M a rxism , Sozialism, der Selbst-verwaltung , imverbal Sich-Berufena auf die I n te re s s e n d e r A r b e i t e r c l a s s e u. A .) glauben , then he lb st schwert tragtund gerne lo swerden mochte. In so lite man he is being selfish, nothing is hidden, and this is his Interest in Socialism. U b r i g e n s s o llten w i r i h r w e n i g sten s so w e it h e lfe n , the deficie s itself s t e r k e n n t, the deficie d die a n d e r n besser e r k e n n e n , hier, was M a rx s ch o n l a n g e , l a n g b e v o r s i e a u f d e r h i s t o r i s h e n S zeneersch ien iiberuns e re Mitte lk la s s e in ih re r h e u t i g e n F o r m a u s g e s a g t h a t:

» Er (der deutsche Sozialism u s, A n m . d. Verf.) proclaimed the Deutsche Nation als the normal Nation and the Deutsche Spiefib iirgerals of the Normalmen. E r g a b j e d e r Don't throw yourself into an environment, h o h e r e n , so z ia listisch e n S in n , w o rin sie ih r G e g e n -

such as b e d e u te E r followed the latter consequence, in deme r d i r e c t e g e n d i e

» ro h d e s tru k tiv e « R ic h tu n g des K o m m u n ism u s a u f t r a t u n d s e in e u n -

parteische Erhabenheiiberalle Classencampfeverkinde te Mitsehrwenigen Ausnahmengehortals, was in Deutschland vonange blichsozia listischenund kommunistischen schriftenzirkuliert, in den Bereich dieserschmutzigen, to sell Literature

As a consequence of this latter, the Sikh-Auss preaching » towards the destructive « Enrichment of Communism is Mitte lk la s sege -

m ein sa m m it d e r B iiro k ra tie (ih re P o litik e r, I d e o lo g e n u n d Z e itu n g s -

leu te) sch o n se it l a n g e m g zo g en , a n d n u n z i e h t sie d ie a n d e r , n a m l i ch d e n d e r u n p a r t e i s c h e n E r h a b e n h e i i b e r a lle K l a s sen k a m p fe W i r w irde n a b e r n i c h t d a r i

n m i t M a r x i i b e r e i n s t m e n , d aphidies » sch mutzigund en tnervend « ist, w e n e s sichu m u n s e re Mitte lk las sehandelt.

D e n n w e d e r v irk t der sch mutz igo der h a n d e l t e r e n t n e r v e n d , der, w ie unsere Mitte l k la s s e c l a r u n d deutlich , e h r l i c h u n d o ffe n g e g e n d i e » ra -

d ik a le L in k e « , d e n » ro h d e s tru k tiv e n « K o m m u n ism u s u n d So zialism u s, d e n lin k e n M a rx is m u s (d e n n w a h rs c h e in lic h b e s te h t a u c h e in » re c h te r M arx ism u s«?) v o rg e h t, d e r zu w issen g ib t, d a fi e r es n ic h t z u la sse n w ird , d afi sich d a s L in k e (= S o z ialistisc h e , K o m m u n is tis c h e u n d M a r-x istisch e) in d ie e ig e n e n R e ih e n e in s c h m u g g e lt, w e n n d o c h ih r w e se n tliches, leb e n sw ic h tig e s In te re s s e d e m e n tg e g e s te h t. D e n S c h m u tz m a -

c h e n d ie u n d d e m o r a l i s i e r d w i r k e n v o r a l l e m d ie, d e i m e r n o c h t d a r a n g l u b e n o d e r s nich t wahrhaben wollen, dafi sie es damitern st n im m t, dafi sie es m o rg e n o c h e r n s t e r m in t, u n d d o p i s i e se h r e r n s t i e s e r Rich tungarbeite t, that is, this so rie n tie re n.

7 K a rl M a rx - F rie d ric h E n g els, M a n if e s t d e r k o m m u n istisc h e n P a rte i, in : W e r-ke, D ie tz V e rla g , B e rlin 1959, B d. 4, S. 488.

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Ehren wir also diese Ehrlichkeit am Werk unserer Mittelklasse (und ihrer Wahlschwester - der Bürokratie), wenn sie dies tagtäglich deklariert und ihre historische Position ausspricht, die ihr von der Geschichte zugeteilte Rolle und ihr immannente, angemessene Tendenz rechts zu stehen, zu sein und dies zu wollen! Auf das Linke geht man nicht von links her los, wenigstens diese elementaäre Logik müßte klar sein. Dieses »Linke« in der klar ausgedrückten klassenmäßigen gesellschaftlichen (bürgerlichen) Stratifikation kann man anfechten, bestreiten, angreifen nur vom rechten oder zentralen Standpunkt aus. Die Arbeiterklasse aber (um es richtig zu verstehen: gerade als Klasse, solange sie als Klasse besteht, und sie besteht als Klasse einer anderen Klasse im Klassenmäßigen gegenüber, also immer noch in einer teilweise bürgerlichen Gesellschaft ist selbst der Index des Bestehens eben dieser Gesellschaft und ihrer dominierenden Elemente) war nie, ist nicht und wird nie schon ihrer Natur nach »rechts« oder im »Zentrum«, sie ist gerade die einzige, die als Maßstab und Kriterium des »Linken« gilt (der Linken, des Fortschrittlichen, des Geschichtlichen und der Offenheit für eine Anderung sowohl von sich als auch der Gesellschaft und der Welt in ihrer Positivität), danach aber erst von allem anderen, was gegen sie und ihre wesentlichen, lebenswichtigen und aktuellen Interessen – also des Rechten! Da bisher bei uns (typisch ideologisch!) alles bisher unter die gemeinsame »sozialistische Kappe« gestülpt wurde, ist es kein Wunder, daß alles vergessen (bezw. »vergessen«) und vermischt wurde, und dies führte zu einer nicht nur gesellschaftspolitischen sondern allgemeinen ideenhaft-geschichtlichen Verwirrung in den Köpfen und in der Praxis, denn bisher waren wir alle »sozialistisch- selbstverwalterisch-fortschrittlich«! Und wir leben noch in einer Klassengesellschaft, also einer konfliktgeladenen.8

Deshalb gebührt unserer Mittelklasse alle Ehre, wie auch ihren Ideologen, die zuerst diese Verwirrung durch ihren Standpunkt und ihr Werk unterbrachen und »Ordnung machten« in diesem ideologischen Wirr-warr, indem sie sich selbst zur Rechten erklärten innerhalb unseres gesellschaftspolitischen Prozeßes, damit aber gleichzeitig allen anderen, also auch der Arbeiterklasse zu Kenntnis gaben, daß sie sich als linke Bewegung einordnen, deklarieren und konstituieren können und müssen, Die Geschichte wird beweisen, ob dieser Aufruf der Mittelklasse sowohl bei der Arbeiterklasse, als auch auf der Gegenseite auf Echo stieß.

Nun hat die Sache aber auch ihre andere Seite. Denn, wie wir schon gesagt haben, beruft sich die Mittelklasse immer noch auf den Sozialismus (wenn auch – um der Wahrheit willen sei es gesagt – immer

B Deshalb sind die marxistisch-links orientierten Studenten im Irrtum, wenn sie auf diese »bürgerlichen« Bestimmungen nicht eingehen wollen, indem sie sich auf den Sozialismus berufen, der sie überwinden muß (was natürlich stimmt, aber vom Standpunkt der klassenlosen Gesellschaft aus, nicht aber der Klassengesellschaft und in ihr!), oder diese Bestimmungen »nur bedingt« annehmen. Es gibt nicht Bedingtes in ausgesprochen klassenhaften Beziehungen und Zusammenstößen, denn die Arbeitsklasse muß – entgegen der Mittelklasse und der Büroktratie – jetzt und unbedingt ihre dominierende politische und ökonomische Position in der ganzen Gesellschaft erkämpfen. Bis dahin bleibt ihre Position allerdings ausgesprochen linksorientiert.

and its inherent, appropriate tendency to stand on the right, to be, and to want to be! You don't approach the left from the left, at least this elementary logic must be clear. This "left" in the clearly expressed class social (bourgeois) stratification can only be contested, contested, attacked from the right or central point of view.

The working class (to understand it correctly: precisely as a class, as long as it exists as a class, and it exists as a class in relation to another class in the class, i.e. still in a partly bourgeois society, even the index of the existence of this very society and its dominant elements) was never, is not and will never be of their nature r to the »right« or in the »centre«, it is precisely the only one that serves as a benchmark and criterion of

»Left« applies (of the left, of the progressive, of the historical and of openness to a change both of oneself and of society and the world in their p o sitiv itat), after that but only from everything else that is against you and your essential, vital and current interests - i.e. the right! Since up to now (typically ideological!) everything has been put under the common »socialist cap«, it is no wonder that everything has been forgotten (resp.

»forgotten«) and was mixed up, and this led to not only a sociopolitical but a general conceptual-historical confusion in the heads and in the practice is, because up until now we have all been »socialist- self-administrative-progressive «! A n d w e still live in a class society, i.e. a c o n flic t .8

Therefore, all honor is due to our middle class, as well as to their ideologues, who first broke up this confusion by their point of view and their work and m ake » order « in this ideological muddle, by declaring themselves to be on the right within our socio-political process, but at the same time a lien others, so also made known to the working class that they can categorize, declare and constitute themselves as left-wing movements and must, history will prove, whether this appeal to the middle class, both to the w o rkin g class and to the other side, echoes stepi.

But now the thing has its other side. Because , as we ve said er, the middle class still invokes socialism (although - for the sake of truth s sake - always 8 That is why the marxist-left-oriented students are wrong if they do not want to go into these »bourgeois« provisions by focusing on socialism called , who must overcome them (which of course is true, but from the point of view of the classless society, but not in the class society and in it!), or these provisions "only

conditionally" annchm on There are no conditions in pronounced class-related relationships and relationships, because the working class must - contrary to the middle class and the office class - jc tz t and unconditionally Till then, the or position ore endengs decidedly left-leaning.

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weniger auf Marx und den Marxismus, was für sie einen großen Fortschrift bedeutet und die so sehr erwünschte ideologische Emanzipation von der »klassenmäßigen Verdammung«, die er ihr aufgezwungen hat, und sie möchte im Namen der ganzen Nation sprechen, und so wäre es am schönsten, wenn das »Klassenhafte« je weniger oder überhaupt nicht erwähnt würde). Nicht nur aber, daß sie sich auf den Sozialismus beruft, denn sie ist sogar eigentlich »der wichtigste Träger der Entwicklung des Sozialismus«, der (Selbst-)Verwaltung (natürlich der Mittelklasse). Deshalb wird zugleich das »linke« und die »Linke« von ihrem Standpunkt aus im herabsetzenden (eigentlich beschämenden) Sinn begriffen, denn für jeden ordentlichen Bürger ist es eine Schande, so ein »Linker« zu sein, dies ist die lebende Wahrheit! Außerdem sind diese Marxisten und diese Linken eigentlich »Feinde«. denn sie sind für sie tatsächlich Feinde (dies weiß sie genau), die die bürgerliche Ordnung bedrohen, den Frieden und die Ruhe der Mittelklasse. So benützt sie die ideologische Färbung des Begriffs »Linke« zugleich als Abschreckung und zur Stärkung der eigenen Reihen, sowohl zu kämpferischen Konstituierung der Klasse im ganzen als auch der »Schlagkraft« (je nach Bedarf). Deshalb sendet sie in ihrem »historischen««, »übergänglichen«, »entscheidenden« und »revolutionären« Augenblick ihre ultra-rechten ins Feuer (an die Front), um mit ihren »Wau-wau«-Leitsprüchen jeden Marxisten oder Linken »zu Tode« zu erschrecken oder vielleicht auch die eigenen Schwankenden und unsicheren Anhänger und ideologischen Mit-Denkenden und Mit-Interessierten.

Darin tritt die Mittelklasse also einerseits sich selbst ermutigend auf, andererseits aber klassenhaft-naiv. Sie vergißt vor allem, daß sie die Klasse, nur eine Klasse der Gesellschaft ist, daß es neben ihr auch andere Klassen gibt und Schichten, daß sie selbst nicht die Ganzheit der Gesellschaft ist, als die sie sich zeigt. Außerdem vergißt sie (bewußt oder unbewußt), daß sie auch tatsächlich mit dem Bestehen der Arbeiterklasse rechnen muß, so daß das ideologisch-manipulierende Moment nicht dauernd diese aktuell-faktische Beziehung verdecken kann, und so wird es früher oder später sich selbst nicht genügen und der Bewegung der Sache selbst zugemessen werden. Sie muß sich offen mit der Arbeiterklasse auseinandersetzen, ob sie dies will oder nicht. Wenn sich schließlich schon jemand als Rechtsstehender deklariert, dann muß er (dialektisch) mit einer möglichen Linken rechnen, ja er schafft sogar seine eigene Linke (auch das »neutrale« Zentrum), nicht nur, daß er sie schafft, sondern er stärkt sie durch seine Handlungen, und deshalb kann er das Gegensätzliche, das er hervorgebracht hat, nicht »schrecken«, sondern nur »ermutigen«. Diese Dialektik ist hier nicht zu umgehen.

Wenn sich die Mittelklasse und falls sie sich konsolidiert, dann wird sie sich selbst auf den »eigenen« Platz zurückziehen, d. h. ins »Zentrum«, sich von ihren jetzigen eigenen ultra-rechten »Wauwau«-ideologischen Lärmmachern lossagen, weil sie sie einerseits nicht mehr als Instrument des »Abschreckens« braucht, um die Gegner zu schrecken und eigenen Reihen zu schließen, andererseits aber um sich nicht zu sehr zu kompromittieren. Denn die Politik der Mit-

ververs mmung«, deerihraufgezingenhat, und sie moch te Im namendergansennatiensprechen, und soware es amschonsten, nndassa» K lassenhafte«jewenigeroderiber-haupt nichterwahn twiirde). Not uraber, the office is based on socialism, which is obviously "there is a great tragedy within socialism", der (Selbst-)Verwaltung (natiirlich der Mittelklasse). Des halbwirdelink« and the » Link«

v o n ih re m S ta n d p u n k t au s im h e ra b s e tz e n d e n (e ig e n tlic h b e s c h a m e n -

d en) s e n s t e n t , th e f o e r d e r d e n t lic h e burgher , it sa s a shame , to be such a » left , t h s t h e liv ing choise rh it! A u -

fierd em sin d diese M a rx is te n u n d diese L in k e n e i g e n tlic h » F e in de « , d e n n sie sin d fiir sie ta ts a ch lic h F e in de (this w eifi sie gena u), d ie d ie b iirgerlic h e Order of the Bed Rohen , then F r ie d en n d d ie R u h e d e r M itte lklasse. So here is the idea of drawing the Begriffs » L i n k e «

zu g le ich als Ab s c h e r k u n g u n d z u r S t a r k u n g de r e i g e n e n R eihen , so w o h l zu c a m p f e r s h e n K o s titu ie rung der K lasse imgan z e n a l a u c h der » Sch lag k raft« (such as B e d a rf). D e s h a lb s e n d e t sie in ih r e m » history « « , » English « , » ents s h e i d e n d « u n d » re v o l u t i o n a -

r en "Again looking at the ultra-right ins Feuer (andie Front), he gathered." W au-wau "-Let's change the Marxists L i n k e n » to T o -

de« zu ersch re ck e n o d e r v ie lle ich t a u c h die e i g e n e n Schwankenden undunsicheren Anhangerundideologischen Mit-DenkendenundMit-Interessierten.

D a r in t r i t t d ie M itte lk la s s e also e iners e its self s t e r m u t i g e n d a u f , a n d e r e r s e its a ber class haft-naive . S i e v e rg ifit v o r a l l e m , d a f i e d ie K l a s e , n u r e i e K l a s e der G e s e lls chaft ist, d a f i es ne b e n i h r a u c h a n d e r Klasse ngib t u n d Schich te n , d afi sie se lb st nich t die Ganzheit der G e s e lls ch aft ist, als die sie sich z e ig t. A u fie rd e m v e rg ifit sie (be-w ufi or de run be w u fit), immediately a u ch ta ts a ch lic h mit d e m B e s te h e n d e r Arbe ite rk class se r e c h n e n m ufi, so d a f i d a s ideo lo g is c h -manip u lie re n d e M o m e n t nich t dau ern d d i e a c t u e l-f a c t i s c h e Bezie hung verdeck k e n k n n , u n d so wirdes friiher oder s p a t e r sich selb st nich t geniig e n u n d d e r B e w e g u n g d e r Sache se lb st z u g e m e s s e n w e r d e n Sie m ufi sich offe n

with the Arbeite rk la s se ause in a n d e r s e t z e n, ob sie d es w i l o d e r nich t. W h e n your friendly s c h o n je m a n d a l s R e c h tss te h e n d e r d e k l a -

riert, then muffier (dia lek tisch) meets inermoglichen Linken rechnen, jaerschafft sogar seine eeigne Linke (also »neutrale «Zentrum), nich tnur, dafier sie sch afft, sonderner star k t sie durch seine H a n d -

lu n g en , u n d d e s h a lb k a n n e r d a s G e g e n s a tz lic h e , d a s e r h e rv o r g e -

brachthat, not» schreck en «, sondernur» ermutigen «Die se Dia-

there is notengethetheradedertathe.

When the Mittelk lasseund falls sie sihkonsoliert, then they will sie themselves staff of the >eigenen «Platzzuriickziehen, d. h. ins

» Z e n tru m « , sich v o n ih re n je tz ig e n e ig e n e n u ltr a - r e c h te n » W a u -

w a u α -ideo logis c h e n L a r m macher n lossagen , w e il sie sie e inerseits nich t m ehr als Instrument des » Abschreckens« b a u ch t, u m d ie G e g -

 $n \in r$ zu sc h re c k e n and d e ig e n e n R e ih e n zu sch living, a n d e r e r s e its a b e r u m sich n ic h t zu h r zu c o m p ro m ittie re n . The politics of M it-462

telklasse kann auf lange Sicht nicht mit Hilfe von »Wütenden«, »Extremisten« und »Abenteurern« geführt werden, da dies nicht im Einklang mit ihrer Natur steht, auch nicht mit den wahren Interessen diesen Klasse. Sie will mit allen Seiten paktieren. Ihre Hauptaufgabe ist das Lavieren in einer je größeren Konsolidierung des Systems und des gesamten Gesellschaftsmechanismus, damit dieser um so besser funktioniert - seiner immanenten Logik folgend (der bürgerliche Produktionsprozeß, der sich selbst mechanisch reproduziert als Grundlage und Ideal), was das Ideal der »legalen« Bereicherung der Mittelklasse auf Kosten des Mehrwertes der Arbeiterklasse bedeutet. Jetzt befinden wir uns immer noch in der verspäteten Phase ihrer ursprünglichen Kapitalsanhäufung, und es ist historisch bekannt, daß für diese Phase »ideologische Angrifflust und Grobheit« fast typisch sind, wovon Marx ausführliche und detaillierte Studien und Analysen gab. Ihr letztes Ziel und höchstes Ideal ist also sich ökonomisch zu konstituieren, gesellschaftlich zu etablieren, sich politisch zu situieren, geistig und ideologisch sich zu formen, sich auf dem Niveau der liberalen Bourgeoisie zu bewegen.

Alles geht aber nicht so glatt, wie es hier skizziert und phänomenologisch beschrieben wurde. Bei uns konstituiert sich die Mittelklasse und erscheint auf der historischen Bühne innerhalb eines sehr widersprüchlichen Prozesses unter für sie historisch »unglücklichen« Bedingungen. Sie kann nicht weiterkommen (wie die klassischen bürgerlichen Klassen) weder materiell, noch ideologisch »geradlinig«. Einer der ersten Widersprüche, den sie im eigenen Interesse je früher lösen muß ist der (wir haben ihn schon genannt): die Zweifachheit oder die Doppelrolle ihrer ideologischpolitischen Situation, der nur noch kurze Zeit in dieser Form als »Gewinn« ausgedrückt werden kann. In diesem Moment ist sie nämlich noch gezwungen, sich wenigstens verschämt oder fälschlicherweise (mit Hilfe der verschiedensten Ausflüchte) immer noch an diese »linken Parolen«, die sie angreift oder ausschalten will aus dem öffentlichen Leben, zu halten (sie will sie aus dem eigenen und dem fremden Wortschatz elliminieren), nämlich sich auf den Marxismus, Marx und Lenin, den Sozialismus und die Selbstverwaltung usw. zu berufen. Dies ist zwar ein Zeichen ihrer faktischen Ohnmacht, aber diese Ohnmacht kann sich in dem Moment in Kraft verwandeln, wenn und falls es ihr gelingt, die kommunistische Bewegung dieses Landes völlig zu verwässern und auf das zu reduzieren was Marx »bürgerlichen Sozialismus« genannt hat (während sie nach Bedarf, wenn ihr dies gelingt, im gegebenen Moment den Marxismus in die Illegalität vertreiben wird). Vielleicht ist gerade jetzt der richtige Augenblick, darüber nachzudenken. Es liegt in der (bürgerlichen) Mittelklasse - wie dies die neueste Geschichte beweist - und es entspricht ihrer Natur, das gesamte Gesellschaftsleben zu verwässern, den Geist abzuwerten (wie auch jede fortschrittliche Idee, jeden solchen Gedanken und Wunsch, wie auch den Lebenssinn selbst), ihn auf das möglichst niedrige Maß zu verlegen, auf das, was Hegel »das geistige tierische Reich« nannte und Marx »die Zoologie der Menschheit«.

In the long term, middle class cannot be led with the help of »angry ones«, »extremists« and »adventurers«, as this is not in harmony with their nature, either not with the true interests of this class. She wants

to make pacts with all sides. Their m ain task is to maneuver in the ever greater consolidation of the system and the entire societal m echanism so that it works all the better - its im m an following logic (the bourgeois pro -

duction process that mechanically repro d u ses itself as a basis and ideal), which is the ideal of the »legal« enrichment of the middle class at the expense of the added value of the work class means. Now we are still in the late stage of your original capital accumulation, and it is historically known that this stage

wideological aggressiveness and rudeness« are almost typical, of which M arx gave extensive and d e ta lled studies and analyses. Their final goal and highest ideal is to constitute themselves economically, to establish themselves socially, to position themselves politically, to form themselves intellectually and ideologically, to be on the level of the liberal bourgeoisie to move.

Antethetwonotogo as smoothly as described here and phanom eno-logically. With us, the middle class is constituted and appears on the historical stage within a very contradictory process under conditions that are historically "unfortunate" for them. It cannot progress (like the classical bourgeois classes) either materially or ideologically in a "straight line". One of the first contradictions that it has to resolve sooner in its own interest is the one (we have already named it): the duality or the double role their ideological-political situation, which can only be expressed in this form as "profit" for a short time. At this mo ment she is still forced, at least bashfully proving herself dead or wrong (with the help of various evasions) to still refer to this »link en par o ls «, which she attacks or wants to eliminate from public life (she wants them out of her ow n a n d that of the others vocabulary ellim in ate), namely to refer to Marxism, M a rx and L en in, socialism and self-government etc. . This is a sign of your factual fainting, but this fainting c a n e n v e r e n t h e m o n e n t w e n t h e n d if and if it succeeds in doing so to water down the m unist movement of this country completely and to reduce it to what M a rx called »bourgeois socialism« (preserving it as needed, if you this succeeds, in the given moment m arxism will be expelled into illegality). Maybe right now is the right moment to think about it. It is in the (bourgeois) middle class - as the latest history proves - and it is in their nature to water down the entire social life, the G e is to be devalued (as well as every progressive idea, every such thought and wish, as well as the meaning of life itself), to transfer it to the lowest possible M afi, to that, what Hegel called "the spiritual animal kingdom" and M a rx "the zoology of mankind".

Andererseits ist die (bürgerliche) Mittelklasse in ihrem Konstituieren, Auftreten und Fortschreiten notwendig national, sie kommt mit Parolen des Kampfes für nationale Interessen und zwingt sich auf diesem Niveau auf (die Interessen des Nationalen, d. h. des eigenen Kapitals); des Nationalen im Ganzen und zur Verteidigung dieser Interessen tritt sie als Vertreter der eigenen Volkes auf, dies als der einzige legitime Vertreter. Auch die Arbeiterklasse (und alle anderen Schichten) bezieht sie nun in ihren Begriff des Volkes mit ein, wie der Nation als der politisch konstituierten Gemeinschaft (des Staates) unter der Führung der Mittelklasse. Das Insistieren auf dem Nationalen beinhaltet dann zugleich auch das eigene Selbstkonstituieren gegen andere Nationen. Dies ist das Moment, das - historisch gesehen - auf dem Standpunkt der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft und ihrer Bildung auch als ein Positivum erscheint, denn es tendiert zur Akkumulation, zur Vergrößerung und Sicherung des Nationalkapitals. Dies ist eine gesetzmäßige Folge und ein Resultat, also ein Prozeß, der aus der durchgeführten bürgerlichen Revolution in ihrem Verlauf hervorgeht. Auch unsere gesellschaftlichen Bewegung enthalten dieses Moment, das sich in seiner ganzen Kompliziertheit manifestiert. Diese Kompliziertheit ersteht auch daraus, daß unser Land eine Gemeinschaft vieler Völker ist, innerhalb der eine nationale Voraussetzung, die ihren eigenen Interessen folgt (ganz besonders in Bezug auf geistig-materielle Entwicklung) nicht unbedingt und notwendig den anderen entsprechen muß, wobei es zu Zusammenstößen kommt, besonders wenn man die ein Viertel Jahrhundert dauernde etatistisch-bürokratische Struktur eines zentralistischen Systems (mit stalinistischem geistigen Beigeschmack) vor Augen hat, das die Lösung sowohl der nationalen, mehr noch der Klassenfrage unterdrückte oder unmöglich machte. Eine Erruption war da unumgänglich, und sie zeigte zugleich, daß diese unsere Gesellschaft doch nicht einige wesentliche Probleme ihrer Konstituierung gelöst hat, so daß sie im Verlauf ihres sozialistischen Werdegangs zugleich auch einige ungelöste bürgerliche Fragen gelöst hätte. Dies aber wäre erst ein fester Ausgangspunkt und ein sicherer Punkt, um einen Schritt vorwärts zu machen in der Durchführung der proklamierten sozialistischen (sozialen) Revolution. Deshalb muß das gesamte »historische Gepäck« jetzt mitgeschleppt werden, im weiteren Verlauf der gesellschaftlichen Bewegung gelöst werden, und dies vollzieht sich nicht gerade schmerzlos.

Jeder zieht also auf seine Seite und muß es auch, aber jetzt unter den Bedingungen der erstarkten Mittelklasse, und darin liegt das ganze Problem. Dadurch wird das Problem vergrößert. Denn hier ist ihr politisches und ökonomisches Moment nicht nur anwesend, sondern in einer solchen komplizierten Situation will es sich im politischen Kampf als dominierend aufzwingen. Die Mittelklasse nützt ihr Mo-Reexporteure, die Finanzoligarchie usw, dazu kommt noch die allseiment, und hier kommt es zu gegenseitigem Rauben (diese Banken, die tige Korruption, die die Elemente der Mittelklasse säht, dies alles sind keine erdachten Geschichten, sondern grobe und sehr handfeste Realität, die die Arbeiterklasse in erster Linie tagtäglich auf ihrem Rükken fühlt, verspürt und zahlt), wobei bisher der mehr raubte, der der

Constituency -

ren , A u f t e r te n u n d F o r t s c h e r e i t e n n o t w e n d i g n a t i o n a l, sie c o m m t m i t P a r o l e n d e s C a m p f e s f i r n a t i o n a le Inter e s s e n d z wing t sich a u f d iesem N i v e a u a f (die N a t i o n a l interests, d. h . design of C a p i t a l s): the N a t i o n a l i n G a n z e n z u r Identifying these interests tt sie als V e r t r e t e r de r e g e n e n V o l k e s a u f, d e s a l s d e r e in zig e le g i m e V e r t e r e t e r Even the A r b e i t e r c l a s s e (u n d a l l e a n d S h i c h t e n) have their own B e g r i f f des Volksmitein , w e d e r N a tionals derpo litisch k o s titu ierten Gemeninschaft (des taates) under the Fiihrung der Mittelklasse. D a s I n s is ti e r n a u f d e m N a t i o n a l e n b e i n h a l t e d t h a n t h e Self-consciousness of the N a t i o n e This is the Moment, the - historical scene - of them Stand point der biergerlichen Gesells chaft un dih re r Bildungauchals e in P o sitiv u m e r s c h e int, d e n n e s t e n d i e r t h e r e t o Accumulation , to V erg ro fie running and Securing National Capitals D i e s s i t i o n

s etzm afiig e Following the Result, also in Prose, thereby reaching -

g e fiih rten b iirgerlichen Revolution in ih rem Verlauf h e r v o r g e h t. A u c h u n s e r e g e s e llsch a ftlic h e n Be w e g u n g e n th a l t e n d i s e s M o m m e n t, d a s sich in se inerganze n Complezierthe it manifest tier t. D i e s e C o m p l i z i e rthe iters te h t a u c h d a r a u s d afiuns e r L a n d e i n e G e m e in s ch aft v ieler V olkerist, in n e r h a lb de r e i n a t i o n a l V o r a u s s e t s u n g , d ie h r e n e i g e n e n I n te re sse n folg t (especially with sounders in B e z u g a u f g e is tig - ma te rie lle Ent-wick lu ng) n ich t u n b e d i n g t u n d n o t w e n d i g d e n d e r e n e n t s p r e c h e n mufi. W obei es zu z u s a m m e n s to fie n k o m m t, b e e s o n d s n n n n d ie s ie er v ie rte l j a h u n d e r t d a u e r n d e t tis c h - b iiro c r a t s s tru k t r e n s z e n s s s tem s s talinists chemistry B e i g e -

sch m ack) v o r Augenhat, that the Loss is such a world nation, more than a Klassen frage unter dr iic k te o der un m o g l i ch m a ch te E in e E r -

r u p t i o n w a r d a n u m g a n g l i c u n d sie z e ig te z u g le ich, d a f i e s e uns ere G e s e lls chaft do ch nich t h e i ig e w e s e n tlich e P r o b l e m e i h re r K

s titu ie r u n g e lo s t h a t, so the office im V e r la u f i h e r s social list W e r -

d e g a n g s zu g le ich a u c h e in ig e u n g e lo s te b iirg e rlic h e F r a g e n g e lo st h a tte T h i s a b e r w a r e e r s t e n f e s ter Ausgang s p u n k t u n d e in s i c h e r e r P u n k t, u m e n e n S chritt v or warts zu mach e n d u r ch f u h r u n g de r p l a m i e r ten so z ia listischen (so zialen) Revolution D e s h a lb M ufi D A S G E S G E S G E » h isto ric h e g e g e g e p a c k « j e tz t m itg e s c h and p p t w e r rd e n ll-zie h t sich nich t gera de schmerzlo s.

Jederzieht also auf seine Siteundmufies auch, aber jetztunterden Bedingungerers tark ten Mittelk lasse, und darinlegt dasganze Problem Dadurchwirddas Problem vergrofiert. Dennhieristirpolitishes und oconomishes Momentnuranwesend, sometimes an inner solution comprises a Situation that would otherwise imply politics in Camp False Dominierendaufzwingen The Mittelk lassenittzthir Mo-

R e e x p o r t e u r e , the F i n a n z o l i g a r c h i e u sw , has come up with all these things, and then comes back to see Rauben (this Bank, this K o rruption , the Element of the Mitte l c a s e s h t , these are all sin d k e ear d a c h t e n G e s h i c h t e n , sonder gro b u n d se h r h a n d faces te R e a -

lita t, d ie d ie Arbeiterclass se iners ter Linie tag tag lich aufihrem Ruk-

k e n fiih lt, v e rs p iirt u n d z a h lt), w o bei b is h e r d e r m e h r r a u b te, d e r d e r 464

»gemeinsamen«, »föderativen« oder »Bundes«-kasse am nächsten saß. in die sich der Mehrwert der Arbeiterklasse des gesamten Landes ergoß. Wenn sich nun aber jemand diesen Mehrwert angeeignet hat, geraubt hat, so war dies nicht das eine oder das andere Volk (die Nation), noch weniger die Arbeiterklasse selbst (dieser oder jener Nation, was übrigens zu hervorheben absurd ist), sondern ihre »Vertreter«. Trotzdem ist es mit Rücksicht auf die euphorische Atmosphäre heute wichtig, darauf zu verweisen, da in diesem oft künstlichen Entflammen der Leidenschaften das ausgeworfen wird und an die Oberfläche gelangt, was Marx »den alten Mist« nennt, in der Form des Nationalismus, Chauvinismus, Klerikalismus und des Machtkampfes, des Karrierismus und aller möglichen Formen unterdrückter Ansprüche und unausgesprochener Ambitionen einzelner Gruppen und Einzelner, die überzeugt sind, daß »ihre fünf Minuten« gekommen sind, in denen sie im Trüben auch für sich noch etwas einfangen können. Aus dieser Grundlage entstehen erst die nationalen Reibungen, denn hier sind auch entflammte Leidenschaften am Werk, es handelt sich aber um das Wesentlichste, um das materielle Interesse, und dabei hört sich alle »Liebe« auf, sogar dann, wenn (unmittelbar und historisch, also klassenhaft) die grundlegenden gemeinsamen Interessen der nationalen Mittelklassen gleich oder sogar gleichbedeutend sind, nämlich in Beziehung zu anderen Klassen und Gesellschaftsschichten, vor allem der Arbeiterklasse.

Dabei muß man zwei Dinge vor Augen haben: das eine ist nämlich die alltägliche Politik (oder die Quasi-Politik, einerlei), das andere die gleichzeitige ideologische Ebene dieser Politik, was in einer aufgebrachten, in manchen Augenblicken psychotischen Atmosphäre der erhitzten Leidenschaften aller Art, oder in einem Akt, der in einer solchen Atmosphäre unternommen wird, nicht mehr klären läßt, denn eines bedingt, trägt und nährt das andere und umgekehrt, und so kann man in diesem verwirrten Knäuel nicht mehr sehen, erkennen und wissen, wer wen zu was veranlaßt, wessen Interessen im Spiel liegen, was wer will, und in welcher Richtung sich die Sache allgemein bewegt. Am undeutlichsten in diesem Geschehen ist die Tatsache, daß sich dabei alle auf den Sozialismus und die Arbeiterklasse berufen, und es ist ganz klar, daß alle diese Positionen und gegensätzlichen Tendenzen (wie auch ganz entgegengestellte Interessen) nicht den Anspruch erheben können, Träger und Repräsentanten der sozialistischen Bewegung zu sein. Der Teufel ist, wie man so sagt, aus der Flasche geschlüpft, wer aber soll ihn zurückjagen?!

Uns interessiert hier vor allem aber »das Verhalten« der Mittelklasse, denn das ist unser Thema. Ob sie will oder nicht, muß sich diese Klasse als das erweisen, was sie wesentlich ist, ihre »wahre historische Physiognomie« zeigen. Deshalb erscheint »ihre Sache« auch in der ihr angepaßten »ideologischen Dimension« und wickelt sich

innerhalb von ihr auch ab:

Sobald sich unsere Mittelklasse fester und sicherer auf die eigenen Füße stellte, zeigte sie ihre echte Natur: sie wendet sich der Uergangenheit zu. Damit drückt sie klar ihren historischen Status aus, ihre Rolle, ihre Position, die Wünsche und »Perspektiven« (als Retrospek-

»common«, »fo d erative« or »federal« treasury, next safi, into which the surplus value of the working class of the entire country er-gofi. If someone appropriated this added value, stole it, it was not one or the other people (the nation), much less the working class itself (this or that nation, which, by the way, is absurd to emphasize), but their "representatives." Nevertheless, with regard to the euphoric atm osphere, it is important today to refer to the fact that in this often artificial igniting of the ailments whe ejected ndandengent ender nden enden ender nden enden ender nden enden enden enden ender nden ender nden ender nden enden enden

N a tio n al frictions arise from this basic situation, because here ignited passions are at work, but it is a matter of fact the most essential thing is the material interest, and this is where all "love" stops, even if (immediately and historically, i.e. class-like) the fundamentals g e n a tio n al m iddle-classes are the same or even equated, namely in relation to other classes and strata of society, especially the w o rkin g-class.

At the same time, you have to keep two things in mind: one is everyday politics (or quasi-politics, it doesn't matter), the other is simultaneous politics ideological level of this policy, which in a ra sed, at some moments psychotic, a tm o s p ph are o f the heated passions of all A rt, or in an act, which w ill be u n tem m e in such an a tm o s p ph a re, n o t m o r e clear lafit, because one thing requires, carries and nourishes the other and vice versa, and so, in this confused tangle, you can no longer see, recognize and know who gets who to do what, whose interests lie in the game, what w o w r want, and in what direction things are moving in general. Most verbal in this event is the fact that all of them refer to socialism and the working class, and it is quite clear that all of these positions and contradictory ones T e n d e n c e s (as well as completely contrary interests) do not

can claim to be bearers and represen tatives of the socialist movement. The devil is, as they say. from the fl a -

sche hatched, who else is supposed to chase him back?!

Un or interest ed in the »be haviour« of the middle class, because that is our topic. Whether it wants to or not, this class must prove what it is essentially, its »true historical physiognomy«. That is why "their cause" also appears in the "ideological dimension" that is associated with them and also unfolds within it:

As soon as our middle class stood more firmly and securely on their own feet, they showed their real nature: they turned to the past. In doing so, she clearly expresses her historical status, her role, her position, her wishes and »perspectives« (as a retrospective 465

tive). Mehr noch, dadurch fällt sie ein geschichtliches Urteil über sich selbst. Sie startet aus der Vergangenheit als der ideenhaften Grundlage (»Konzept«). Wer aber mit der Vergangenheit beginnt, der gibt zu wissen, daß er keine Zukunft hat, daß er nicht an sie glaubt und nicht mit ihr rechnet. Dies ist eigentlich die einzige große Wahrheit, die die Mittelklasse (deren ideenhafte Voraussetzungen ihre Ideologen zum Niveau des Prinzips erheben und formulieren) in Form der historischen Selbstkritik mit sich trägt. Denn, in der Tat, da sie selbst geschichtlich gesehen - Vergangenheit ist, ist ihre Zukunft nur von kurzer Dauer. Sie ist sich dessen bewußt. Ihr Interesse ist unmittelbar materiell und aktuell. Deshalb will sie rasch, je rascher nur jetzt sein. Dies aber reich, standardmäßig, gutsituiert, skrupellos, von heute auf morgen, ohne tieferen geschichtlichen Grund und Sinn, also außergeschichtlich und (explizit so ausgedrückt) - antigeschichtlich. Sie muß dem Geschichtlichen den Rücken kehren als dem Zukünftigen, Möglichen, denn die Zukunft ist für sie ein offener Abgrund, in den sie untergehen oder in ihm vergehen könnte. Und die nächste Zukunft könnte erweisen, daß diese auf reine Aktualität reduzierte Existenz, nur auf die Vergangenheit gestüzt, zugleich ihr geschichtlicher Totengräber ist. Sie als solche kommt aus der Vergangenheit-Gegenwart nie zur Zukunft.9 Nun, dies will sie auch nicht. Der Zeitraum ihres wesentlichen Daseins ist das bloße Gegenwärtige. Auf dem geistigen Gebiet herrscht hier allerdings völlige Sterilität. Die Anregung zum Schaffen kommt immer und überall aus der Zukunft. Das übrige ist ein Vegetieren im Bestehenden.

Auf sozialer Ebene, die auf das Niveau der ideellen Auseinandersetzung und Orientierung erhoben wurde, beruft sich die Mittelklasse - wie schon gesagt wurde - auf das Primat des Nationalen- als dem Kreis, in dem sich ihre wesentlichen Interessen bewegen. Ihre Ideologen und Sprecher haben deshalb recht, wenn sie von den nationalen Klassen und Parteien sprechen, denn dabei denken sie inhaltmäßig an ihre (Mittel-, bürgerliche) Klasse, und sogar den Bund der Kommunisten beanspruchen sie in diesem Sinn für sich als ihre Partei, wollen ihn für ihre Ziele verwenden. Wie schon erwähnt, muß sich die Mittelklasse vor allem zunächst im Nationalen konstituieren, im Sinne einer Verteidigung und Durchführung der eigenen Interessen, die ideologisch immer als die Interessen einer Nation oder eines Volkes dargestellt werden, in der Form einer unteilbaren und homogenen Ganzheit (einer historischen Entität und Totalität), wobei der geschichtliche Sinn des Verhältnisses von Volk und Nation zu einander überhaupt nicht bedacht wird. Sie sind konsequent, da sie sich aber in dieser Zeit und dem Prozeß der ideologischen Selbständigwerdung immer noch auf Marx berufen »müssen« und auf den Marxismus, »reinterpretieren« sie Marx in der Frage der Klasse, der Partei, der Nation, oder sie verfälschen ihn einfach, um zu beweisen, daß auch Marx in ihrem Namen und in ihrem (bürgerlichen) Interesse sprach. So wird

⁹ Im Kommunistischen Manifest steht darüber folgendes: »In der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft herrscht die Vergangenheit über die Gegenwart, in der kommunistischen die Gegenwart über die Vergangenheit«. Ebenda, S. 476.

lag e (» Conception«). We rabermit der Vergangenheight begins, there is nothing to know, there is nothing better than that, there is nothing better than that. This is estlichis Wahreit's inzigegrofie, the Mittelk lasse (then he had Voraus set his Ideo logen zum Level of Principles and Formulas in Form of History-

risc h e n S e lb stk ritik m it sich tr a g t. D e n n , in d e r T a t, d a sie s e lb st -

h o s t i r a t i o n h o t i o n - p a s t is y o u r fu tu re s o nly s o ft e r . She is well aware of it. Y o u r inter e s s is m a te ri al a n d c o u n t a l t i n g . T h e s t h e t h e t h e w o u t want t be r a s h , j e r a s c h e r just now.

D ies a b e r reich , standard m a fiig , gutsitu iert , scrupello s , vonheute auf morgen , o h n e tie f e r e n g e s s h t l i c h e n G r u n d u n d Sin n , also au fier-ge s ch ic h tlichund (explained as explained) - antigens. Sie mu fide em Geschich tlichen den R iick en kehrenals de em Zukunf tigen, Moglichen, den die Zukunftist fiir sie e in offener Ab ground, in densie unterg e h e n o d e r in ih m v e r g e h e n k o n n te. u n d d i n a c h s te z u n f t h e r n , d a fi d fi d ile a u f r e in e a k t a t r e a t r e a t e d u z ie rte x is te n z h e r T o -

te n g r a b e r ist. Sie als solche comm taus der Vergangen heit-Gegenwart niezur Zukunft.9 Now, this will sie auchnich t. D e r Z e itr aumih re s wes e n tlic h e n D a s i s t h e b lofie Gegenwar tige. A u f d e m g e i s t i g e n G e b i e t h e r r s c h t h i e r a l l e r d i n g s v ollige S te relates. D ie A n r e g u n g zu m S ch affe n comes t h i m m e r u n d i b e r a l a u s de r Z u k u n f t. D a s i i b ri g e ist e in V e g e tie re n i m B e s t h e n d e n

A u f so z ia ler E b e n e , d ie a u f d a s N iv e a u d e r id e e lle n A u s e in a n d e r -

s e tz u n g u n d O r ie n tie r u n g e rh o b e n w u rd e , b e ru f t sich d ie M itte lk la s s e

- w ie sch o n g e s a g t w u r d e - auf d a s P r i m a t des N a t i o n a le n - als de m Kreis, in d e m sichi h e r e w e s a central Interest. I h e r I d e o l o g e n d S p e r c h e r h a b e n d e s h a l b r e c h t, w h e n sie v e n d e n n a t i o n a l a n C l a s s e n d P a r t e ien s speech, then they should be in their hearts (Mittel-, b iirgerlic h e) K la sse, under the supervision of the Communist B u n d e r, began to speak in their own Si n jfiir sich al s ih re P a r t e i, w o llen ih n fiir ih re Zie le v e r v e n d e n W i e s c h o n e r w a h n t, m ufi sich d ie Mitte lk

la s sevora l m z u n a ch t i m N a t i o n a le n c o s t u i e n e n , i n S in n e e iner V e r te id i g u ngu n d D u r c h f iih rung de r e i g e n e n Interestingly, the ideology ischimmerals of the Interested Nation without the reigns of Volkes are now being taught, in inert Form ilb a r e n u n d h o m o g e n e n Ganzheit (a history of Entity and Totality), w o b e i d e r g e -

Latiatsenstoth the relation of volkandnation to one on the rhauptisn ot deconection. They are consequent, but in the time and the procefiderideological selunden the nent ment marx appointed smiissen and on a marxism mus, sre-in terpretien (you Marx in the question of the class, of the parti, of the nation, or you wourthedelete it in fach, to prove, that marx also used their names and their (bourgeois) interest language. So it becomes r/J) "1 ČTZ UmiStč C\e-n M° nifest sees the following about it: "In bourgeois society the past rules over the present, in communist society the present rules over the past". Ibid., p.476.

auch Marx zum Ideologen der nationalen Bourgeoisie, nicht aber des Proletariats! Ein fast klassisches Beispiel dafür ist auch die ideologische »Verschiebung« auf die eigene Seite (wie man im Volk sagen würde, »Wasser auf die eigene Mühle«) sogar solcher Sätze aus dem Kommunistischen Manifest, wie dieser:

»Das Proletariat, die unterste Schichte der jetzigen Gesellschaft, kann sich nicht erheben, nicht aufrichten, ohne daß der ganze Überbau der Schichten, die die offizielle Gesellschaft bilden, in die Luft

gesprengt wird.

Obgleich nicht dem Inhalt, ist der Form nach der Kampf des Proletariats gegen die Bourgeoisie zunächst ein nationaler. Das Proletariat eines jeden Landes muß natürlich zuerst mit seiner eigenen Bourgeoisie fertig werden«.10

Wie man aus dem angeführten klar entnehmen kann, sagt Marx etwas ganz Verständliches, hier es nichts Anfechtbares: da »die Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse ihr eignes Werk sein muß«, wird die französische Arbeiterklasse natürlich nicht unmittelbar um die Befreiung der jugoslawischen Arbeiterklasse kämpfen und umgekehrt usw. (obwohl sie sich selbst und unter einander jede mögliche Hilfe leisten können, da das Proletariat als Produkt der modernen bürgerlichen Gesellschaft in seinem Wesen und nach seiner faktischen und geschichtlichen Lage international ist). In diesem Fall muß also das Proletariat eines Landes national auftreten, d. h. gegen die eigene Bourgeoisie. Hier wäre es auf jeden Fall interessant und notwendig, die Frage zu stellen (wenn schon die nationalen Ideologen die These der nationalen Klassen vertreten): Gegen wenn soll also die kroatische oder die serbische Arbeiterklasse kämpfen? Sicherlich nicht gegen die französische oder deutsche, nur gegen die kroatische oder serbische Bourgeoisie. Seien wir doch konsequent! Warum wird dem folgend aber nicht gefragt, welche diese kroatische oder serbische Bourgeoisie ist, wenn schon, wie wir gelesen haben, »nationale Arbeiterklassen« bestehen?!11

Aber auch hier muß man konsequent sein: wenn es nämlich nicht eine sondern 6 oder 8 Arbeiterklassen Jugoslawiens gibt, dann gibt es auch 6 oder 8 Bünde der Kommunisten Jugoslawiens, was bedeutet, daß wir ein Mehrparteiensystem haben oder es haben sollten!? Dieses Rätsel könnte man lösen, wenn hier trotzdem die Rede von 6 oder 8 (bürgerlichen) Klassen und ihren Parteien ist? Dies wäre dann historisch noch einigermaßen berechtigt. Vielleicht ist es notwendig, nur den Na-

men zu ändern.

¹⁰ Ebenda, S. 473 (unser Kursiv)

¹¹ Da man also »nicht« über die jugoslawische Arbeiterklasse sprechen darf (denn das ist eine »unitaristische« oder »unitär-klassenhaste« Position!) oder der Arbeiterklasse Jugoslawiens (im Singular), sondern nur von »den nationalen Klassen Jugoslawiens (im Plural), als wäre das unmittelbare, (aktische und geschichtliche Interesse dieser Klassen (Sloweniens, Kroatiens, Serbiens, usw.) im Grunde nicht dasselbe (gerade im Verhältnis zur jugoslawischen Mittelklasse, Bürokratie, Technokratie, die sehr gut mit einander arbeiten), dann hätten wir also in lugoslawien nach der national-politisch-republikanischen Aufteilung, wie natürlich alles andere. 6 (in Buchstaben: sechs) Arbeiterklassen und 2 (in Buchstaben: zwei) Arbeiterkläßchen (Autonome Gebiete Kosovo und Vojvodina). Bekommen wir nun eine Republik oder ein autonomes Gebiet mehr, so bekomemn wir auch noch eine Arbeiterklasse oder ein Kläßehen mehr. Dies wird übrigens auch politisch entschieden (ver-einberungsgemäß natürlich, oder »selbstverwaltend-besprechend« unter den Mittelklassen und der Bürokratie).

one's own mill") of even such sentences from the communist M a n ife st, like this one:

»The proletariat, the lowest stratum of present-day society, cannot rise up, cannot stand up without the entire superstructure of the strata, the official forming a society that is blown up.

Although not in content, in form the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is initially national. The proletariat of every country must, of course, first deal with its own bourgeoisie «.10

When man can clarify and take the fiih rten out of it, Marx says, there is nothing An fech thares: da »die Befre iung der Arbeiterk lasse ihr eignes Werk its mufi«, wird die from n-

Zosische a rb puserklass n atiirlich not t u n m itte lb ar for the liberation d e r ju g o slaw isch en a rb Eterk lasse and around it, etc. (although they can do themselves , since the p ro le ta riat as a product of modern bourgeois society is in te rn a tio n a l in its essence a n d its factual and historical situation). In this case the p ro le ta riat of a country must appear, i. H. against their own bourgeoisie. H e a re it w e e n e n e s t e r s t e r s a n d e t e n t e r s t a n e c e n t a t e t to pose the question (when the n a tio n al ideologues represent the thesis of the n a tio n al classes) : So , against whom should the Croatian or the Serbian w ork ing class fight ? Certainly not against the fran -

Zosian or German, only against the Croatian or Serbian bourgeoisie. Let's be consistent! But why isn't the question asked which is this Croatian or Serbian bourgeoisie, if, as we have read, »n atio n al w ork e r c le s«? consist ? !11

10 I benda, p. 473 (our italics)

11 So one may »not« talk about the Yugoslav working-class (because that is a »unitaristic he« or »unitar-classc h afle« position!) or the working-class Yug o sla of Vienna (in the singular), but only of »the national classes of Yugoslavia (in the plural), as if this were an immediate, factual and historical interest of these classes (Slow enia, C roatia, Serbicns, etc.) basically c not the same (particularly in relation to the Yugoslav middle class. Bureaucratic, t cchno-cracy, who w o rk very well w ith one another), then we had in Yugoslavia according to the n a tio n a l-p o litic h -rc p u b lic a n ic divi sion . like of course everything else, 6 (in letters: six) worker classes and 2 (in letters: two) worker classes (autonomous regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina). If we

now get one more republic or one autonom ous area, we also get one more w orking class or one more class. Incidentally, this will also be politically c o n c d cn (vcr-according to a fi n atiirlich, or » self-administering-discussing « among the middle classes and the bureaucracy).

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But here, too, one has to be consistent: if there is not one but o or 8 workers in Yugoslavia, then there are also 6 or 8 leagues of communists in Yugoslavia ien s w h a t m e n e n d w e have, or should have, a multi-party system 1? This riddle could be solved if we are still talking about 6 or 8 (bourgeois) classes and their parties here t. Perhaps it is necessary to change only m e.

Auf diese Frage kann nicht mit dem Begriff der »Kontraklasse«, der ein reines Abstraktum ist, geantwortet werden, welches in dieser Nebelhaftigkeit und Unbestimmtheit (da es dem Wesentlichen zuwiderläuft, es unmöglich macht: die Identifizierung des Ausbeuters) den Interessen der Mittelklasse und Technobüroktraie in ihrer ungestörten ideologischen Manipulierung (wie auch die Bestimmung des Begriffs »arbeitendes Volk«) nur sehr dienstlich ist.

Dabei gehen die Ideologen der Mittelklasse sogar so weit, sich der durchsichtigen Floskel zu bedienen, daß es gerade der Stalinismus ist, der das Nationale dem Klassenhaften unterwirft. Zuletzt ist also der Stalinismus der echte Verfechter der Interessen der Arbeiterklasse (und des Weltproletariats)! Man müßte auch die Frage stellen: wer wischt wem hier die Augen aus, womit und in wessen Interesse? Sind sich diese Ideologen und Staatdenker dessen bewußt, was sie sagen? Kann man heute (besonders bei uns!) so unverantwortlich mit solchen Ausflüchten umgehen, ohne ihre Reichweite zu erkennen, die zu uns wie ein Bumerang zurückkehren kann!? Am Werk ist eine typische, nach der Meinung der Autoren dieser »These« selbst eine wahrscheinlich gut erdachte und durchdachte(?) berechnete ideologische Manipulation, die allem nach zu urteilen, ihrem Inhalt nach in dieser »deschiffrierten« Form so lauten sollte: Seid vorsichtig, wer sich auf das Klassenhafte beruft, auf die klassenmäßigen Interessen (der Arbeiterklasse) sie auch nur erwähnt, der ist - Stalnist (oder »klassenmäßiger Unitarist«, oder »anationaler Linker und Marxist«)! Gerade daß die Hunde nicht auf ihn gehetzt werden! Das streuen aber gerade jene aus, die schon ein Viertel Jahrhundert lang dieses Land mit typisch stalinistischen Methoden regieren, oder dabei wenigstens geholfen haben, oder jene, die sich in diesem ganzen Prozeß alle Chancen nützend skrupellos auf Kosten eben dieser Arbeiterklasse Jugoslawiens bereicherten (ohne zu fragen, und das hat sie eigentlich auch gar nicht interessiert, welcher Nationalität sie ist)!

Diese Ideologen, die das verfechten, nur ihren eigenen engen klassenmäßig bürgerlichen Interessen folgend (vor allem der Macht, der Herrschaft, den Privilegien, der Bereicherung, der Karriere und den guten Aussichten für eine mögliche gute Position usw.) merken in ihrem Feuereifer gar nicht, daß sie mit dieser ihrer »These« eigentlich eben dem Stalinismus recht geben, der 1948 dieses Land unter seine direkte Herrschaft bringen wollte. In ihrer Engstirnigkeit und Verblendung sehen sie nicht, daß sie quasi den Fortschritt verteidigend, die Interessen und die Integrität der eigenen Nation, eigentlich den Stalinismus loben, indem sie ihm die Legitimierung des echten Kämpfers für die Klasseninteressen, sowohl des eigenen als auch des Weltproletariats erteilen. Man muß nicht an die nähere oder auch weiterliegende Geschichte erinnern, um das Absurde und Unhaltbare einer solchen These zu zeigen. Der Stalinismus ist nämlich nicht die Unterwerfung des Nationalen vor dem Klassenmäßigen, sondern die Unterordnung der klassenmäßigen Proletarierbewegung bei politischen und ökonomischen, hegemonistischen und staatskapitalistischen ideologischen Notwendigkeiten und Interessen einer bürokratischen (ihrem Wesen nach bürgerlichen) Machtstruktur, also eine Unterordnung tim m the it (the days of We s t l i c h en z u wi-derlauft, es un m o g l i c h m a t h t : die I d e n t i f i e r u n g des Au s b e u t e r s) d e n In te re s s e n d e r Mitte l k l a s s e u n d T e c h n o b i r o k tra ie in i h r e r u n g e s t r o n e d e o l i g i s c h e n Manipuli Rung (which is also the Best of the Beegriffs

» a rb e ite n d e s V o lk«) n u r s e h r d ie n s tlic h ist.

D a b e i g e h e h e h e h e o lo g e n d e r m Itte lk s e d e s o g a r d e m Classroom afternoon w i r ft. Z u letz t i s t a lso der Stalinism went straight to the Verfechter of the Interests of the Arbitrator class (among the Weltproletarians)! M a n m u fite a u c h die Fr ages t e lle n: w h a t we want to hear the Aug e n aus, w h o m i t u n d i n v e s s e n i n t e r e s s e ? If this Ideology and Staatdenker descent is fitting, what do you mean?

Kannmanheute (besonders beiuns!) so unverantwortli chmitsolchen Aus fliichte num gehen, ohne ihre Reichwe ite zuerkennen, die zunswiee in Bumerang zuriicksh own!? Am Werkisteinetypische, nacher Meing de r Authoren die ser» The se « selbsteine wahrshe in-

lich g u t e r d a c h te u n d d u rc h d a c h te (?) b e r e c h n e t e ideo logy isch e Manipu la tion, die allem nach zu u r te ile n, ih re m Inhaltnach in die ser » d e-s ch iffrie rten « F orm so lauten s o lite : S e i d v o r sic h tig, w h a t s C l a s s e n hafte b e r uft, a u f d ie c l a s s e n m a f i g e n Interest (the Arb eiter class) sie au ch n u r e r v a h n t, d erist - Stalnist (or »class mafiiger Unitarist«, or »national Linkerund Marxist t«)! G e r a d e d a f i e H u n d e n i ch t a u f h n g e h e tz t w e r d e n! D a s s t r e u e n a b e r g e r a d e j e n e aus, d e s h o n e in Viertel J a h r h u n d e r t l a n d l a n g d e s e s L a n d m i t y p i c h s t a l i n i s t i c h e n M ethoden reg iere n, o r d a b e i w e n i g s t e n s g e h o l f e n h a b e n, o d e r j e n e, d i e sich in d iese m g a n z e n Pro z efi alle Chance n iit-zend scru pello s a u f K ostene b e n d i e s e r Arb e iter k l a s s e Jug o s la w i e n s b e re icherten (oh n e zu fra g e n, unless she has a real high garnish interest, welcher she is a nationalist)!

This Ideologen, that is verified, withourclass-

s e n m a fiig b iirgerlic h e n Interest follows (including the March, the Herrschaft, the Privilege, the Bereicherung, the Career and the Guten A u s s i c h t e n fiire in e m o g l i h e g u t e P o s itio n usw .) m e r k e n in ih rem F e u e r i f e r g a r n i c h t, d afisie m it d ie s e r i h r e r » T h e se « e Again, Stalinism was right, and the 1948

London dieses were indirectly brought about by Herrschaft. In ih re r Eng string k eit und Ver-blend ung seh en sien icht, dafisie qua siden Fort chritt vertidigen die Interessen uddie Integritatering Nation, eigentlicht he Stalinism lost, in which he saw the Legitimacy running destroyed in Camp-

fers fiir die K la sse n in te re sse n, so w o h l des e i genenals auch des Weltproletariats erte ilen Manmufinichtan dienahereoderauch weiter-

lie g e n d e G e sc h ic h te e rin n e rn, u m d a s A b s u r d e u n d U n h a l tb a r e e in e r s o lc h e n T h e s e zu zeig en . D e r S ta lin is m u s ist n a m lic h n ic h t d ie U n t e r -

w e r f u n g des N a t i o n a l l e v o r d e m K l a s s e n a f i g e n, according to the Under-

ordnungderklassenmafigenProletarierbewingbypoliticians and economists, hegemonists and states of capitalism and ideologynundInteressen einner bureaucracy (ihrem Wesennachbirgerlichen) Match structure, also in Unterrordnung

unter die Politik einer großen Staatsmacht vor allem. Auf welche Klassenposition beruft sich der Stalinismus, kann er sich berufen oder seitens einiger erhoben werden, wo er als zeitgenössisches Phänomen nicht erst seit gestern die Klassenfrage in der Tagesordnung unmöglich gemacht hat?! Er könnte dies tun, wenn er zunächst im eigenen Land (also im »Zentrum«) das soziale Klassenproblem gelöst hätte und damit reell den Weg zum Befreiungsprozeß der Arbeiterklasse und des Menschen geöffnet hätte. Dies hat er aber noch nicht getan.

Was nun den Stalinismus allgemein angeht (und wie schon bekannt ist, besteht gerade er radikalst auf dem Staat, der Staatlichkeit und dem daraus entstandenen Etatismus, also auf einer totalen Unterwerfung aller gesellschaftlichen und geistigen Interessen dem Staat!), so könnte man eher sagen, daß sein Geist immer noch nicht aus einzelnen Köpfen »verraucht« ist, ohne Rücksicht darauf, was für und welche Kämpfer für das Wohlergehen und den Fortschritt ihrer Nation das sind, wenn sie in ihrer nationalen Euphorie nicht die mögliche Reichweite und Bedeutung ihrer Thesen sehen: »Ganz im Einklang mit dem Geist der modernen Politologie schreibt er (Ante Starčević. Anm. d. A.): »In unserer Zeit könnte vielleicht der Staat am besten, vielleicht auch nicht am genauesten so bezeichnet werden: die Gesamtheit der Personen und Dinge unter einer und derselben menschlichen Macht stehend, und die Politik: die Wissenschaft, die es lehrt, diese Gesamtheit zu erhalten«.12

Diese Gesamtheit der Personen und Dinge, die unter einer und derselben menschlichen Macht stehen, konnte gerade Josif Visarionović Stalin sehr gut erhalten, und so wäre unserem Theoretiker zufolge die Politik Stalins (oder die stalinistische Politik) und Herrschaft »ganz im Einklang mit der modernen Politologie«. Aber auch wenn wir Starčevićs Formulierung »übersetzen« und sie im Sinne einer Gutheißung eines bürgersich-demokratischen Staates, einer Macht und Herrschaft in diesem Sinn begreifen, wonach sollte es aber heute und für uns so sehr und völlig im Einklang mit dem Geist der modernen Politologie stehen: Für wen modern? Für welches politische Konzept »modern«, wenn Hegel dasselbe (vor 150 Jahren) als bürgerlicher »Politologe« par excellence besser und tiefer formuliert hätte? Wozu wird hier der Horizont der formellen bürgerlichen Demokratie eingeengt, wenn sie als historische Kategorie in ihrem wesentlichen Konzept universalgeschichtlich, also gültig für die ganze bisherige bürgerliche Ordnung ist. Das sozialistische Konzept kämpft aber nicht um eine »Macht über Personen«, setzt sich nicht dafür ein, da es um keine, am wenigsten um die politische Macht kämpft, sondern um Assoziierrung, also Verbindung der unmittelbaren Produzenten und aller Glieder einer gesellschaftlichen Gemeinschaft. Dies könnte vielleicht heute in diesem Sinn »modern« und etwas Neues sein; nämlich: der Weg zur Realisierung des Selbstverwaltungsprinzips als eines neuen Typs des gesellschaftlichen Uerhältnisses (in der Sphäre der Gesellschaft selbst), nicht aber der politischen Macht (im Staat als schein-

u n the pol icy of a great state pow er above all . To what class position does Stalinism refer, can it refer to or be raised by some, where as a contemporary phenomenon it has not only been the class

¹² Ivan Babić: Ante Starčević »hrvatskog prava zatočnik« i klasik hrvatske političke znanosti, Hrvatsko sveučilište, 8. April 1971, S. 11 (unser Kursiv).

question on the agenda since yesterday impossible to be careful?! He could do this if he had first solved the social class problem in his own country (i.e. in the »centre«) and thus really opened the way to the process of liberation of the working class and of man tte . But he hasn't done this yet.

As for Stalinism in general (and as is already well known, the ra dica lst is the state, s ta te n ity and what came out of it Etatism us, i.e. on a total subordination of all social and intellectual interests to the state!), one could say that his spirit was still not t is »smoked up« from individual heads, without regard to what and what fighters for the well-being and progress of their nation they are , if in your n a tio n al euphoria you do not see the possi b le range and meaning of your theses: »Completely in accordance with the spirit of He writes modern political science (A nte Starčević.

A nm . i.e. A .): »In our time, the state might best, perhaps not most precisely, be described as: the G c-total of the P people and things under one and the same human power, and politics: the science that teaches to preserve this wholeness $\ll .12$

Jo sif Visarionović S ta lin was able to keep t h s totality o f p erson s an d th ings, t h e w h e n o t h e h e m e n e m e n t h e m e u n al pow er, and so w a re According to our theorist, Stalin's (or Stalinist) politics and rulership "quite in line with modern political science." But even if we »translate« Starčević's formulation and use it in the sense of a good-fiding of a b iirg ers-demo cratic state, a power and ruler In this sense, understand why it should be today and for us so much and completely in harmony with the spirit of m o d ern politology: for w en m o d ern? For which political concept

"m odern", if H e gel the same (150 years ago) as more bourgeois

»Politologist« par excellence had been better and more deeply formulated? W hy is the h o rizo n t of fo rm al bourgeois d emocracy narrowed here, if it as a his torical category in its essential concept universal history , is therefore valid for the entire previous civil order. However, the socialist concept does not fight for "power over people", does not advocate that it does not fight for any power, least of all for political power , but about as-so ciation, i e m e n t i o n t o t h e m o n e t m e n t e r produc t u n e s and all th e m e n ts o f a social com m uni e t. This could perhaps be today in that sense "m orn" and something new; Namely: the w a y t h o e alization of the s e lf-administra tion prin ciple s as a n e w t y p o f the social relationship (in the s p h are o f the society itself), but not of the political power

(in the state as a schem -

"Iv a n Babić: Ante Starčević "Croatian treasure trove" and the classics of Croatian political science. University of Croatia, April 8, 1971, S. 11 (unser Italics).

barer Gemeinschaft, die sich als besondere Sphäre über diese Gesellschaft erhebt). Erwähnen wir aber noch eine »Perle« politischer Logik, nur als Beispiel und zum Verständniss des momentanen »politischen Klimas«, dem der Geist der bürgerlichen Klasse die Inspiration liefert:

»Sie (damit ist die studierende Jugend gemeint, die sich als 'Erbe aller positiven nationalen Traditionen fühlt', Anm. d. Ver.) konnte nicht mit der Ansicht Einzelner übereinstimmen, die nur die Arbeiterklasse und ihre sozialen Probleme sahen, nicht aber die Klase als Hegemon einer konkreten Nation«.18

Wir wissen, daß wir in diesem Zitat die Betonung auf das letztere verlegen müssen (»konkrete Nation«, denn auch der Autor betont dies als »Unterschied«), aber davon war schon früher die Rede. Deshalb sollte uns aber unser Autor dennoch diese Möglichkeit erklären, daß jemand nur die Interessen der Arbeiterklasse und ihre sozialen Probleme sieht (wir müssen darauf verweisen, daß dieses Problem wesentlich nur eines ist, und auch er drückt dies mit dem Begriff der Hegemonie aus), ohne zugleich auch diese Klasse als Hegemon einer konkreten Nation zu sehen?! Nur die Klasse sehen bedeutet sie als Hegemon sehen! Der Autor aber vergist, daß die Arbeiterklasse (Kroatiens, denn von ihr ist hier die Rede, nicht wahr!), da sie es nicht ist (sondern eine andere Klasse), zum Hegemon einer konkreten, also der kroatischen Nation werden wird, erst wenn sie von ihren jetzigen »Vertretern« (der Bürokratie, Technokratie, der Mittelklasse) die politische Macht und die ihr entfremdete wirtschaftliche Macht übernimmt, um nicht mehr in der jetzigen Form der »Hegemon« »durch ihre Vermittler und Vertreter« zu sein und zu bleiben! Wenn sich aber der erwähnte Autor auf diese Weise äußert:

»Wir kämpfen als Kommunisten für die kroatische Nation«, dann ist das vom kommunistischen Standpunkt aus gesehen auf jeden Fall ein theoretisch-politisches Novum, denn soviel aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung bekannt ist, haben die Kommunisten nie für eine (die eigene) Nation gekämpft, und noch weniger haben sie das als programmatisches Prinzip ihres Kampfes deklariert. Es stimmt, daß die Kommunisten unter bestimmten Bedingungen gemeinsam mit den fortschrittlichen Kräften sowohl der Bourgeoisie als auch anderer Schichten für die Unabhängigkeit und Gleichberechtigung ihrer Nation gekämpft haben (denn das ist dann ihre Pflicht) aber das war nie das Ziel oder Prinzip ihres Kampfes, weder die grundlegende Aufgabe. Daß dieser Standpunkt des Autors keinen Lapsus enthält, daß dieser Standpunkt vielleicht zufällig nur »nicht ausgesprochen« ist, sondern aus einem ganz bestimmten theoretisch-politischen Konzept stammt, kann man aus dem ersehen, was folgt. Wenn nämlich dann der Autor aussagt:

¹³ Dies sind Standpunkte aus der Rede eines Parteiarbeiters, dessen Namen nicht genannt werden muß, da er dabei keineswegs die Absicht hatte, die Sache selbst zu festigen und zu vertiefen. Diese Dinge sind aber insofern instruktiv, als sie in ihrer Unmittelbarkeit und Spontaneität deutlicher gesagt werden, als man dies in anderen Schriften finden kann, und deshalb führen wir sie an.

gik, n u r a ls B eisp iel u n d zu m V e r s ta n d n is s des m o m e n ta n e n » p o litisch en K lim aš«, d e m d e r G e is t d e r b iirg e rlic h e n K la sse d ie I n s p ir a tio n lie fe rt:

»She (therefore, this study is in the Jugend game, the sichals 'Erbe aller positive national tradition fiih lt', A n m . d. V e r.) k o n n te n ich t m i t d e r A n s i c h t E inzeln e r u b e r i n s t m e n , the Arbitrator class deals with the Prob le m e s a h e n , n ic h t a b e r d i e Classes Hegemony in a Concrete Nation « .11

W ir w issen, d afi w i r in d iese m T h e Concrete n u g a u f d a s le tz te r e v e r l e g e n m u s e n (» concrete Nation «, then its Author als » Unterschie d «), there is a free warfare in Red. D e s h a lb so lite un s a b e r u n s e r The Author of this M o g l i ch k i t e r c l a r e n, d a f i j e m a n d n u r d i e Interess e n d Arbeite r class in his reso z ia le n P r o b l e m e sie h t (w e r e s u r v e s u r v e s i n g, d a f i d i e s P r o b l e m w e -

se n tlic h n u r e e s i s t , u n d a u c h e r d riic k t d i s m i t d e m B e g r i f f d e r Hegemony aus), o h n e z u g le ich h i e s e C l a s s e a l s Hegemony in er concrete Nation zu seh in ?! N o t h e C l a s s e has been seen as a H e g e m o n ! The Author is ashamed, because the Arbeite class (Croatians, they have already heard the Red, nothing!), he sees nothing ist (so n d e r n e i n e a n d e r K lasse), z u m Hegemo n e i n e r c o n c r e t e n , also t h e Croatian N a t i o n w e r den w i r d , e r st w e n n sie v o n i h r e n j e t i g e n

» V e rtre te rn « (d e r B iiro k ra tie, T e c h n o k ra tie, d e r M itte lk la s s e) d ie p o litisc h e M a c h t u n d d ie ih r e n tfr e m d e te w ir ts c h a ftlic h e M a c h t iib e r-n im m t, um n ic h t m e h r in d e r je tz ig e n F o r m d e r » H e g e m o n « » d u rc h ih re V e r m ittle r u n d V e r tr e te r « zu s e in u n d zu b le ib e n! W e n n sich a b e r d e r e rw a h n te A u to r a u f d iese W e is e a u fie rt:

» WirkampfenalKommunistensforthe CroatianNation«, dannist das vomkommunistichen StandpunctausgenaufjedenFalleintheoretisch-politisches Novum, dennsovielausderGesshichte der Arbeiterbegungbecanntist, the Communists have not fired their own (die eigene) Nationgecampft, andnochwenigerhabensiedasales programs Prinzipihres Campfes declariert. Es stimmt, dafidie Kommunistenunterbestimenterbestiment Bedingungengem einmit den fortschrittlichen Craft tensowhelderBourgeois ie als auchanderSchichten für die Unabhangigkeit und GleichberechtigungihrerNationgecamp

f h a b e n (they helped her P flich t) a b e r d a s w a r n i e d s Zie l o d e r P r i n z ip ih re s K a m pfe s , where the ground legend of Auf-

gabe. Whereas the Author's Stand point is Lapsusenthalt, when the Author's Stand point is very incomplete » nich taus ges prochen « ist, sondernaus e in e m g a n z b e s t i m t e n t h e o r e t i s h - p o l i t i c h e n Concept s t a m m t, k a n n m a n aus demerse h e n , w a s folg t. W e n n n a m lic h d a n d e r The author says:

18 These are points of view from the speech of a party worker, whose name need not be mentioned, since he had no intention of consolidating and deepening the matter himself. But these things are instructive in that they are said in their immediacy and spontaneity more clearly than can be found in other writings, and so we quote them.

»Wir sind der Ansicht, daß die Lösung der Nationalfrage eine wesentliche Voraussetzung zur Weiterführung der sozialen Revolution innerhalb jeder Nation ist« (an der selben Stelle, unser Kursiv), dann sehen wir, daß es nicht leicht ist, aus dieser Widersprüchlichkeit zu kommen, die sich hier unserer Mittelklasse (die hier objektiv, vielleicht auch unbewußt, ideologisch von unserem Autor vertreten wird) durch die Interessen dieser Klasse zu vertreten, aber zugleich mit nicht adäquaten ideenhaften Voraussetzungen, sich auf den Kommunismus, Sozialismus und die soziale Revolution berufend. Denn gerade diese soziale Revolution (damit wir uns recht verstehen: unter der Führung der Kommunisten, sofort, jetzt und in einem Tat keinesfalls aber stufenweise, »etappenweise«, morgen oder in einer unabsehbaren Zukunft!) müßte aber neben anderem auch die erwähnte »wesentliche Voraussetzung« des Autors aufheben, da dies die Voraussetzung der Möglichkeit des Fortbestehens allein und nur dieser Mittelklasse und ihrer politisch-gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Vorherrschaft (Hegemonie) ist. Die Nation ist nämlich par excellence ein politisches Gebilde der bürgerlichen Klasse (der Bourgeoisie, der Mittelklasse). Sie ist nichts anderes (geschichtlich immer unter der Führung des Bürgertums) als ein politisch zum Staat konstituiertes Volk. Sie ist so notwendig auch ein Klassengebilde, was die Herrschaft der Bourgeoisie über die Arbeiterklasse voraussetzt und impliziert, wie auch über alle anderen Klassen (das Bauerntum) und Gesellschaftsschichten. Es gibt keine Nation ohne eigene Staatlichkeit, ohne eigenen Staat, das stimmt ganz genau.14 Aber es ist ebenso genau, daß der moderne Staat (wie ihn Marx am tiefsten kritisch durchanalysiert hat) nur Staat als politisches Instrument zur Erhaltung der herrschenden Interessen (des privaten, staatlichen, oder »gesellschaftseigenen« Eigentums) der bürgerlichen Klasse und der Bürokratie dient und zugleich zur Unterdrückung und Ausbeutung der Arbeiterklasse eben derselben Nation. Wir können uns also nicht als Kommunisten deklarieren und uns auf Marx berufen, wenn wir im selben Augenblick das ABC seiner Lehre verfälschen! Das ist unvereinbar. Deshalb müssen wir hier wieder Marx anführen:

»Die Bourgeoisie ist schon, weil sie eine Klasse, nicht mehr ein Stand ist, dazu gezwungen, sich national, nicht mehr lokal zu organisieren, und ihrem Durchschnittsinteresse eine allgemeine Form zu geben. Durch die Emanzipation des Privateigentums vom Gemeinwesen ist der Staat zu einer besonderen Existenz neben und außer der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft geworden; er ist aber weiter Nichts als die Form der Organisation, welche sich die Bourgeoisie sowohl nach außen, als nach innen hin, zur gegenseitigen Garantie ihres Eigentums

¹⁴ Hier kann man die Frage stellen: Hatten wir hier in Kroatien bisher nicht die politische Macht? Oder geht es um den Charakter dieser Macht? Wenn das die Frage ist, so wird der Bedarf des Wechsels eines Charakters der politischen Macht durch den anderen, also eines Austauschs der bestehenden Macht durch eine »bessere«, »fortschrittlichere«, »wirkungsvollere« oder »nationalere« usw. Macht suggeriert? Was aber ändern sich dann wesentlich vom Standpunkt der Arbeiterklasse aus gesehen? Kämpfen wir für einen moderneren bürgerlichen Staat, der besser funktioniert als der bestehende? Dann muß das gesagt werden! Usw. Nur wird damit das Klassenproblem überhaupt nicht berührt.

we see that it is not easy to get out of this contradiction, which is manifested here by our middle class (which is here objectively, perhaps also unevaluably ufit, ideologically represented by our author) by representing the interests of this class, but at the same time with non-a q u ate n id e d e s, he has to rely on communism, socialism and < J the social R ev olution invoked d . Because precisely this social revolution (so that we understand each other correctly: under the leadership of the com m unists, immediately, now and in one act, but by no means step by step, "stage by step", tomorrow or in an unforeseeable future!) M ufite a b e t h e a t h e m e r t h e repealed the **essential* prerequisite* of the author, since this is the prerequisite for the possibility of continued existence alone and only for this middle class and their political, social and economic dominance (hegemony). T h e n a tio n is namely par excellence a (v ilitic structure of the bourgeois class (the bourgeoisie, the middle class).

It is nothing else (historically always under the leadership of the bourgeoisie) than a people constituted politically as a state. It is so necessarily a class structure as well, which presupposes and implies the domination of the bourgeoisie over the working class, as well as over all other classes (the peasant tu m) and social classes. There is no nation without its own statehood, without its own state, that's exactly right.14 But it's just as accurate that the modern state (like M a rx most deeply critical of you and rch a n a lysed th at) only the state as a political in stru m e n t for the preser vation of dominant interests (of priv a t, state, or "societal" property) serves the bourgeois class and bureaucracy and at the same time oppresses and exploits the working class of the same nation.

So we can't declare ourselves as comm unists and refer to M a rx if we falsify the ABC of his teaching at the same moment! T h e is u n v e re in b a r. That is why we have to refer to M a rx here again:

"The bourgeoisie, because it is a class, no longer a class, is compelled to organize itself nationally, no longer locally, and its average n ittsin teresse to give a general shape. The emancipation of private property from the community, the state that a special existence alongside and on top of the bourgeois gesellscard; but it is far from nothing but the form of the organisation, which the bourgeoisie both externally and internally, to a mutual guarantee of their property 14 Here you can ask the question: Haven't we here in C roatia had the political power up until now? Or is it about the character of this power. If that is the question, then the need to change one character of political power for another, i.e. to replace that particular power with a "better" one, becomes "more progressive",

»more effective« or »more national« etc. Power suggested? Whatde nsthechandenthechande

und ihrer Interessen notwendig geben... Die neueren französischen, englischen und amerikanischen Schriftsteller sprechen sich Alle dahin aus, daß der Staat nur um des Privateigentums willen existiere, sodaß dies auch in das gewöhnliche Bewußtsein übergegangen ist.

Da der Staat die Form ist, in welcher die Individuen einer herrschenden Klasse ihre gemeinsamen Interessen geltend machen und die ganze bürgerliche Gesellschaft einer Epoche sich zusammenfaßt, so folgt, daß alle gemeinsamen Institutionen durch den Staat vermittelt werden, eine politische Form erhalten. Daher die Illusion, als ob das Gesetz auf dem Willen und zwar auf dem von seiner realen Basis losgerissenen, dem freien Willen beruhe. Ebenso wird das Recht dann wieder auf das Gesetz reduziert«. 15

Wie wir sehen, ist das alles noch nicht in »das gewöhnliche Bewußtsein« übergegangen, aber nicht weil heute mancher, hundertdreißig Jahre nach der Analyse von Marx nicht »genug gescheit wäre«, sondern weil es um bestimmte Interessen geht, die viele sehr gescheit machen und genügend geschickt, sie verteidigen zu können. Solche und ähnliche Sätze von Marx anführend (und da gibt es tatsächlich viele, sogar genauere und überzeugendere) geht es uns darum, eines festzustellen: mit einer bürgerlichen Ideologie, bezw. ihrer Realisierung in der gesellschaftspolitischen Praxis werden wir trotz der besten subjektiven Bemühen keine sozialistische Gesellschaftsform schaffen können. Natürlich ist es eine andere Sache, wenn es uns überhaupt nicht darum geht aus irgend einem möglichen Grund oder Interessen, oder wenn wir fest davon überzeugt sind, daß in diesem unserem Land, in diesem historischen Moment die einzige reelle Möglichkeit darin liegt, die bürgerliche Gesellschaft herzustellen und zu konsolidieren (und diese These zeigte sich schon explizit, wurde in letzter Zeit in verschiedenen Varianten und Formulierungen geschrieben). Dann ist dies aber eine zu ernste, geradezu historische Aufgabe und Arbeit sowohl für dieses Land als auch für seine Völker, als daß wir hier leichtfertig mit einem willkürlichen und nicht durchdachten theoretisch-ideologischen und praktisch-politischen »Seiltanz« spielen. Dieser Kurs müßte dann klar und unzweideutig als solcher bezeichnet werden, öffentlich erklärt und programmpolitisch formuliert gerade in dem Sinn, ohne irgendwelche ideologische Ausflüchte und Quasipolitik (etwa im Stil des Zeitungswesens unserer Mittelklasse), damit man weiß, was eigentlich verlangt wird, wohin das führt, und was wer will!

Im gegenteiligen Fall haben wir mit dem zu tun, was das Hauptthema und die These dieses unseres Artikels ist: mit der ideologischen Infiltration (eigentlich mit einer gut durchdachten und schlauen Diversion) der Mittelklasse und der Bürokratie und ihren besonderen Interessen in die proklamierte und von den fortschrittlichen Kräften erkämpfte sozialistische Gesellschaftsbewegung, was sich in den verschiedensten Angriffen, Schlägen, Exzessen, Betrügereien, ideologischen Zerstreuungen, dem rechten (rechtsreaktionären) Bremsen und Unterschieben, in der Unbestimmtheit des Fischens im Trüben zeigt, und das sind gefährliche Spiele, die notwendig eine Desintegration

¹⁵ Die deutsche Ideologie, ebenda, S. 52.

u m s w ille ne x is tie re , so d afi dies au ch in d a s g e w o h n lic h e Be w u fits in iib erg e g a n g e n ist.

D a d e r State is the Formist, whereas the Individual in each other -

sc h e n d e n K lasse ih re g e m e in s a m e n Interests s e n g e l t e n d mach e n u n d die g a n z e b iirgerlic h e G e s e lls ch a f t e i n e r Epoch esic h z u s a m m e n fa fit, so i'olgt, dafi alle g e m e in s a m e n Institute tio n e n d u r c h d e n S t a t v erm itte lt w e r d e n , a politics of the Former. D a h e r d ie Illu s i o n , als o b d a s G e se tz a u f d e m Wille n u n d z w a r a f d e m v o n s e i n e r e a l n Basis lo sge risse n e n , freed Wille n b e ru h e E b e n so w i r d a s R e c h t knows about the G e se tz re d u s i e rt« .15

W ie w ir se h en , ist da salle s noch nich tin in » da s ge w o h n lic h e Bew u fitsein« iibergegangen , abernich tweil heute mancher, h u n d e rtd r e i iig J a h r e n a c h der Analy s e v o n M a rx n ich t » g e n u g g e s c h e it ware « , s o u n d e r w eil es u m b e s t i m e te I n te r s s e n g e h t, d ie v ie le se h r g e s s h e it mach e n u d g e n i i g e n d gesch ic k t, sie verte id ig e n zu k o n n e n S o l c h e u n d a h n lic h e S a tze v o n M a rx a n fiih rend (u n d da g i b t e s t a t s a c h lich v iele , s o g a r g e n a u e r u n d i b e r z e u g e n d e r) g e h t e s u n s d a r u m , e i n e s fes tz u -

ste lle n : m it e in e r b iirg e rlic h e n Id e o lo g ic , b ezw . ih r e r R e a lis ie ru n g in d e r g e s e llsc h a fts p o litis c h e n P r a x is w e r d e n w ir tro tz d e r b e s te n s u b je k -

tiv e n B emiih en k e ine so z ia listische G e s e lls ch afts f o r m s ch a f f e n c o n n e n

N a tiir lic h ist es e in e a n d e r S a c h e , w h e n n e s i b e r h a p t n i c h t d a r u m g e h t a u s i r g e n d e i n m o g l i c h e n g r u n d o d e r Interessen , o d e r w e n n wir fest davoniiberze u g t sin d , d a fi in this m u n s e r e m L a n d , in this historical Moment the insignificant M o g l i c h k e t d a r i n lie g t, the b iirgerlic h e G e s e lls ch a f t h e rz u s t e l n u n d z u k o n s o l i e r e n (and d i s e T h e s e s e ig te sich s c h o n e x p l i z e , w e w d e n later Oil reversed by V a r i a n t e n d F o r m u l e r u n g e n g e s n). D a n n ist d ies a b e r e i n e zu e rn ste , g e r e z u h i s t o r i s h e A u f g a b e u n d Arbe it so w o h l f i r d i e s L a n d a l a u c h fiir se ine Volker, als dafi w i r hie r le ich tfertig m it ein e m w illk iirlic h en u n d nich t d u r ch d a ch t e n t h e o r e t i s h -ideology-se h e n d p r a c t i c h - p o l i t i s h e n » Seiltanz « spie len D ie s e r K u r s m u f i t e d clar ely nd w e i d e u t i g a l s s o l t h e r b a s e i c k e t

w o r d e n, of f en t l i c h clarity and program politics formulated in Sinn, ohneirgen d w e lc h e id e o lo g ische Aus fliichteund Quasipolitik (even Still des Zeitungs was censored by Mittelklasse), but h e knew it, h e was ignorant rla n g t w ird , where in h er s f iih rt, and w a s w e r will!

Im g e g e n te ilig e n F a ll h a b e n w ir m it d e m zu tu n, w a s d a s H a u p t -

the m a u n d d ie T h e s e d i e s u n s e r e s Articles ist: mit de ride olog isch e n In filtratio n (e i g e n t l i c h m i t e inergut d u r c h d a c h t u n d s c h a l u e n Diversion) d e r Mittelk la s s e u n d e r B i r o c r a t i e u n d e r e n b e s o n d e r e n Interest in his proclamation and w e n d e n fort seh rittlichen K r dftener kamp fte sozia listische Ge s e lls c h a fls b e w e g u n g , w a s sic h i n d e n v e r-sch i e d en sten Angriffen, Schlagen, Ex cess, Betriigereien, ideologischen Zerstreungen, dem rechten (right reaction) Bre msen and Unter s c h e b e n , in Unbest timm theit des Fisch en sim Triibenzeig t, u n d a s s i n d ge fahrliche Speech, The Non-Different Design Integration 16 The Deutsche Ideologic, Ebenda, S.

der Arbeiterklasse und der Völker untereinander, jedes einzelnen Volkes besonders mit sich bringen. Noch einmal: Es gehört ebenso zum ABC des Marxismus, daß die Nationalfrage eines der wesentlichen untrennbaren Teile der sozialistischen (sozialen) Revolution und ihrer Umsetzung in die Tat ist. Darüber gibt es keine Zweifel und kann es sie nicht geben, denn es geht um die Gleichberechtigung aller Völker. Aber zu diesem ABC gehört es auch, daß die Lösung der Nationalfrage (wenn man sie für sich selbst lösen könnte, losgelöst, was aber im besten Fall eine reine Illusion ist) weder prinzipiell noch historisch-empirisch eine wesentliche Uoraussetzung der sozialen Revolution ist oder auch sein kann, sondern gerade umgekehrt. Auf den bürgerlichen Positionen ist die Nationalfrage wesentlich unlös-bar, denn sie wird in dem Fall überall und notwendig ohne die Arbeiterklasse, auf ihre Kosten und gegen sie gerichtet gelöst. Wenn aber von ihr als dem »Hegemon der Nation« gesprochen wird, dann muß sie und gerade sie sich zunächst und vor allem durch die eigene Tat und das eigene Werk - wie dies Marx im Kommunistischen Manifest sagt - »zur nationalen Klasse erheben« oder »zur führenden Klasse der Nation«, und das real, nicht verbal! Dies bedeutet also, daß nur die Arbeiterklasse allein, indem sie in der sozialistischen Revolution die eigene soziale und ökonomische Emanzipation verwirklicht (die selbstberufenen Tutoren aus den Reihen der Bürotechnokratie und der Mittleklasse entfernend), und zugleich real die politische Macht selbst übernimmt, damit auch die Nationalfrage löst. So erst wird die Nationalfrage das reale Moment und Resultat der Lösung der Klassenfrage. Im gegenteiligen Fall ist diese Lösung ausschließlich politisch, also bürgerlich, und das ist keine Lösung, da die bürgerliche Klasse nie auch nur eine Nationalfrage zu Ende gelöst hat, sondern immer nur in provisorischen (momentanen) Abkommen, in Übereinkommen und Vereinbarungen unter den nationalen Bourgeoisien in ihrem Interesse,16 also durch die Erhaltung der bürgerlichen (kapitalistischen) Ordnung, in der die Arbeiterklasse das bleibt, was sie ist: die ausgebeutete Klasse als Index der wesentlichen Entfremdung des modernen Menschen.

Zuletzt, damit alles klar ist:

Nur eine kommunistische Bewegung unseres Landes (in unserem Fall der Bund der Kommunisten Jugoslawiens) kann in Anlehnung zuerst an die Arbeiterklasse und die marxistische (linke) Intelligenz Träger und Garant, Ausführender der sozialistischen Revolution sein, des Prinzips der Selbstverwaltung, und damit auch der Lösung der Nationaltrage und der Klassentrage, wenn sie in sich genügend Kräfte hat, aus den eigenen Reihen alle ihr entgegenstehenden und feindlichen Elemente zu entternen, zu säubern (d. h. sie unmöglich machen in ihrem Wirken), die aus den Reihen der Bürokratie, der Mittelklasse

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thetheworking class and the people unterender, of each individual people particularly bring with them. Once again: It is also part of the ABC of Marxism that the national question is one of the

Auch das wird seitens der bürgerlichen Klasse und ihrer Ideologen dargestellt, als wäre es »im Interesse der Arbeiterklasse«. Auf unsere Mittelklasse, die sich außerdem immer noch deklarativ auf den Sozialismus beruft, kann sich also Marx' These völlig beziehen: »Der Sozialismus der Bourgeoisie besteht eben in der Behauptung, daß die Bourgeois Bourgeois sind – im Interesse der arbeitenden Klasse« – Manifest der kommunistischen Partei, ebenda, S. 489.

essential inseparable parts of the socialist (social) revolution and its implementation in the T a t is. There are no doubts about that and there can't be any doubts, because it's about the equality of all peoples. But it is also part of this ABC that the solution of the N a -

tio n a llra g e (when one could solve them for oneself, detached, which at best is a pure illusion) neither in principle nor historically-empirically an essential prerequisite d he social revolu tio n is or can be, but just the other way around. On the bourgeois positions, the n a tio n question is essential and indispensible, because in that case it becomes ubiquitous and necessary without the w o rkin g class, on their costs and drawn against them.

If, however, it is spoken of as the "hegem on of the nation," then it and it in particular must first and foremost distinguish itself through its own deed and its own work - as M arx says in the K ornm unist beautiful manifesto says - »elevate to the n a tio n al class« or »to the leading class of the n atio n«, and that real, not verbally! This means that only the working class alone, by realizing its own social and economic emancipation in the socialist revolution (the self-appointed tutors from r emove d th e ranks of bureautechnocracy and th e middle class), and at the same time take over the political power itself, so that the n a tio n al question is solved. Only then does the national question become the real moment and the result of the solution to the class question. In the opposite case, this solution is exclusively political, i.e. bourgeois, and that is not a solution, since the bourgeois class has never even solved a nation question to the end, but always has he only in provisional (momentary) agreem ents, in co m o n dings an d agreem ents u t e n tio n al bourgeoisies in their interests,1* i.e. by the Preservation of the bourgeois (capitalist) order in which the working class remains what it is: the exploited class as an index of the essential alienation of m o d ern en people.

Lastly, so that everything is clear:

Only a com m unist movement of our country (in our case the B and the com m unists of Yugoslavia) can, in a d d o n t i o n t h e w o rk ing class un d be the m arx istic (left) intelligence carrier and guarantor, executor of the socialist r evolution, of the prin ciple of s e l b st administration , and thus also of the solution of N / A -

tio n a lira g e n d th e class l rage, if th e ha s sufficient powers in th e s ow n ranks to s e t t e n t th e r o n s e n t e n ts and en em e t s, to clean (i.e. make them impossible in their work) those from the ranks of the bureaucracy, the middle class w are it »in the lressc tier

working class«. A ul our middle class, which aside from crccm still d ck la ra tivly invokes socialism, can therefore look at M arx'

Completely claim the thesis: "The socialism of the bourgeoisie consists precisely in the assertion that the bourgeois are bourgeois - in the interesse of the working class"

- Manifesto of the com m unist P a rte i, ibid., p. 489.

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und Technokratie (was im Grunde genommen ein und dieselbe Position ist) stammen. Das bedeutet, wenn sie sich gleichzeitig energisch von dem ideologischen (heute sehr stark angewachsenen, agressiven, skrupellosen und immer frecheren aufdringlichen) Ballast, der sich tagtäglich in die eigenen Reihen infiltriert und bewußt unter ihnen Verwirrung stiftet, losmacht. Eine solche, und nur eine solche kommunistische Bewegung kann dann sowohl eine ideenhafte und integrierende, kohärente Kraft der jugoslawischen Völkergemeinschaft sein, die den Weg zur schöpferischen Befreiung aller Menschen öffnet, die auf diesem unserem historischen Boden leben. Und das ist jener Weg, von dem Marx sagte (sollten wir ihn verwerfen, so wird diese Gemeinschaft noch schwere historische Momente erleben):

»An die Stelle der alten bürgerlichen Gesellschaft mit ihren Klassen und Klassengegensätzen tritt eine Assoziation, worin die freie Entwicklung eines jeden die Bedingung für die freie Entwicklung aller ist«.¹⁷

¹⁷ Ebenda, S. 482.

i s stark watching, aggressive, scrupulous and even fresher now fd r in g l i c h e n) B a lla s t, der sich tag tag lich in d ie e i g e n e n Reihenin in filter t u n d b e w u flt u n t e r i n e n Very rungs tifte t, lo sma ch t. In a soul, and only in a soul of communism Bewegung k a n d a n n so w o h l e i n e i d e e n haf t e u n d integrity -

re n d e , coherent Craft of the Jugo Slavic Volkergeme in schaft sein, the Wegzurschopferischen Befreiungaller Menschenoffnet, d ie a u f d i e s e m h i s t o r i s h e n B o d e n leb e n With the help of General Weg, Marx said (so llten wrihin verwerfen, so these Games should not be a historical Moment e rle b e n):

» A n d ie Stelle de r a lten b iirgerlichen Ges ells chaft m itihren Kla ssen u n d Klassen gensatzentritteine Assosiation, wori d ie free Entwicklungeinesied Bedingungfiir d ie freie Entwicklung aller ist«.17

^{&#}x27;Ebenda, S. 482.

ECSTASY AND HANGOVER OF A REVOLUTION

Antun Žvan

Zagreb

Today the development of socialism appears as some sort of social cyclothymia: periods of elation and revolutionary enthusiasm have been followed by those of melancholy and depression.

During the first period, following the first seizure of socialist revolutions, when these are still striving for the abolition of the old ruling class as an embodiment of social injustice, the revolution - together with its combatants and the entire oppressed population - is imbued with a strong feeling of enthusiasm. Inspired by ideas of freedom, social justice and humanity, the revolutionaries »scale the skies« to dethrone the »Gods« and re-establish a humane world. But when the ruling class is abolished, when the revolution - being a »political act« - fulfills its task of winning power, when socialism has to reject the »political diguise«, when it ought to develop its »organized activity« and reveal its »self-purpose« (Marx), the revolutionaries appear to give up all the elation and enthusiasm they had been imbued with at the very moment of struggle against the old system. The ideas of freedom, humanity and justice, which used to inspire them in the old days and seemed to them so close and easy to be fulfilled, now appear to lose ground among the people. Coincidentally, society is seized by the feeling of depression, for that which seemed once possible appears now, all of a sudden, aloof and almost impossible. But it may occur that some new, revolutionary goals emerge, their chances for materialising being small, and people are, once again, imbued with a new enthusiasm . . .

One can observe such a cyclic alternation of elation and depression in almost any socialist revolution of our century. The only difference seems to be in the incidence and intensity of these changes.

At the beginning, during the period of armed fights against the ruling class and its institutions, all socialist revolutions – from the October Revolution in Russia onto the Yugoslav, Chinese or Cuban Revolution – revealed one common trait: they were imbued with enthusiasm and ecstasy. But after a certain time, when the old class

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D u rin g th e first perio d , follo w in g the first seizure o f socialist revolutions, w hen these a re still striv in g fo r the abolition of the old rulin g class as an em bodim ent o f social injustice, the revolution - to g eth er w ith its co m b atan ts an d the en tire oppressed p o p u latio n - is im bued w ith a stro n g feelin g of enthusiasm . In sp ired by ideas of freedom , social justice a n d h u m an ity , th e rev o lu tio n aries »scale th e skies« to d eth ro n e the »Gods« a n d re-estab lish a h u m an e w orld. But w hen the ruling- class is abolished, w hen the rev o lu tio n - b eing a »political act«

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system was abolished and power gained, the revolutionary zeal started to lose its vigour unexpectedly among the participants of the revolution. Along these lines, I do not think only of enthusiasm and (later on) disappointment with the final cause of the revolution on the part of its participants who, unlike the working class, naively expected miracles from the revolution. Their naive, almost religious attitude toward the revolution must lead them »logically« toward disappointment; they, namely, believe that the victory of the revolution or, more precisely, the winning of power will sweep away all evil and injustice among people. To their mind, socialism does not mean the achievement of the »more advanced life's form toward which the society of today tends« (Marx) but a fulfillment of their naive image of paradise on the earth. I also do not think here of the disappointment with socialism among some of its theoreticians whose mechanicistic theories of society have broken down. Their concepts of socialism, those which neglect man's creativity and his aspiration for freedom, must »logically« lead toward disappointment, for people are not rats, we ought to admit, and they resent permanent experimenting, drills and regulations of a »system«. However, I do not imply here, as it might be understood, a complete lack of enthusiasm among the working class, although stalinism offers abundat evidence of it. Considering the disappearance of the revolutionary enthusiasm in contemporary socialism, I bear in mind, first of all, the general state of the society in which the ideas, that used to inspire it up to the last moment, belong no more to the entire society but are monopolised by the privileged ruling class - political bureaucracy. We may label such a »new state« stagnation, deviation, statism, stalinism, personality cult, entropy of the revolution or simply a crisis – but nothing will be altered within the course itself; this will only give evidence on the depth of our comprehension and understanding of what is underway.

However, it has been sufficient for the historical course of socialism to face events such as Workers' Councils in Yugoslavia, the »Polish October«, the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR or the «Spring in Prague« to have hopes in socialism rise again, hopes in its fitness to cope with any obstacle, to leave definitely behind it »cults«, »deviations« and »crisis«, and reveal its humanistic features. These hopes have not only awakened enthusiasm in the country, which was suddenly stirred up, but have been also aroused throughout international socialism.

It is sufficient to bear in mind, for instance, the expectations that were aroused in the socialist movement by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR or the »Spring in Prague«. But that enthusiasm broke down soon again, and we were seized by the former anxiety: the brutal military occupation of socialist Czechoslovakia and the new attempts of Stalin's rehabilitation have, most likely, stopped our hopes short for a longer time.

Is not that cyclothymic course, that shift from enthusiasm to depression, a token of socialism's crisis? Marx indicated such a course in the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th century: »Bouregeois revolutions«, writes Marx in his 'Eighteenth Brumaire...' like those of the

its vigor unexpectedly among the participants of the revolution. Along these lines, I don't think it's a conly of enthusiasm and (later on) disappointment with the final cause of the revolution on the part of its party ip a n ts w ho, unlike the working class, naively expected miracles from the revolution. Th eir naive, almost religious attitude towards the revolution must lead them » logically « towards disappointment; they, namely, believe that the victory of the revolutionary, more precisely, the winning of power will sweep away all evil and injustice among people. To their mind, soci alism does not mean the achievement of the w more advanced life 's form towards which the society of to day tends« (M a rx) but the fulfillment of their naive image of paradise on the earth. I also donot think here of this appointment with socialism among some of its theoreticians whose mechanistic theories of society have broken down. Th eir concepts of socialism, those which neglect man's creativity and his aspiration for freedom, must » logically « lead to ward disappointment, for people are not trats, we ough t to admit, and they recent permanent experimentation, drills and regulations of a »sy stem « . H o w e v e r, I don't imply here, as it might be understood, a complete lack of enthusiasm among the working class, although Stalin offers abundance id e n c e of it. Considering this is the appearance of the revolutionary enthusiasm in contemporary socialism, I bear in mind, first of all, the general state of the society in which the ideas, that used to in spire it up to the last moment, belong no more to the entire society but are monopolized by the privileged rulers ling class political bureaucracy. W e m a y label such a » new state « stagnation, deviation, statism, Stalinism, personality cult, entropy of the revolution tion is simply a crisis - but nothing will be alte red with in the course of itself; this will only give evidence on the depth of our understanding and understanding of what is underway.

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eighteenth century, storm swiftly from success to success; their dramatic effects outdo each other; men and things seem set in sparkling brilliants; ecstasy is the everyday spirit; but they are short-lived; soon they have attained their zenith, and a long crapulent depression lays hold of society before it learns soberly to assimilate the results of its storm-and-stress period. On the other hand, proletarian revolutions, like those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses, and paltrinesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them, recoil ever and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out: Hic Rhodus, hic salta!«1 (Underlined by A. Z.)

Accordingly, in bourgeois revolutions crapulent depression was followed by ecstasy. That crapulent depression lasted until the bourgeoisie, the class whose interests were identified, at one historical moment, with those of all the oppressed, definitely got rid of its former allies – working men and peasantry, and until the society realized that the revolution did not abolish the class society, and that new classes appeared on the historical scene. Only when the bourgeoisie had forsaken all its illusions of its former allies, when it "has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of Philistine sentimentalism in the icy water of egotistical calculation«,² the society realised what was left and became capable of "adopt-

From Marx's standpoint, proletarian, socialist revolutions are not likely to follow that psychological course of bourgeois revolutions. Such a point of view is based on his concepts of the socialist revolution and historical role of the proletariat, but also on the experience of the proletarian fights at that time.

The socialist revolution will possibly avoid the amplitudes of ecstasy and crapulent depression, for it is not a »partial, only a political revolution« like bourgeois revolutions. The winning of political power is not its goal of utmost importance and therefore it is not accomplished by gaining power. Socialism wants to win power, that »political act«, only if it is likely to destroy the bourgeois society. However, when its organised activity starts, when its self-purpose emerges, its soul, socialism rejects its political disguise«.3

The proletariat, as the carrier of the socialist revolution, does not consequently tend toward the goals of all the former social classes: to win power and immortalize the rule of the winning class. The proletariat wants to abolish any class distinction in the society, and accord-

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¹ K. Marx: "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte«; Marx & Engels: Basic Uritings on Politics and Philosophy, ed. by L. S. Feuer, Doubleday, Garden City, N. Y., 1959, p. 324.

² Marx-Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party«, op. cit., p. 9. ing soberly the results of its Sturm-und-Drang period«.

³ Marx-Engels: Werke, Band 1, Dictz Verlag, Berlin, S. 409.

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The proletariat, as the carrier of the socialist revolution, does not consequently tend to ward the goals of all the former social classes: to win power and immortalize the rule of the winning class. The proletariat wants to abolish any class distinction in the society, and accord 1 K. Marx: »The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte«; Marx 8c Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy, cd. by L. S. Feuer, Doubleday, Garden City, N. Y.. 1959, p. 324.

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* M a rx -E n g els: W erkc, B and 1, D ietz V erlag, Berlin, p. 409.

ingly any form of the class rule. Therefore, the proletariat as the class whose historical interests involve the interests and aspirations of all the oppressed classes and people does not have to face, having won political power, the problem of the bourgeoisie: how to free oneself from the role of the »general representative« (Marx) whom all the oppressed had trusted, how to get rid of the former allies and how to impose and ensure one's special interest now, when power is gained. It is in that very endeavour of the class that led the revolution to get rid of its former allies that crapulent depression is deep-rooted. Disappointment or crapulent depression appears at the moment when other, »allied« social classes realize they had been deceived, cheated and tricked, when they become aware of the fact that their participation in the revolution did not offer them the long-craved freedom and social justice but only a new, somewhat different form of slavery. However, although the proletariat as a class does not have to face the problem of the bourgeoisie after bourgeois revolutions, experience of the proletarian fights has indicated in the last century that the socialist revolution is also threatened by deceit, tricks and fraudulence, or more precisely, that danger has been threatening the proletariat itself. That valuable (in contemporary socialism, unfortunately, forgotten) experience was gained by the proletariat during the first socialist revolution - the Paris Commune. The Commune showed that apart from the danger of the restaurating endeavours of the abolished bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution is greatly threatened by its own deputies and officials. The Commune was aware of the possibility of separation of its own deputies and officials from the people, and of the danger that these might win pursuance of their own special interests« (Engels) turn from its servants into its masters. As it has been known, the Commune had to undertake a series of extremely efficient steps in order to prevent that separation.

Unfortunately, except for a short period of the October Revolution (during Lenin's lifetime) and the endeavours and some relatively modest results of the Yugoslav practice, the experience of the Paris Commune, that very part of it, is mainly dead for today's socialism, in particular for the socialist countries. In these countries, except for a brief starting period of the revolution, the measures undertaken by the Commune with the aim to rectrict power of its deputies and officials have never attained the level at which the Commune had applied them in practice. On the contrary, the social and material privileges of the political bureaucracy have reached in the socialist countries of today the proprtions which have been seriously threatening the existence of socialism. Today, just the critique itself, for instance, of the political bureaucrcy in these countries equals an almost straightforward blasphemy.

It is the very fact that the experience of the Paris Commune is dead for a substantial part of the international socialism which reflects the crisis of contemporary socialism. Many marxists and revolutionaries seem to be aware of that crisis today, and this awareness of the crisis may possibly be the source of expectations of socialism's triumph in spite of its »deviations«.

p le does n o t h a v e to fac e, h a v in g w o n p o litic a l p o w er, th e p ro b le m o f th e b o u rg eo isie: h o w to fr e e o n e s e lf fro m th e ro le o f th e » g e n e ra l r e p re s e n ta tiv e « (M a rx) w h o m a ll th e o p p resse d h a d tru s te d, h o w to g et r id o f th e f o rm e r a llie s a n d h o w to im p o se a n d e n su re o n e 's sp ecia l in te re s t n o w, w h e n p o w e r is g a in e d.

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a p a r t fro m th e d a n g e r o f th e r e s ta u ra tin g e n d e a v o u rs o f th e ab o lish e d b o u rg eo isie, th e p r o le ta r ia n r e v o lu tio n is g r e a tly th re a te n e d b y its o w n d e p u tie s a n d o ffic ia ls. T h e C o m m u n e w a s a w a r e o f th e p o s s ib ility o f s e p a ra tio n o f its ow n d e p u tie s a n d o ffic ia ls fro m th e p e o p le, a n d o f th e d a n g e r t h a t th ese m ig h t »in p u rsu a n c e o f th e ir o w n s p e cia l in te rests« (E ngels) tu rn fro m its s e rv a n ts in to its m a ste rs. A s it h a s b e e n k n o w n, th e C o m m u n e h a d to u n d e rta k e a se rie s o f e x tre m e ly e ffic ie n t step s in o r d e r to p re v e n t th a t s e p a ra tio n.

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It is the very fact that the experience of the Paris Commune is dead for a substantial part of the international socialism which reflects the crisis of contemporary socialism. Manymarx ists andrevolutionaries seem to be aware of that crisis to day, and this awareness of the crisis may possibly be the source of expectations of socialism's triumphinspite of its » deviations«.

But before presenting my own viewpoint on the topic suggested for discussion by the editors of "Praxis", I would like to stress two things: firstly, my intention to discuss the crisis of contemporary socialism does not include the concept of crisis that has been preached for about half of the century by the prophets of evil, who have been anticipating a break of socialism, and who have based their predictions for the most part on their own aspirations. When I talk about the crisis of socialism, I mean exclusively the crisis in the sense that has been understood and approached by the true fighters for socialism (both theoreticians and practicians), who have been deeply concerned with it, questioning its sources, and who have been willing to help in order to surmount present obstacles, for they have been aware of the fact that a »properly designed future belongs to socialism, marxism«.4 Secondly, I would like to define precisely the meaning of the term crisis in this context. Not long ago, the term crisis, just like the term critique, had an »inappropriate« connotation for those who referred to it to criticize society and exposed them to suspicion and even to a ruthless labeling.

Those who strived for a radical social criticism or discussed about the crisis were accused and suspected by press of being nihilists denying anything that was socialist in our society. It was necessary for the bureaucratic oposition toward self-management to reach such dimensions as those under which the new conditions of our society could no longer be labeled – euphemistically – »stagnation«, »crisis of the growth«, etc., and these indictments had eventually faded away in the light of life's realities.

I use the term crisis therefore in the sense in which it has been recently used by E. Bloch: "Crisis is an old term for a burden, for rejecting that burden".5

Talking about the crisis of contemporary and Yugoslav socialism as well I bear in mind the burden, the need for rejecting that burden, which has been haunting, like a nightmare, present day socialism, suffocating its internal strength and fettering its growth.⁶

⁴ E. Bloch: Introductory Speech addressed to the Summer School of Korčula, *Praxis*, 1-2, 1969, p. 4.

⁵ E. Bloch - Interview given to NIN, No. 1031, October, 11, 1970.

In contemporary socialism, its theory, different viewpoint have been developed regarding the nature of obstacles that socialism has had to cope with in the course of our century. If we overlook the bureaucratic optimism which is deaf and blind to the events of socialism, and which ascribes all the difficulties either to some »objective« causes or to the activity of some capitalistic intelligence services, and if we overlook the »disappointment« with socialism on the part of those who have equated socialism with stalinism by mistake, we shall notice that differences in viewpoints regarding the character of the crisis of socialism today are apparent rather than real. Those differences may be restricted to a single question: Is the present crisis of socialism just a mere crisis of its theory or does it saturate the whole movement?

Thus, for instance, André Gorz thinks there is no crisis of the Workers' Movement but only a crisis of its theory. R. Garaudy holds that the overall Movement

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T a lk in g ab o u t the crisis of c o n tem p o rary a n d Y u g o slav socialism as well I b ear in m in d the burd en , th e need for re je c tin g th a t burden, which has been h a u n tin g , like a n ig h tm a re , p resen t d a y socialism , su ffo cating its in te rn a l s tre n g th a n d fetterin g its g ro w th .6

- * E. Bloch: In tro d u c to ry Speech ad d re ssed to the S um m er School of K orčula, P raxis, 1-2, 1969, p. 4.
- 5 E. Bloch In terv ie w given to N IN, No. 1031, O ctober, 11, 1970.
- * In con te m p o rary socialism, its theory, d iffe re n t v iew point h ave been d e veloped reg a rd in g the n a tu re of obstacles th a t socialism has h a d to cope w ith in the course of our century. If wc

overlook the b u re a u c ra tic optim ism w hich is d eaf an d b lin d to the events of socialism, an d w hich ascribes all the difficulties c ith er to some »objective« causes or to the a c tiv ity of some c a p ita listic intelligence services, and if we overlook the » disappointm ent« w ith socialism on the p art of those who have eq u ated socialism w ith stalinism by m istake, we shall notice that differences in view points regard in g the character of the crisis of socialism today are apparent rather than real. Those differences may be restricted to a single question: Is the present crisis of socialism just a mere crisis of its theory or does it saturate the whole movement?

T hus, fo r instance, A n d re G orz thinks the re is no crisis of the W o rk ers M ovem ent but only a crisis of its theory. R. G a ra u d y holds that the overall M ovem ent 479

Burden - that is stalinism, or in the Yugoslav case, remnants of stalinism.⁷

Stalinism is the nightmare that has been haunting contemporary socialism: it is the root of the crisis of socialism, and it is the cause of the so evident hangover of present day socialism after the occupation of socialist Czechoslovakia.

Stalinism is not only the period of Stalin's rule of the Soviet State and his strong influence on the trends in the international socialism. Stalinism means the establishment of social power of the political bureaucracy. From social and political standpoint, stalinism is a completed process in the course of which the former representatives and bureaucrats of the revolution turned from people's servants into people's masters. That very separation of the representatives and bureaucrats from the people, that transformation from "servants" into masters make stalinism a negation of the first socialist revolution—the Paris Commune.

It may sound excessive to regard stalinism as a nightmare that haunts present day socialism. after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. Such a figure of Stalin has already faded away from the political scene. But the point here is not on the *personality cult*, or the personality in general but on the *system*, on the power of political bureaucracy.

The strength and efficacy of bureaucratic resistance toward reforming attempts in socialism, known under a general term economic reforms, reveal possibly how great is the power of the political bureaucracy in the socialist countries today.

The need for economic reforms in these countries has been based on the awareness of the inefficacy of the bureaucratic voluntariness in socialist economic systems. Therefore, the suggested reforms, in spite of some content differences which characterized them in each country, have one common feature: they are essentially a critique of the bureaucratic voluntariness. Their positive programme is the introduction of a greater dynamism in socialist economic systems, the restriction

has been undergoing a crisis, although he does not seem sceptical about its future. V. Cvjetičanin thinks, however, that the theory of the Workers' Movement, together with its organizations, have been experiencing a crisis today.

In my opinion, one should not pay too much attention to these differences. They seem to reflect, from different viewpoints, the same phenomenon: socialism is an integral entity of theory and practice. Therefore, the crisis of any »portions of it substantially affects the movement as a whole. From the standpoint of the future of the movement, I am afraid that any insisting on differences might lead us to dogmatism and might render our arguments fruitless. If the crisis is indeed an »old term for a burden«, according to E. Bloch, it is not hard to see that there have been burdens everywhere: both in theory and practice and among organizational models, too.

⁷ At sight, it may seem strange to talk of the »remnants of stalinism« in Yugoslavia; as late as 1948 Yugoslavia was confronted with Stalin, and later on, in 1950, when workers' self-management was introduced, it faced stalinism. If stalinism is, however, only a term for social relations under which the political burcaucracy has a prevailing power in society, one can then talk about the extremely strong impact of stalinistic remnants in the Yugoslav society. The resistance of the substantial part of political burcaucracy toward the economic reform, nationalistic tendencies, among which the brueaucracy plays an important role, substantiate doubtless our statement.

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S ta lin ism is n o t o n ly th e p e rio d o f S ta lin s ru le o f th e S o v ie t S ta te a n d h is stro n g in flu e n c e o n th e tre n d s in th e in te r n a tio n a l so cialism .

Stalinism meant the establishment of social power by the political bureaucracy. From a social and political stand point, Stalinism is a completed process in the course of which the former represents and bureaucrats of the revolution turned from people's servants into people's masters. That very separation of there present at i vesand bureaucrats from the people, that transform at i on from servants«

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- th e P a ris C o m m u n e.

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V; C v je tič a n in thinks, h o w ev er, th a t th e th e o ry o f th e W o r k e r s ' M o v e m e n t, to g e th e r w ith its o rg a n iz a tio n s, h a v e b e en e x p e rie n c in g a crisis to d a y.

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7 A t sig h t, it m ay seem s tr a n g e to ta lk o f th e » re m n a n ts o f sta lin ism « in Y u g o s la v ia ; as la te as 1948 Y u g o sla v ia w as c o n fr o n te d w ith S ta lin , a n d la te r on, in 1950, w h en w o rk e rs' s e lf-m a n a g e m e n t w as in tro d u c e d , it fa c e d sta lin ism . I f s ta linism is, ho w e v er, o n ly a te rm fo r social r e la tio n s u n d e r w h ich th e p o litic a l b u re a u cra cy h as a p re v a ilin g p o w e r in soc iety , o ne c an th e n ta lk a b o u t th e e x tre m e ly stro n g im p act of s ta lin is tic re m n a n ts in th e Y u g o sla v society . T h e re sista n c e o f th e su b sta n tia l p a r t of p o litic a l b u re a u c ra c y to w a rd th e eco n o m ic re fo rm , n a tio n a lis tic ten d en c ies, am o n g w h ich th e b ru e a u c ra c y p la y s a n im p o rta n t ro le, s u b s ta n tia te d o u b tless o u r sta te m e n t.

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of influence of the political bureaucracy upon economy and – as a result of that – the request for democratic expansion in public political life. Naturally, one cannot claim that all the suggested reforms have met with an equal success as theoretical concepts, but they have been basically inspired by the same motives and moving in the same direction. From the standpoint of socialism as a world process, they have been surpassing the boundaries of each country owing to these characteristics; they are not only their »private« affair, and they are of more than »local« importance. The entire socialist movement is interested in them on account of their basic meaning which eventually tends to help socialism overcome the period of its crisis.

What will be, however, the destiny of economic reforms in socialist countries? Except for Yugoslavia, where an embittered struggle has been underway to eventually fulfill, after two unsuccessful reforming attempts, some of socialism's principal goals at least, all other endeavours have failed: in the USSR requests for a reform have been liquidated by political and administrative measures, and in Czechoslovakia, for instance, by military force. The failure of reforms is the most evident sign of power of the political bureaucracy and of the crisis of present day socialism.

That failure reflects the crisis of its practice, and I would suggest, the double crisis of its theory. The crisis of practice has been expressed as the power of bureaucracy to liquidate reforms, to prevent any new, fresh ideas to develop within socialism. That twofold theoretical crisis has been reflected by the theoretical scope of the suggested reforming concepts, and by an almost absolute insufficiency of theoretical understanding of the crisis on the part of top bureaucrats. Namely, many of the suggested reforms are remote from the real needs of contemporary socialism: they tackle the problem just partly, restricting themselves - very often - to the economy only, and even in that field they aim at some changes which might increase economic efficiency only. Some of the substantive issues of socialism, such as freedom, withdrawal of the state, self-management and the like, have been out of their reach. Even in their most complete forms such as the »economic model of democratic socialism« of Oto Sik, they have revealed some relatively serious theoretical drawbacks and deficiencies.8

⁸ How Sik's concept of the reform, which might be regarded as the most complete one within the circle of socialist countries, does not aim at a radical social transformation but remains within the boundaries of a benevolent "repairing" of the existing has been demonstrated by V. Sutlić in his "Comments on the Text of O. Sik" published in "Kulturni radnik" No. 5/1970. To illustrate it, 1 am quoting only some of Sutlić's objections to Sik:

[»]What is not acceptable in Sik's postulations?

[—] Dealing with self-management at the level of specific enterprises only, and discerning accordingly only the political moment from the economic one, which has been a permanent source of bureaucracy and social, conceptual and even economic deviations, errors, etc., including a newly created independence of the state and other administration (communes, city, republic, etc.);

[—] Perennial feature of the state element: Sik does not even give a hint of a tendency of the state's *withdrawal* on account of the new economic and social relations:

⁻ A non-historical dealing with the capital;

reform s have m et w ith an equal success as th eo retical concepts, but they have been b asically in spired by the sam e m otives an d m oving in the same d irection. From the sta n d p o in t of socialism as a w o rld process, they hav e been su rp assin g the bou n d aries of each co u n try ow ing to these characteristics; they a re not only th eir » p rivate« a ffa ir, a n d they are of m ore th a n »local« im portance. T h e en tire socialist m ovem ent is interested in them on account of th eir basic m eaning w hich even tu ally tends to h elp socialism overcom e the p erio d of its crisis.

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tra n sfo rm a tio n but rem ains w ith in the bo u n d aries of a benevolent » ren am n g « of the existing has been d e m o n stra ted by V. S utlić in his »Com m ents on the T e x t ot U.

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- » W h a t is not accep ta b le in Sik's p ostulations?
- D e alin g w ith se lf-m an ag em en t a t the level of specific enterprises only, and d iscern in g accord in g ly only the political m om ent from the economic one, which has been a perm an ent source of bureaucracy and social, conceptual and even economic deviations, errors, etc., in cluding a new ly created in dependence of the state and other administration (communes, city, republic, etc.);
- P e re n n ia l fea tu re of the state clem ent: Sik does not even give a h in t of a tend en cy of the state 's »w ith d raw al« on account of the new econom ic a n d social relatio n s;
- A n o n -h isto ric al d ealin g w ith th e c a p ita l; 481

However, top bureaucrats, who dispose of the power to make decisions about reforms, have expressed an amazing ignorance of the theory, for they do not appear fit to make up their minds and support even that which could really increase the economic efficiency of socialism - which has been marked as the item Number One on their programme. The bureaucrat sees poison in anything that has not come out of his own kitchen. Therefore, he happens to refuse even some good and healthy food.

Yugoslavia has been now facing its third attempt to reform its own economic system and social relations. The first two attempt have failed. This has been recognized by everyone today, and even by those who used to swear to success and presented data on how the »reform« was being carried out well and in accordance with the programme suggested«. I have no intention of dealing now with some extremely complex circumstances and numerous problems our society had to cope with during the last decade, since the reform has started. I shall try to answer only one question: Why have we not been able, in spite of a number of decisions reached by the Party congresses, Party bodies, assemblies and executive bodies, to conduct the reform to its end, and why has there been a discrepancy between words and deeds?

The reform, which is not essentially a reform but a revolution under Yugoslav conditions, cannot be - like an armed revolution - carried out in the name of the working class but must be its own act. That class, however, does not still dispose of either economic or political opportunities and means to make the reform its own act. The social and economic status of the working class in our country do not allow it to take the destiny of the reform in its own hands, since the accumulation or labour surplus have been still governed by the state, and lately, by banks (naturally, not only by federal banks as some »nationalists« would convince us but also by republic, »national« ones),9 and by large-scale exporting-importing enterprises (reexporters) which have joined the state.

⁻ Confusing the value surplus with the labour surplus without which no civiliz-

ed society could ever exist;

— All this realing to the fact that Šik's economic model of democratic socialism is, in fact, that of the socially and humanistically oriented capitalism, directed against the "model" of the egocentrically and idly or expansively consuming oriented capitalism;

⁻ A restricted, newspaper-like conception of the revolution as a revolt, rebellion, coup, etc. misunderstanding of the epoch-making character of the revolution«. The reader might, of course, gain a better insight into the above problem by referring to the already mentioned issue of »Kulturni radnik«, which published both Šik's postulations and Sutlic's »Comments«.

⁹ It is characteristic of »our« nationalists, regardless of the type of social or protris characteristic of "pour antionalists, regardless of the type of social of professional set they belong to, to see the power alienated from man and the bureaucratic danger exclusively among federal bodies from and in other republics, their banks and reexporters. They are absolutely blind to the danger of their "pown bureaucracy" to which Marx, Engels and Lenin so frequently draw proletarian's attention, including almost all of Yugoslav marxists. On the contrary, nationalists have, on

fit to m ak e u p th e i r m in d s a n d s u p p o rt e v e n t h a t w h ich co u ld re a lly in cre a se th e eco n o m ic e ffic ie n c y o f so c ia lism

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Y u g o s la v ia h a s b een n o w fa c in g its t h ir d a tte m p t to r e fo rm its o w n e conom ic sy stem a n d so cial r e la tio n s . T h e f ir s t tw o a tte m p t h a v e f a ile d . T h is h a s b een rec o g n iz ed b y e v e ry o n e to d a y , a n d e v e n b y th o se w ho used to s w e a r to success a n d p re s e n te d d a ta o n h o w th e » refo rm «

w as b e in g c a rr ie d o u t w e ll a n d in a c c o rd a n c e w ith th e p ro g ra m m e su g g ested « . I h a v e no in te n tio n o f d e a lin g n o w w ith som e e x tre m e ly c o m p lex c irc u m sta n ce s a n d n u m e ro u s p ro b le m s o u r so c ie ty h a d to cope w ith d u r in g th e la s t d e c a d e , sin ce th e r e fo rm h a s s ta r te d . I s h a ll t ry to a n s w e r o n ly one q u e stio n : W h y h a v e w e n o t b e e n a b le , in sp ite o f a n u m b e r o f d ecisions re a c h e d b y th e P a r ty c o n g resses, P a r ty b o dies, assem blies a n d e x e cu tiv e b o d ies, to c o n d u c t th e re f o r m to its e n d , a n d w h y has th e re b e e n a d isc re p a n c y b e tw e e n w o rd s a n d d e e d s?

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a n d b y la rg e -s c a le e x p o rtin g -im p o r tin g e n te rp ris e s (re e x p o rte rs) w h ich h a v e jo in e d th e sta te .

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The aim of the reform is to change fundamentally the present status of the working man, that is to establish such socio-economic relations under which associated workers will have an absolute power to make decisions about accumulation. For this reason, the present status of the working class in relation to the labour surplus and decision-making about it cannot be the target of our critique since such a critique has already been expressed by the reform, having a radical change of that status for its principal goal. The question that has, however, remained open for the future is as follows: how, by what means and in what ways could that critique be transformed into action? How could the working class take the cause of the reform in its own hands? Opposition to the reform has taken root, first of all, in the political sphere. The discrepancy between words and deeds has been manifested above all as a discrepancy between political statements about the reform and concrete decisions and tasks as set up in these statements. But as the working class does not dispose of economic instruments in our country, it does not sufficiently posses political power in order to influence decisively the transformation of our society. In the institutions which make decisions about the reform, there are almost no workers at all. Moreover, the greater the social power of an institution, the smaller the number of workers in it. In addition, the number of workers in the Federal Assembly, republic and communal assemblies has been decreasing during the period of the reform at the time when one should really expect a substantial increase of their number within these bodies. »While workers within Federal Assembly were represented by 5.5% in 1963, in 1965 by 3.9%, and in 1967 by 1.9%, they totaled to only 0.6% in 1969. (Totally, there are 4 workers in the Economic Council; in other Councils of the Federal Assembly there are no workers at all.)

An identical tendency can be observed in republic and regional assemblies. Thus, in all republic assemblies in 1963 there was a total of 7.5% of workers, in 1965 4.6%, in 1967 2.5%, and in 1969 1.3%...

The same tendency but, nevertheless, a somewhat higher participation of direct producers, indicate data on the composition of communal assemblies: in 1963 - 14.6%, in 1965 - 15.4% in 1967 - 14.5%, and in 1969 - 13.1%.

Consequently, the number of workers in the institutions which make decisions about the reform is quite insignificant. Therefore, the associated producers cannot express their will directly through these institutions and influence social events or the reform. There are too many people in these institutions to whom politics has become a vocation, a profession, and these people, as Max Weber noticed it shrewdly, live

the one hand, been "proving" without any evidence, that "there is no danger of a republic statism", while they have been predicting, on the other hand, (being aware of their own personal interests to maintain statism) that "republic statism will have to be somewhat strengthened" on account of the decline of federal statism will have deceiving game and bluff does not only prove that they have understood nothing about the character of the Yugoslav socialist revolution, but it also produces evidence of their being counter-revolutionaries!

¹⁰ D. Tozi & D. Petrović: Political Relations and Composition of Assemblies of Socio-Political Communities; Socialism, No. 12/1969, p. 1591.

pow er to m ake decisions about accum ulation. For this reason, the present status of the w orking class in relatio n to the lab o u r surplus and de cision-making about it cannot be the target of our critique since such a critique has a lre a d y been expressed by the reform, ha v in g a rad ical change of that t status for its principal goal. The question that has, how ever, remained open for the future is as follow s: how, by w h at m eans an d in w h at ways could that t critique be tra n sfo rm ed into action? H ow could the w o rking class take the cause of the reform in its own han d s? O position to the reform has tak en root, first of all, in the political sphere. The d iscrep an cy betw een w ords a n d deeds has been m anifested above all as a d iscrep an cy betw een p o litical statem ents about the refo rm andd concrete decisions and tasks as set up in these statem ents. But as the w o rking class does n o t dispose of economic in stru m en ts in our country, it does n ot sufficiently posses p o litical power in o rd er to in flu en ce decisively th e tra n sfo rm atio n o f ou r society. In the institution s which make decisions about the reform, the ere are alm ost no w orkers a t all. M oreover, the g re a te r th e social pow er of an institu tio n, the sm aller the n u m b er of w orkers in it. In add ition, the number of workers in the Federal Assembly, rep u b lic a n d com m unal assem blies has been decreasin g d u rin g the p erio d of the reform a t the time when one should really expect a su b stan tial increase of their number with in these bodies. » While workers with in Federal Assembly were repre ste n ted by 5 .5 % in 1963, in 1965 by 3.9 % , a n d in 1967 by 1.9% , they to ta led to only 0.6 % in 1969. (To tally, there a re 4 w orkers in the Econom ic C ouncil; in o th er Councils o f th e F e d e ra 1 A ssem bly there a re no w orkers a tall.)

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people, as M ax W e b e r n o ticed it shrew dly, live the one h an d , been »proving« w ith o u t an y evidence, th a t » there is no d an g er of a republic statism «, w h ile they have been pre d ictin g , on the o th er hand, (being a w are of th e ir ow n p ersonal inte rests to m a in ta in statism) th a t »republic statism will have to be som ew hat stren g th en ed « on account of the decline of fe d eral statism will have deceiving gam e an d b lu ff docs not only p rove th a t they h ave u nderstood n othing about the ch a ra c te r of the Y ugoslav socialist revolution, but it also produces e v id ence of th e ir being c o u n terrev o lu tio n a ries!

10 Đ. T ozi Sc D. Pe trović: P o litical R elations and C om position of A ssem blies of Socio-P olitic al C om m unities; Socialism , N o. 12/1969, p. 1591.

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»from« and not »for« politics. The Communist League of Yugoslavia tends, among others, to abolish politics as a profession but how can this be achieved when those who live from politics and to whom it is a continuing source of income are expected to make such decisions? The action of associated producers has not been, therefore, hindered only by the fact that self-management lacks resources for an extensive reproduction, its material basis thus being restricted, but it is also politically restricted: associated producers are insignificantly represented in managing bodies outside their factories. Consequently, self-management has been restricted to factories, and it is continued to be restricted to actions within factories themselves. In contrast to the restricted space for action of the working class stands the great power of the state and other organizations, material and political power.

Our present condition is as follows: it is not the associated workers who decide about the existential issues of their own state but it is the other way round – it is the state which decides about these issues of the disunited producers' associations, restricted within their factories. Only when associated workers will have been offered a chance to spell out what they really want from their own state, how much of the "state" they need, and what state they desire, when the state will be under a strict control of associated workers, it will then be possible to remove the discrepancy between words and deeds, and carry out reforms.

This reform cannot be conducted in such a manner that workers keep applauding for some ten years to the reform at their meetings, keep offering it their support, and yet being unable to make a single decision that would oblige the "responsible" officials for the implementation of that decision.

The real chances for action on the part of associated workers have been mainly restricted, for the time being, to the »backing« of the institutions and individuals who really want the reform and struggle for the materialization of its concepts and goals. To enable workers to exceed that limit, it appears that economic measures are insufficient for the economy to provide it with larger material resources; some political measures will be necessary (they are possibly more important at this moment) to enable workers to play an important role in decision-making regarding the reform, and to control the implementation of these measures. Practically, this means that the political system should develop in such a way that workers win some decisive positions outside their workers' councils, too - in the Federal Assembly, republic and communal assemblies. In short, the fundamental concept of evolution of our political sytem should be self-management viewed as an integral system which is naturally dominated by associated workers from workers' councils onto the Federal Assembly.

But much hesitation has been manifested in this regard, even among the top leaders of the Yugoslav Communist League. Such vacillations or as E. Kardelj put it, »misunderstandings of some fundamental issues«, have been and partly still are the source of inefficacy with regard to the implementation of the reform. It is historically untrue that concepts have been clear, that there has been no doubt about

w ho liv e fro m p o litic s a n d to w h o m it is a c o n tin u in g so u rce o f in co m e a re e x p e c te d to m a k e su ch d ec isio n s?

The action of associated producershasnotbeen, the refore, hindered only by the factthatself-management lacks resources for anextensive reproduction, its material basis thus being restricted, but it is alsopolitically restricted: associated producers are insignificantly represented in managing bodies outside their factories. Consequently, selfmanagement has been restricted to factories, and it is continued to be restricted to actions with in factories them selves. Incontrast to the restricted space for action of the work in g class stands the great power of the state and other organizations, material and political power.

O u r p re s e n t c o n d itio n is as fo llo w s: it is n o t th e a s so c ia te d w o rk e rs w ho d ec id e ab o u t th e e x is te n tia l issues o f th e ir o w n s ta te b u t it is th e o th e r w a y r o u n d - it is th e s ta te w h ic h d e c id e s a b o u t th e s e issues o f th e d isu n ite d p ro d u c e rs 'asso c ia tio n s, r e s tric te d w ith in th e ir fa c to rie s.

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B u t m u s h e s i t a t i o n has b e e n manifested in this regard, even among the top leaders of the Yugoslav Communist League. Such vacillation sources as E. Kardelj put it, » misunderstandings of some fundamental issues«, have been and partly still are the source of inefficacy ith regard to the implementation of the form. It is historically untrue that concepts have been clear, that there has been no doubt about 484

them, and that practice has deviated from beautifully conceived ideas. It is not true that it is only the idea which should always be blamed. At the Third Conference of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist League in 1966, E. Kardelj declared bravely and openly that we seemed to be hesitant about some »fundamental issues« for quite a long time. »As a matter of fact«, said Kardelj then, »we had to face very often the following dilemma: Should the communists struggle for some paternalism of the state, i. e. for a reliable government which would humanely take care of the good but »stupid« people, or for a true socialist self-management of the working people. i. e. for the establishment of such socio-economic conditions (and material ones), and such democratic forms within which the working man will be able to take care of himself «.11 (Underlined by A. Žvan)

Kardeli savs we have "cleared up that dilemma on paper only", and that »many problems have emerged in practice because the battle for

a fundamental orientation has not been fully won«.12

If, consequently, in 1966, when the Yugoslav society attempted for the second time - to carry out the reform, there was a dilemma: paternalism of the state or self-management? If that dilemma has been still discussed by the people at the social top, it is then comprenhensible why the reform could not have been conducted with the firmness which required such a project.

If we add, moreover, the inefficacy of many officials who have been responsible for the reform, who have been unable to formulate clearly and precisely the purpose, goals and concrete tasks of specific social subjects, the methods and realistic deadlines when the reform is expected to be completed, then it is not difficult to see that the obstacles which the Yugoslav society has been undergoing in its endeavours to transform itself have been somewhat »normal«. I mean »normal« insofar as all the three reforming atempts have confirmed the fact that the reform cannot be carried out in the name of the working class but it must be its own act. Will the third lesson be sufficient for us?

The cyclothymic course in the development of contemporary socialism, that periodical alternation of enthusiasm and depression, which can be today easily noticed even by quick observation, is nothing else but an expression of crisis. The quintessence of that crisis lies in the coflict between the privileged political bureaucracy and the working class, including the classes (primarily the humanistic intelligence) which sees in the workers' struggle the old aspirations and man's fight for freedom and human dignity. The cause of the crisis, it appears to me, is based on the fact that socialist revolutions of our century have won mainly in the countries with an underdeveloped working class.

¹¹ Third Conference of the Central Committee of the YCL: Current Issues in the Struggle of the YCL for the Implementation of the Reform; Komunist, Belgrade, 1966, p. 298.

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11 T h ird C o nference of the C en tral C om m ittee of the Y C L: C u rren t Issues in the S truggle of th e Y C L fo r the Im p le m en tatio n of the R eform; K om unist, B elgrade, 19G6, p. 298.

" Ibid.

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The working class in these countries, unlike the proletariat of the Paris Commune, has been too weak to rescrict the power of its leaders in an efficient way, and to keep them within the limits of their services for the revolution.

However, the economic development of socialism during the last decades has multiplied manifold the working class. Owing to this, its role in the society has been increased. No matter how fervently the bureaucracy would defend its privileges, the fact is that we have been confronted, at least temporarily, with the attempts of "destalinization" or "debureaucratization" due to the ever-increasing role of the working class. As a matter of fact, one could object to such attempts that they have been conducted by the bureaucracy itself. But one should add this: the bureaucracy has not been doing this because it wants to but because it has been compelled to do it.

An awareness of crisis has been increasingly penetrating international socialism. If such an awareness is the result of a true understanding of actual conditions in the socialism of our century, we can then look at its future with hope and confidence. That awareness will yield a new strategy and tactics in the struggle for socialism but will also revive the conceptign of socialism, bring the movement back to Marx, and definitely get rid of its stalinistic burden. Only then will socialism escape its ecstasies and hangovers. Only some stalinist dogmatists are afraid of admitting the crisis, but G. Lukacs has clearly said about them: »... sectarians do not trust marxism; all sectarians are defeatists...¹³

Marx wrote to Ruge (1843): »Shame is already a revolution«. He compared a nation which is ashamed with a lion which retreats before taking a leap.

The awareness of crisis is more than a mere sense of shame. The movement that is aware of its own crisis is most likely to surmount it.

¹⁸ G. Lukacs: »All Dogmatists are Defeatists«; Kulturni radnik, No. 1-2, 1968.

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tio n « o r » d e b u re a u c ra tiz a tio n « d u e to th e e v e r- in c r e a s in g ro le o f th e w o rk in g class. A s a m a tte r o f fac t, o n e c o u ld o b je c t to su ch a tte m p ts th a t th e y h a v e b e e n c o n d u c te d b y th e b u r e a u c r a c y itse lf. B u t o n e sh o u ld a d d th is: th e b u re a u c ra c y h a s n o t b e e n d o in g th is b e c au se it w a n ts to b u t b ecau se it h a s b e e n c o m p e lle d to d o it.

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M a rx w ro te to R u g e (1 843): » S h a m e is a lr e a d y a rev o lu tio n \ll . H e c o m p a re d a n a tio n w h ic h is a s h a m e d w ith a lio n w h ic h r e tr e a ts b e fo re ta k in g a lea p .

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»BÜROKRATISCHER SOZIALISMUS«?

Gajo Petrović

Zagreb

1.

Der Ausdruck »bürokratischer Sozialismus« wird manchmal als eine angemesene Bezeichnung für gewisse soziale Gebilde betrachtet: für diejenigen, die zwar sozialistisch aber nicht demokratisch, sondern bürokratisch sind. Kann aber eine bürokratische soziale Ordnung zugleich sozialistisch sein? Oder ist der »bürokratische Sozialismus« so etwas wie ein »rudes Ouadrat«?*

Sicherlich ist es möglich, den »Sozialismus« und den »Bürokratismus« so zu interpretieren, daß die beiden vereinbar werden. Ist der »bürokratische Sozialismus« aber auch dann möglich wenn wir Sozialismus und Bürokratismus im Geiste von Marx auffassen?

2.

Der Sozialismus wird auf verschiedene Arten verstanden, meist als sozioökonomische Ordnung, in der das Privateigentum durch die Verstaatlichung der Produktionsmittel aufgehoben ist und die Arbeitsverpflichtungen und die Distributionsrechte nach dem Prinzip geregelt werden: »von jedem gemäß seinen Fähigkeiten, jedem gemäß seiner Arbeit«. Für Marx war Sozialismus dagegen nicht nur eine sozioökonomische Formation, sondern eine neue Lebensform, in der der Mensch wirklich menschlich wird, eine wahrhaft menschliche, humanistische Gesellschaft, die die Möglichkeit für eine freie schöpferische Entwicklung eines jeden Menschen öffnet.

^{*} Die folgenden Thesen werden in einer Abhandlung ausführlich ausgearbeitet, die unter dem Titel »Der "bürokratische Sozialismus" und das Problem der Humanität« in Marxismusstudien, Siebte Folge (herausgegeben von H. E. Tödt) veröffentlicht werden soll.

Z ag reb

1.

The phrase »b iirocratic socialism« is sometimes considered an appropriate term for certain social formations: for those who are socialist but not ocratic , so are bureaucratic. Can a bureaucratic social order be socialist at the same time? O r is »bureaucratic socialism« something like a »rude square« ?*

It is certainly possible to interpret »socialism« and »bureaucracy« in such a way that the two become compatible. 1st he

»B iirocratic socialism« but also possible if we understand socialism and bureaucracy in the spirit of M a rx?

 * T h e followers w ere in each other's hands and lungs for sfuhrlich outreach, under the heading »There is "bureaucratic Sozialism us" and this Problem H um a-n ita t« in M a rxism tu s t u d i e n , Seven Folks (hereinafter H . E. Todt) ve ero ffent tlich t w e r e soli.

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Die »Bürokratie« wird auch verschiedenartig aufgefaßt, am häufigsten als die Schicht der Bürokraten. Und unter »Bürokraten« werden oft alle »Büroleute« verstanden, alle diejenigen, die im Büro sitzen und in ihrem Büro ihre Aufgaben erfüllen. Eine solche Auffassung finden wir z. B. bei Max Weber. Das Beamtentum oder die Bürokratie, was für ihn dasselbe ist, versteht Weber als eine soziale Schicht, die der herrschenden Macht als Mittel dient. Ihre Mitglieder, die Beamten, werden vom Herrscher ausgewählt und ernannt und von ihm mit gewissen Aufgaben beauftragt, die sie gemäß den vom Herrscher vorgeschriebenen Gesetzen und Regeln ausüben.

Weber selbst sieht, daß im Beamtentum eine Tendenz besteht, sich aus dem Mittel der Herrschaft in den Herrscher zu verwandeln und daß diese Tendenz sich auch im hohen Maße realisieren kann. Wenn es aber so ist, dann müssen wir fragen, ob wir nicht diese zwei prinzipiell verschiedenen Sachen, das Beamtentum, das als Mittel der Herrschaft dem Herrn dient, und das Beamtentum, das sich selbst zur Herrschaft erhoben hat, begrifflich und terminologisch unterscheiden sollten.

Wenn der Beamte einer mit einem öffentlichen Amt beamtete ist, und das Amt ein fester, dauernder Aufgabenkreis im Dienste anderer, ist es dann nicht berechtigt, den Namen »Beamtentum« ausschließlich für die Schicht der Beamten zu reservieren, insoweit sie nicht eine herrschende Schicht, sondern ein Instrument der wirklichen Machthaber darstellt? Und ist es dann nicht berechtigt, den Namen »Bürokratie« für die Schicht der Büroleute nur insofern zu reservieren als sie zur herrschenden Schicht geworden sind?

4.

Eine solche Bestimmung der Bürokratie wäre vielleicht nicht ganz eindeutig. Wir können sie aber so präzisieren, daß unter Bürokratie ein solches Beamtentum zu verstehen ist, das (1) ohne einen entscheidenden Einfluß von »unten« oder von »oben« sich selbst konstituiert und organisiert, seine Reihen erneuert und »reinigt« und seine Organisation ändert, um dadurch (2) in allen wichtigen Gebieten des gesellschaftlichen Lebens eine regulierende Funktion ausüben zu können, und zwar (3) nach den Regeln und Gesetzen, die es sich selbst im Einklang mit seinen Interessen gibt.

5.

Zum Unterschied vom Beamtentum, das entweder von »oben« oder von »unten«, jedenfalls aber von außen her konstituiert wird, ist die Bürokratie eine sich selbst konstituierende und organisierende Schicht. Die Bürokraten können zwar auch formell »gewählt« werden, in der Tat werden sie in die heilige Reihe der Bürokraten »aufgenommen«. Die Schein»wahlen«, wo alles schon vorentschieden ist, sind ein be-

The » Office « w i r d a u c h v e r s c h i e d e n a r t i g a u fge fa fit, a m h a u -

fig ste n als d ie S ch ich t d e r B iiro k ra te n . U n d u n te r » B iiro k ra te n « w e r d e n o ft a lle »B iiro leu te« v e rs ta n d e n , a lle d ie je n ig e n , d ie im B iiro sitzen u n d in ih re m Biiro ih re A u f g a b e n e rfiille n . E in e so lch e A u f -

fa ssu n g finding wrinkles. B. by Max Weber. D a s B e a m te n t u m o d e r d i e B iirocra tie , w as fiir h n d a s s e l b e i s t , w e r s t h e Weber alse ine social Schicht, die derherrs chenden Machtals M itte l d i e n t. I h re M itglie der, die B e a m t e n , w e r d e n vo m H e r r s c h e r a u s g e w a h l t u n d e r n a n n t u n d v o n i h m m i t g e w issen Aufgabe n be auftrag t, die siege m affide n vo m H e r r sch e r er v orge s ch rie b e n e n G e s t e n u n d R e g e lna au siib en

W e b e r selb st sieh t, dafi im B e a m te n tu m e in e T e n d e n z b e ste h t, sich au s d em M itte l d e r H e r r s c h a f t in d e n H e r r s c h e r zu v e rw a n d e ln u n d dafi diese T e n d e n z sich a u c h im h o h e n M afie r e a lis ie re n k a n n . W e n n es a b e r so ist, d a n n m iissen w ir fra g e n , ob w ir n ic h t d iese zw ei p r in z i-p iell v e rs c h ie d e n e n S a c h e n , d a s B e a m te n tu m , d a s a ls M itte l d e r H e r r s c h a ft d em H e r r n d ie n t, u n d d a s B e a m te n tu m , d a s sich se lb st zur H e r r s c h a ft e rh o b e n h a t, b e g rif flic h u n d te rm in o lo g is c h u n te rs c h e id e n so llten .

WennderBeamteeinermiteinemoffentlichenAmtbeamteinermiteinemoffentlichenAmtbeamteteist, und das Amteinfester, dauernderAufgabenkreis im Diensteanderer, ist es dannnichtberechtigt, denNamen» Beamtentum« ausschliefilichfiir die SchichtderBeamtenzureservieren, in soweit sienichteineherrschendes der meinInstrumentder wirklichenMacht-haberdarstellt? Und ist es dannnichtberechtigt, denNamen» Biirokratie« für die Schicht der Biiroleutenur in sofern zureservieren als sie zurherschen den Schicht gewordens in d?

4.

E i n e so lche B e stimm u n g d e r B iiro k ra tie w a r e v ie lle ich t nich t g a n z e i n d e u tig W i r k o n n e n sie a b e r s p r o z i e r e n , d a f i n t e r B i r o k ra tie e in such cases B e a m te n t u m to the

verse, that (1) he has no money e n d e n E in flu fi v o n » u n t e n « o d e r v o n »ob en « self-constituted organization, its Reihene rneuertund » re inigt « and its O r g a n i s a t i o n a n d e r t , u m d a d u rc h (2) in a lie n w i t h t h e G e b i e t e n d s g e se lls ch a ftlic h e n Le b e n s e i n e r e g u l i e r e n d e F u n c t i o n au siiben zu k o n nen , u n d w a r (3) n a c h d e n R egelnund Gesetz e n , d ie e s s i s c l a n g m i t e n e n Inter e s s e n g i b t.

5.

Z u m U n te rs c h ie d v o m B e a m te n tu m , d a s e n tw e d e r v o n » o ben« o d e r v o n » u n ten « , je d e n f a lls a b e r v o n au fien h e r k o n s titu ie rt w ird , ist d ie B iiro k ra tie ein e sich se lb st k o n s titu ie re n d e u n d o rg a n is ie re n d e S ch ich t.

D ie B iiro c r a t e n k o n n e n z w a r a u c h f o r m e ll » g e w a hlt « w e r d e n , within T a t w e r d e n sie in d i e h i l g e Reheader B iiro kraten » aufgen o m m e n «

Die Schein » wahlen « , wall scho n v o r e n t s s h i e d n i s t , c i n d e n b e-4

liebtes Instrument der Bürokratie. Manchmal wird zwar dem Volk auch wirklich überlassen, einige Bürokraten selbst zu wählen, wiederzuwählen oder abzuwählen. Dieses Überlassen der einzelnen Wahlen dem Volk ist aber keine »Entbürokratisierung« oder »Schwächung der bürokratischen Herrschaft«. Im Gegenteil wird die Möglichkeit der Auslieferung einzelner Bürokraten an die Volksentscheidung von der bürokratischen Spitze als ein Schreckmittel für die Erhaltung der bürokratischen Disziplin und Solidarität gebraucht. Wie einst die Christen den hungrigen Löwen, so werden jetzt ungehorsame Bürokraten der Wut des unzufriedenen Volkes geopfert.

6.

Soweit das Beamtentum nur in einigen Gebieten des Lebens ein entscheidendes Wort hat, speziell wenn ihm keine endgültige Entscheidung gehört, ist es noch nicht Bürokratie. Die Bürokratie ist das Beamtentum, das in den wichtigsten Fragen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens die endgültige Entscheidung trifft und keine höhere Instanz über sich kennt. Dadurch ist wohl noch nichts über die konkrete Form der bürokratischen Herrschaft gesagt. Die Bürokratie kann sich der direkt terroristischen Methoden bedienen, sie kann aber auch »Demokratie spielen«. Wo die stalinistische Bürokratie nicht nur Armee, Justiz und Polizei, sondern auch alle mass media in ihrem Händen hat, und durch diese Medien nur ihre eigene, bürokratische »Wahrheit« verkündet, da muß sie sich nicht in jedem Moment der polizeilichen Maßnahmen bedienen (was wohl nicht heißt, daß sie auf diese verzichtet). Die Bürokratie, die die Macht fest in Händen hält, kann sogar »antibürokratische« Feldzüge organisieren, und sich selbst zum Vorkämpfer des Sozialismus und der Selbstverwaltung erklären.

7.

Wenn die Bürokratie die Macht in ihren Händen hat, dann wird sie sich ihre Herrschaft nicht dadurch erschweren lassen, daß sie jemandem anderen die Herstellung der Gesetze und der Regeln überläßt. Die herrschende Bürokratie übernimmt nicht nur die ausführende, sondern auch die gesetzgebende Gewalt. Schamlos erläßt sie Gesetze, die ihren eigenen Interessen entsprechen. Es kann so geschehen, daß in einem zurückgebliebenem Land, wo die Bürokratie eben in die Automobile gestiegen ist, die Maßnahmen gegen den Diebstahl von Wagen im Parlament häufiger und heftiger diskutiert werden als die Maßnahmen gegen die wachsende Arbeitslosigkeit und Abwanderung der Arbeiter.

8.

Wenn wir die Bürokratie auf die oben erläuterte Weise auffassen, dann ist der Sozialismus als eine wirklich menschlische Gesellschaft, als eine freie Gemeinschaft der freien Persönlichkeiten mit dem Bestehen der Bürokratie nicht vereinbar. Mit anderen Worten: der »bürokratische Sozialismus« ist im Prinzip unmöglich.

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beloved in stru m en t of bureaucracy. Sometimes the people are really left to elect, re-elect or vote out some bureaucrats themselves. Leaving the individual elections up to the people is not, however, a

»debureaucracy« or »weakening of bureaucratic rule«. On the contrary, the possibility of handing over individual bureaucrats to the referendum is seen by the bureaucratic top as a deterrent to maintaining bureaucratic discipline and solida rita t used. As the Christians once sacrificed to the hungry lion, so now disobedient bureaucrats are sacrificed to the anger of the discontented people.

6.

To the extent that officialdom only has a decisive word in some areas of life, especially when it does not have a final decision, it is not yet bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is the civil service that makes the final decisions on the most important questions of social life and knows no higher authority above itself. As a result, nothing has been said about the concrete form of bureaucratic domination. The bureaucracy can use direct terro ristic methods, but it can also »play democracy«. Where the Stalinist bureaucracy has not only the army, judiciary and police in its hands, but also all the mass media, and through these media only its own bureaucratic »truth« proclaims that she does not have to use the police measures at every moment (which probably does not mean that she waives them). The bureaucracy, which holds power firmly in its hands, can even organize »an tib iirocratic« campaigns, and make itself the first combatant of socialism and the self-deputy adm annistm ent c lar a g e .

7.

8.

If we conceive of bureaucracy in the way explained above, then socialism is a truly human society, a free community of free personalities n o t reconcilable w ith the existence of the bureaucracy. In o the r w o rd s: »bureaucratic socialism« is imposs ible in prin ciple.

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Ist es dennoch nicht eine Tatsache, daß alle bestehende sozialistische Länder stark bürokratisiert sind? Ist der »bürokratische Sozialismus« nicht eine gesellschaftliche Realität, die nicht einfach ignoriert werden dürfte?

Der »bürokratische Sozialismus« im Sinne einer Mischung von Bürokratismus und Sozialismus ist sicherlich eine Realität, die Elemente dieser Mischung sind aber prinzipiell unvereinbar. Deshalb ist eine gleichmäßige Mischung aus bürokratischen und sozialistischen Elementen als ein dauernder Zustand unmöglich. Entweder müssen die einen oder die anderen die Oberhand gewinnen. Im ersten Fall bekommen wir eine bürokratische Struktur mit untergeordneten Elementen des Sozialismus, im zweiten eine sozialistische Struktur mit Elementen von Bürokratismus. Die beiden Strukturen sind qualitativ verschieden, und sie beide unter den Begriff des »bürokratischen Sozialismus« unterordnen zu wollen ist eine bürokratische Mystifizierung, die den wahren Charakter der bestehenden bürokratischen Strukturen nur verschleiern möchte.

10.

Die Wichtigkeit der »abstrakten« Klärung der Begriffe »Sozialismus« und »Bürokratismus« liegt eben in der Möglichkeit, die sie bietet, den wahren Charakter einiger »sozialistischen« Gesellschaftssysteme zu durchschauen und die Bedingungen und Perspektiven der sozialistischen Entwicklung zu erforschen. Wenn wir nicht erkennen können, daß die Länder mit der Vorherrschaft der bürokratischen Strukturen keine sozialistische Länder sind, dann werden wir uns in der gegenwärtigen Welt weder »theoretisch« noch »praktisch« orientieren können.

Das heißt keineswegs sozialistische Ansätze, Tendenzen, oder Elemente in der gegenwärtigen Welt und speziell in den »sozialistischen Ländern« leugnen zu wollen. Die Entmachtung der Bourgeoisie, die Zerstörung der alten Verwaltungsorgane und die Aufhebung des Privateigentums auf Produktionsmittel waren die richtigen ersten Schritte zum Sozialismus. Die Verstaatlichung der Produktivkräfte, der Aufbau eines immer stärkeren »sozialistischen Staates« und die Konstituierung einer Bürokratie, die auf allen Lebensgebieten eine herrschende Rolle spielt, waren dagegen nur verschiedene Aspekte einer gegenrevolutionären bürokratischen Entwicklung.

11.

Die Gründe für »Abweichungen« vom sozialistischen Weg sind sicherlich in der Unreife der objektiven Bedingungen für den Sozialismus in einigen Ländern zu suchen, wie auch in den subjektiven »Schwächen« und »Fehlern« der entsprechenden Staats- und ParteiIsn't that your T a tsa c h e , but he's still in the list of L a n d e r s t a r k b iiro k ratis ie rt sin d ? 1st d e r » b iiro k ratis ch e S o z ialism us« nich teinege se llsch a ftlic h e R e a lita t, d ie nich t h e in fa ch igno rier t w e r d e n d iirfte ?

Der» biiro k ra tische Sozialism u s« im Sinne e in er Mischung von Bii-ro k ra tism u sund Sozialism u sist sich erlich eine Realitat, die Elemente dieser Mischungs in daberprinzipiell unvere in bar. Deshalbist einegleich mafiige Mischungaus biiro kratischenundsozialistischen Ele-

m e n te n als e in d a u e r d e r U s t a n d u n m o g l i c h E n t w o d e r miissen d i e e n o d e r d e a n d e r e n d e O b e r h a n d g e w i n n e n I m e r s ten Fall -

commentinthecraticalofficesStructurenterge ordnetenElemen-

te n des S o zialism u s, im z w e ite n e in e s o z ia listisc h e S tru k tu r m it E le -

m e n t of the Bureau of Cratism. The two Structures are qualitatively different, and they are understood within the framework of the » bureaucratic Socialism« n i s t i n t h e b i r o c r a t i o n M y stifiz ie -

ru n g, d ie d e n w a h r e n Character de r b e s t h e n d e n b i r o c r a t i c e n Structure n u r v e r s c h l e iern m o ch te.

10.

The Witches of the » abstract « Clarification of the Begriffe » Socialism « and » Bureaucratism « lie within M o g lichke it, he said b ietet, d e n w a h r e n C h a r a c t e r e i g e r » society list « G e s e lls chafts-sy steme to be examined and the Bedding and Perspectives in the society list E n tw ic k lu n g to e r f o r s c h e n W h e n n w i r n i c h t e r k e n n e n k o n n e , dafi die Lander mit der Vorherrs chaft der b ierocratische n Structurenke ine sozia listische Landersinnd , dannwerden wiruns in d e r g e g e n w a r t i g e n W elt w e d e r » theory « noch » practice « orien -

te re n k n n n and.

D a s h eifit kein esweg s socia listische Ans atz e , Tendenzen , o d e r Elemente in dergegenwartigen Weltundspeziell in den » socia listische L ander « leugnen zu w o llen The Entmach to the Bourgeoisie, the Z ers to rung deralten V erwaltung org a n d the A u f h e b u n g des P r i - v a te i g e n t u m s a u f P r o d u c t i o n s mittel warendier ic h t i g e n e r s t h e S c h r i t e of Socialism. D ie V e r s t a t l i c h u n g der Pr o d u c t i v e craft , der Auf bau eines immers t r a k e n » so z ia listische n S t a t e s « u n d d ie K o n -

s titu ie ru n g e in e r B iiro k ra tie, d ie a u f a lie n L e b e n s g e b ie te n e in e h e rr -

sc h e n d e Rolle spie lt, w a r e n d a g e n u r v e r s c h i e d e n e Aspects of an energetically revolutionary bureaucracy in Entwicklung.

11.

D ie G riin d e fiir » A b w e ic h u n g e n « v o m so z ia listisc h e n W e g sin d s ic h e rlic h in d e r U n r e if e d e r o b je k tiv e n B e d in g u n g e n fiir d e n S o z ialism us in e in ig e n L a n d e r n zu su c h en , w ie a u c h in d e n s u b je k tiv e n

» Schwachen « and » Fehler « rent preceding States and Parties-490

führungen. Theoretische Wurzeln dieser »Abweichungen« sind aber auch in den Unzulänglichkeiten der theoretischen Analysen der »Klassiker des Marxismus« (speziell derjenigen Lenins) zu machen.

Wie bekannt, hat Marx in seinem »Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich« das Problem der Staats- und Munizipalbürokratie und ihrer Aufhebung gründlich analysiert. In seinem Werk »Staat und Revolution« hat Lenin diese Analysen wiederbelebt und ergänzt. Das ist sein unvergängliches Verdienst. Wenn wir aber seine Arbeiten aus den Jahren nach der Oktoberrevolution lesen, so sehen wir, daß er sich manchmal unter dem schon erreichten theoretischen Niveau bewegt. So finden wir zwar in seinen Arbeiten aus dieser Zeit einen fast ständigen Aufruf zum Kampf gegen den Bürokratismus, wenn wir aber den Inhalt dieser Forderung näher betrachten, dann sehen wir, daß er den Bürokratismus oft auf eine unbefriedigende Weise auffaßt. Nicht in der Herrschaft des Staatsapparats sieht er den zu bekämpfenden Bürokratismus, sondern vielmehr in seinem schlechten (langsamen, nichtelastischen, nichteffizienten, primitiven) Funktionieren.

12.

Im Einklang mit Lenins Auffassung vom Wesen des Bürokratismus steht auch sein Programm des Kampfes gegen diesen. So fordert er vor allem den Kampf gegen den bürokratischen »Schlendrian«, und zwar einerseits, durch die Einbeziehung immer neuer lernensfähigen und dem Sozialismus treuer Leute proletarischen Abstammung in den Staatsapparat, und andererseits durch eine bessere Organisation der Arbeit und eine strengere Kontrolle ihrer Ausführung.

Lenins Programm des Kampfes gegen den Bürokratismus kommt so manchmal einem Programm der Vervollkommung der bürokratischen Herrschaft näher. Andererseits finden wir bei Lenin keine gründliche Analyse der Möglichkeiten für eine wirklich sozialistische Organisation der Produktion.

In der Verstaatlichung der Produktionsmittel hat er keineswegs das Endziel des Kommunismus gesehen. Und doch hat er darin einen qualitativen Sprung vom Kapitalismus zum Sozialismus gesehen (»denn aller Besitz gehört dem Staate, der Staat aber ist die Sowjetmacht, die Macht der Mehrheit der Werktätigen«) und eine Basis für eine längere Periode der sozialistischen Entwicklung.

13.

In der Tat ist durch die Verstaatlichung der Produktionsmittel noch keine sozialistische Veränderung der Produktionsverhältnisse erreicht, weil durch die Abschaffung der Kapitalisten und die Verstaatlichung der Betriebe noch keine wesentliche Veränderung in der Position des Produzenten, des Arbeiters eingetreten ist. Die Unterscheidung zwischen jenen die arbeiten und jenen, die über die Arbeit entscheiden, zwischen den Beherrschten und den Herrschern, zwischen den Ausgebeuteten und den Ausbeutern ist dadurch nicht verschwunden. Daß es

to make »classics of M arxism« (especially that of Lenin).

As is well known, in his "Civil War in France" M arx thoroughly analyzed the problem of state and municipal bureaucracy and its abolition. In his work »State and Revolution«, Lenin revived and supplemented these analyses. T hat is his unforgettable g -

merit. But if we read his work from the years after the O cto b errev o lu tio n, we see that he sometimes falls below the already achieved theoretical level very moved. So we find in his work from that time an almost constant call to fight against bureaucracy, if we go over the content of this for d e LOOK CLOSER, THEN WE SEE THAT HE OVEN CONCEPTS B IOCRATISM IN AN UNSATISFACTORY WAY. He does not see the bureaucracy to be fought not in the rule of the state apparatus, but rather in its bad (slow, not elastic, not efficient , prim ittiv e) function.

12.

His program of fighting against bureaucracy is also in agreement with Lenin's conception of the nature of bureaucracy. Above all, he demands the fight against the bureaucratic »Schlendrian«, on the one hand, through the inclusion of those who are always able to learn anew and socialism U s lo y people of p ro le tarian descent in the s ta a t a p p a ra t, a n d th e r turn, through a bet ter o rg an isatio n of w ork a n d a s tre r k e c o n troll your performance.

Le n i s P r o g r a m m des C a m p face against Bureaucratism us com m t so m a n ch m a l e i n a P r o g r a m m der Vervollcommunication of bureaucratic Herrschaft naher. A n d e re rse its find that we are at Len in no griin d liche Analysis of glitches for a genuinely socialist Organization of Production .

In the nationalization of the means of production, he by no means saw the end goal of com m unism. And yet he saw in it a qualitative leap from capitalism to socialism (»because all property belongs to the state, the state is the S ow nowm ight, the power of m a r o i n t o f w o rkin g e s «) and a basis for a long

G e r P erio d o f S ocialist DEVELOPMENT.

In fact, the nationalization of the means of production has not yet brought about a socialist change in the conditions of production, because the Sec c h a ff u n t o f th e c a p ita lists n d th e nationalization o f th e estab lishments n o sig nificant c h a n g e n t h e t h e t h o t i o n t h e posi tion of the p ro d u c ent , the w o rk e r has occurred is. The distinction between those who do the work and those who decide about the work, between the ruled and the rulers, between the The exploited a n d the exploiters a r t h e not disappeared. Daft it 491

hinter und über den Beamten, die die Betriebe verwalten, keine Kapitalisten mehr gibt, ist zwar wichtig für die Beamten, die dadurch Bürokraten, d. h. Herrscher geworden sind, nicht für Arbeiter, die das Objekt der Herrschaft geblieben sind. Der Unterschied ist aus der Perspektive der Arbeiter um so weniger merkbar, weil in den höchst entwickelten Phasen der kapitalistischen Wirtschaft, in großen kapitalistischen Betrieben, der Arbeiter sowieso nicht direkt mit dem Kapitalisten sondern mit seinen Beamten zu tun hat.

14.

Die Vertreter der These vom sozialistischen Charakter des verstaatlichten Eigentums in den »sozialistischen Ländern« haben speziell darauf bestanden, daß in den verstaatlichten Betrieben an Stelle der alten Beamten neue aus den Reihen der Arbeiter getreten sind. Die Schwäche dieses Argumentes ist offensichtlich. Ebenso wie der Kapitalismus seine Natur nicht ändert, wenn einige oder sogar viele Arbeiter Kapitalisten werden, so ändert sich die Natur der bürokratischen Herrschaft keineswegs einfach dadurch, daß ein Teil der Arbeiter sich in die Reihe der Bürokratenschicht »erhebt«.

Es ist ein großes Verdienst der jugoslawischen Marxisten eine tiefere Kritik des Bürokratismus und ein radikaleres Programm des Kampfes für den Sozialismus gegeben zu haben. Der Bürokratismus wurde hier nicht als schlechtes Funktionieren des Staatsapparatus aufgefaßt, sondern als die dominierende Rolle dieses Apparats im gesellschaftlichen Leben. Als Mittel für die Überwindung des Bürokratismus und die Entwicklung des echten Sozialismus wurde die Selbstverwaltung der Produzenten proklamiert. Diese wurde aber nur teilweise realisiert. Die Entwicklung der Selbstverwalung begegnet seitens der bürokratischen Strukturen einem heftigen Widerstand.

15.

Die Selbstverwaltung muß von Basisbetrieben ausgehen. Man kann die Selbstverwaltung im gesellschaftlichen Maßstab nicht organisieren, ohne sie in Basisbetrieben einzuführen. Andererseits kann die Selbstverwaltung in den Betrieben nicht einfach so verwirklicht werden, daß gewisse Rechte den Arbeitern auf dem Papier geschenkt werden. Diejenigen, die mehr Papier- und Fachkenntnis haben, die erfahrene Bürokraten und Technokraten, wissen gut, wie die ungebildeten Arbeiter manipuliert werden können. Die Erhebung des allgemeinen Wissens- und Kulturniveaus der Arbeiter ist eine der Vorbedingungen ihrer wirklichen Teilnahme an der Verwaltung der Betriebe. Aber die bloße Schulung und Kulturausbildung der Arbeiter ist für die Verwirklichung der Selbstverwaltung in Basisbetrieben nicht genug. Die herrschende Technobürokratie wird ihre Positionen nicht so ganz freiwillig den Arbeitern überlassen. Deshalb ist die Verwirklichung der Selbstverwaltung in der Produktion nur durch den ständigen Kampf der Produzenten um ihre Rechte möglich.

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h in te r u n d iib er d e n B e a m te n , d ie d ie B e trie b e v e rw a lte n , k e in e K a p i-ta lis te n m e h r g ib t, ist z w a r w ic h tig fiir d ie B e a m te n , d ie d a d u rc h B iiro k ra te n , d. h. H e r r s c h e

r g e w o rd e n sin d, n ic h t fiir A r b e ite r, d ie d a s O b je k t d e r H e r r s c h a f t g e b lie b e n sin d. D e r U n te rs c h ie d ist a u s d e r P e rsp e k tiv e d e r A r b e ite r u m so w e n ig e r m e rk b a r, w e il in d e n h o c h si e n tw ic k e lte n P h a s e n d e r k a p ita lis tis c h e n W ir ts c h a f t, in g ro fie n k a p ita listis c h e n B e trie b e n, d e r A r b e ite r so w ieso n ic h t d ire k t m it d e m K a -

p ita lis te n s o n d e rn m it se in e n B e a m te n zu tu n h a t.

D ie V e r tr e te r d e r T h e s e vo m so z ia listisc h e n C h a r a k te r des v e rs ta a tlic h te n E ig e n tu m s in d e n » s o z ia listisc h e n L a n d e rn « h a b e n sp eziell d a -

r a u f b e s t a n d e n , daft in d e n v e r s t a t l i c h t h e n Betrie b e n a n S t e l d e r a l t e n B e a m ten n e u e aus d e n R e i h e n d e r Arbeiter g e t r e t e n s i n d The Schwache dieses Arguments are offensive. Therefore, Kapitalism is its Nature, which is usually Arbitrary Capitalist, and it is the Nature of bureaucracy e r r s ch a f t kein eswegse in fa ch da d u r ch , d afie in Teilder Arbeiter sich in die R e i h e d e r B i r o c r a t e n s ch i t » e r h e b t «

Es ist e in grofies V e rd ie n s t d e r ju g o sla w is c h e n M a rx is te n e in e tie -

fere Criticism of the Bureau of Cratism and its radicals P r o g r a m m des C a m p f e r s o f Socialism have been stirred up. D e r B iiro C ratism u s w u r d e r n i c h t a l s sch e l c h te s F u n c t i o n i e r e n d e s S t a a t s a p a r a t u s a u f-gefafit, s o u n d e r l a s d i e d o m i n i e r e n d R o lle d ieses <math>A p p a r a t i o n s c h a ftlic h e n Le b e n A ls Mittel fiir d ie O b e r w i n d u n g des <math>B i r o c r a t i s m u s u d i e Entwic k l u n g desechten Socialism m u s u r d i e Selbstverwaltung der <math>P r o d u z e n t s p r o c l a m e n t. T h i s se w u r d e a b e r n u r t h e i s realized. Die Entwic k lu ng der Selb s tverwalu ng b egeg net seitens der b i o r u c r a t i c s t r u c t u r e n e i m h a f t i g e n Wider stand .

D ie S e lb stv e rw a ltu n g m ufi v o n B a s isb e trie b e n a u sg eh e n . M a n k a n n d ie S e lb stv e rw a ltu n g im g e s e llsc h a ftlic h e n M a fista b n ic h t o rg a n is ie -

ren , o h n e sie in B a sisb e trie b e n e in z u fiih re n A n d e r e r s e its k a n d ie Selb stverwaltu ng in the Betrie ben nichte in fact so very clich t were den , dafi g e w issse R echte d en Arbeiterna auf d em P a p i e r g e sch e n k t w e r e T h e gentleman, the m o r e P a p i e r - a n d F a c h k e n n t n i s h a b e n , the b e r f a h r e n e B i r o c r a t e n d T e c h n o c r a t e n , wise, with the young bill- d e te n Arbitrator manipulates the word k o n n e n D i e E r h e b u n g des a llge -

m ein e n W is s e n s - u n d K u ltu rn iv e a u s d e r A r b e ite r ist e in e d e r V o rb e -

d in g u n g e n ih re r w irk lic h e n T e iln a h m e a n d e r V e r w a ltu n g d e r B e trie b e. A b e r d ie blofie S c h u lu n g u n d K u ltu ra u s b ild u n g d e r A r b e ite r ist fiir d ie V e rw irk lic h u n g d e r S e lb s tv e rw a ltu n g in B a sisb e trie b e n n ic h t g e n u g . D ie h e rrs c h e n d e T e c h n o b iiro k ra tie w ir d ih re P o s itio n e n n ic h t so g a n z fre iw illig d e n A r b e ite rn iib e rla ssen . D e s h a lb ist d ie V e r w irk lic h u n g d e r S e lb stv e rw a ltu n g in d e r P r o d u k tio n n u r d u rc h d e n stiin d ig e n K a m p f d e r P ro d u z e n te n u m ih re R e c h te m o g lich .

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Die volle Selbstverwaltung in den Betrieben ist nicht bloß durch den Kampf innerhalb der einzelnen Betriebe erreichbar. Die Einzelbetriebe wirken innerhalb einer globalen Gesellschaft, unter gewissen wirtschaftlichen, politischen und rechtlichen Bedingungen, die für alle Betriebe gleich gelten (oder wenigstens gelten sollten). So kann nicht die Frage als unwichtig ignoriert werden, wer und wie im gesamtgesellschaftlichen Umfang über diese Schlüsselfragen entscheidet.

Wenn die Schlüsselpositionen in Händen einer Staatsbürokratie bleiben, die durch allgemeine Vorschriften das ganze wirtschaftliche und politische Leben gesetzlich und administrativ regelt, dann bleiben die Aussichten für die Realisation der Selbstverwaltung in den einzelnen Betrieben sehr gering. Einerseits wird die Staatsbürokratie durch allgemeine Gesetze und Vorschriften auch die herrschende Rolle der Technobürokratie in den Betrieben zu sichern wissen, andererseits wird sie wonötig auch direkt intervenieren um in einzelnen Betrieben die bedrohte Herrschaft der ergebenen Bürokraten zu retten. Deshalb ist die Entwicklung der Selbstverwaltung im allgemeingesellschaftlichen Maßstab eine notwendige Bedingung der Selbstverwaltung in Basisbetrieben und diese Bedingung ist nur so zu erreichen, daß die herrschende Bürokratie abgeschafft wird und die Gesellschaft sich von unten nach oben als eine Vereinigung der selbstverwaltenden Einheiten konstituiert.

17.

Die teilweise Selbstverwaltung in Einzelbetrieben, die »demokratische« Wahl der kleinen Funktionäre, die Freiheit für die moderne Kunst und Literatur, die Tollerierung aller philosophischen Richtungen (mit einer einzigen Ausnahme, der marxistischen), die Pflege der nationalen Kultur, die Offenheit der Grenzen für fremde Touristen, reiche Auswahl an bunten Textilkleidern in Läden und die Überfüllung der Straßen mit Autos, – das alles kann nur ein Scheinschmick sein mit dessen Hilfe die Bürokratie die wahre Natur ihrer Herrschaft zu verschleiern sucht.

18.

Um ihre herrschende Position zu behalten ist die Bürokratie zu allem bereit, sogar zum Erfinden von Fabeln, wie derjenigen daß nicht sie, die Bürokratie vom Schweiß der eigenen Arbeiter lebt, sondern die Arbeiter anderer Nationen. Für die Musik, die sie so komponiert, kann sie für gutes Geld auch entsprechende Meistersinger finden. Ob alle für das Geld zu kaufen sind, und ob die Arbeiter so leicht betrogen werden können, – das ist eine andere Frage. Iedenfalls ist der schöne Name »Sozialismus» nicht genug, um die Häßlichkeit der bürokratischen Ausbeutung zu verschleiern.

Full self-administration in the companies cannot be achieved just by fighting within the individual companies. The individual companies operate within a global society, under certain economic, political and legal conditions that apply (or at least should apply) equally to all companies). So the question of who and how in society as a whole decides on these key issues cannot be ignored as unimportant.

If the key positions remain in the hands of a state bureaucracy, which regulates the entire economic and political life legally and d a d m in istratively through general regulations, then the prospects for the realization of the self-deputy Administration in the individual companies very low. On the one hand, the state b iirocracy w ill also know how to secure the dominating role of tech n o b iiroc racy in the companies by means of general laws and regulations, on the other hand, it w ill also w o d if necessary intervene irectly in order to save the endangered domination of the devoted bureaucrats in individual companies. Therefore, the development of self-government on a general societal scale is a necessary condition of self-government in basic enterprises, and this condition is just like that to achieve that the dominant bureaucracy is abolished and that society is constituted from the bottom up as an association of self-governing units.

The partly self-government in individual companies. the "democratic" election of the small functionaries, the liberty for m odern art and l ite ratu re, the tollery of all n hilosophisrhen r irh b in -

(with a single exception, the M arxist), the PHEGE of n a tio n al culture, the openness of the borders to foreign tourists, rich Au Sw ah l an d t e x til c h e d s in shops and the Oberfi'd-Lung o f th e streets w ith cars - all of that can only be a bogus rarity with the help of the bureaucracy the true n a tu re seeks to obscure its dominance.

In order to keep the reporium entposition, the bureaucracy is willing to do anything, even to invent fables, agathey of the fint they, the B iiro cratic lives off the sweat of they workers, but the workers of othern ations. For the music that she composes in this way, she can also find suitable mastersingers for good money. Whether everyone can be bought for money, and whether the workers can be deceived so easily - that is another question. In any case, the nice name "socialism" is not enough to disguise the ugliness of bureaucratic exploitation.

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MARGINALIEN ZUM PROBLEM DER NATION

Danko Grlić

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Wie an das Problem der Nation gehen? Ganz allgemein, außerhalb von dem, was sich gerade heute ereignet, aus dem Gesichtspunkt der ewigen Philosophie, rein begrifflich, abstrakt oder etwa konkret, was bedeuten sollte, ausschließlich vom Bestehenden ausgeben, also pragmatisch, »real-politisch«? Mir scheint, dies will ich gleich zu Beginn betonen, daß dieses methodologische Dilemma verlogen ist, daß es aus einem Konzept erzwungen wird, das aus ganz irdischen Gründen diesen Dualismus des Bewußtseins und der Wirklichkeit, der Theorie und Praxis etablieren will, um diese beiden Bereiche völlig unabhängig von einander zu lassen, sie zu petrifizieren, sie damit zu töten, wirkungslos zu machen. Das Abstrakte in seiner Isoliertheit, absoluten Unberührtheit vom konkret Geschichtlichen lebt auch sein scheinbares Leben gerade dann, wenn die Wirklichkeit in ihrer Pragmatik keine abstrakten revolutionären theoretischen Konzepte braucht, und daher ist die Koexistenz der »toten Theorie« mit der ständigen statischen Praxis so natürlich. Das ist der Zustand des Bewußtseins, in dem sich das Bewußtsein einzubilden beginnt, daß es »wirklich etwas vorzustellen, ohne etwas Wirkliches vorzustellen«, daß es sich »von der Welt zu emanzipieren und zur Bildung der 'reinen' Theorie, Theologie, Philosophie, Moral etc. überzugehen« (K. Marx, Fr. Engels, Die deutsche Ideologie, Band I, S. 96).

Nun ist es aber auch ebenso klar, daß man bei der Analyse eines Zustandes und einer Bewegung nicht nur beim Absondern und Bewerten dessen, was ist, verbleiben kann. Für einige ist es aber immer noch absurd, daß man das Konkrete nur durch seine Transzendierung sehen und erkennen kann, daß man die Beschränktheit des Beschränkten nur im Überschreiten der Grenze einsehen kann, daß man das Wirkliche nur durch das Verlassen seiner »konkreten«, alltäglichen, banalen Erscheinung und durch das Abstrahieren und Ausscheiden von allem Unwesentlichen bewerten kann. Erst dann können wir die Frage nach den Strömungen und Tendenzen in der Wirklichkeit selbst stellen, die Frage, wohin wir gehen, warum wir dorthin gehen, wohin

From agreb

H ow tackling the p ro b lem o f the n a tio n? In very general terms, outside of what is happening right now, from the point of view of eternal philosophy, purely conceptual, abstract or somewhat concrete, which should mean exclusive of the existing spend, i.e. prag -

m atic, "real-political"? It seems to me, I want to emphasize this right at the beginning, that this methodological dilemma is bogus, that it is being forced from a concept that, for entirely terrestrial reasons, has this dualism of the cons sciousness a n d r a t a c t i o n , t h a s w o e ta b l e t h e o ry a n d practic e , in order t o m o u n t e t o t h e tw o m e d a r e s

to let gig of one another, to petrify them, to kill them, to make them ineffective. The ab s tract in its isolation, absolute untouchedness from the concrete historical also lives its apparent life just when reality is in its p ra g m a tic does not need any ab s tract re vo lu tio n a r theo retical concepts, and therefore it is the coexistence of »dead th eo ry« w ith s ta n d e n t static pr a x is so natural. This is the state of consciousness in which consciousness begins to form a "really imagining without imagining anything real." it »to emancipate oneself from the world and to go over to the formation of 'pure' theory, theology, philosophy, morals, etc.' (K. M arx , F r. E ngels, Die d e u tsche Ideologic, B an d I, p. 96).

Now, however, it is also just as clear that both the analysis of a state and a movement are not only involved in the separating and evaluating of what is, can remain. For some, however, it is still absurd that one can only see and recognize the concrete through its tran scendiation, that one can limit it only by crossing the border can one see that one can access the real only by leaving one's »concrete«, everyday, banal appearance and d u r ch a n g th e a s s t a t i o n a n d e n s e s t i n t al. Only then can we ask the questions about the currents and tendencies in reality ourselves, the question of where we are going, why we are going there, where 495

wir gehen, und in wessen Namen eine Bewegung zur Bewegung wird. Deshalb hat das fast schon vergessene Losungswort von den »abstrakten Humanisten« nicht nur eine Verfehlung bedeutet (denn es erwies sich, daß gerade diese Abstrahierung sehr konkrete und scharfe kritische Analysen ermöglicht), es bedeutete vielmehr von Anfang an ein solches Kompliment (die Möglichkeit eines Denkens auf einem höheren, abstrakten Niveau, das auch noch vom humanistischen Inhalt durchdrungen ist), das viele, denen es zugedacht war, nicht einmal verdient haben. Es ist aber charakteristisch, daß man sehr rasch einsah. daß philosophische, soziologische und überhaupt theoretische Abstrahierung zu bestimmten tieferen, konsequnteren und klareren Ansichten im Verhältnis zur Realität führt als die, die sich nur an die sogen. gesellschaftspolitische Wirklichkeit hält, sie vom Standpunkt und im Rahmen eben dieser Wirklichkeit beobachtet, und so wurden diese (wenigstens dem Namen nach) gutmütigen »abstrakten Humanisten« oft und sehr scharf von Real-Politikern dazu aufgefordert. sich der reinen Theorie, der Fachphilosophie zuzuwenden. Auf dem sogen, fachphilosophischen Niveau komt es ebenfalls zu einem Paradox eigener Art: arrogante Schmeichler, Leute, die bis zu den Ohren in verschiedene befehlende Kombinationen und Intrigen getaucht sind. Leute mit ausdrücklich krankhaften politischen Ehrgeiz, gemeinsam mit gut bezahlten Rezensenten und Schreiberlingen fordern die Philosophie dazu auf, die Grenze der fachlichen, reinen, suptilen Philosophie nicht zu überschreiten, sich also ausschließlich mit der sogen. Abstrahierung zu beschäftigen. Die Philosophie beschäftigt sich also schon per definitionen mit abstrakten Problemen, nicht aber mit einer falschen, pervertierten, jegliche Wirklichkeit entbehrenden Abstrahierung, die keine Korelate in der Praxis hat, die von sich glaubt, außerhalb von Zeit und Raum zu sein, und die solcherart in ihrem Wahn des Intelligibilen und Vernünftigen die reale Unvernunft ermöglicht, sie sogar rechtfertigt.

Wenn wir also von der wahrhaft philosophischen Abstrahierung sprechen, dann kann dies keinesfalls diese neutrale, unverantwortliche Abstrahierung sein, ein interessantes anregendes Ping-Pong mit Begriffen und Termini, die manche so sehnsüchtig von der Philosophie erwarten, dies kann keine Abstrahierung ohne Konsequenzen der Realität gegenüber sein, jene vorsichtige, eigentlich verlogene Abstrahierung, die niemand zu etwas verpflichtet, die die Flucht vor allen Widersprüchen der Wirklichkeit ist, und die oft gerade deshalb vertreten wird, um in der konkreten Wirklichkeit und den zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen zunächst das krämerische Lizitieren mit Positionen und einträglichen Sinekuren, tagtägliche Lügen, Karrierismus und Prinziplosigkeit zu verdecken, dann aber zu pflegen. Denn man kann schließlich gerade aus Grund solcher Abstrahierungen Theoretiker guter, sogar noch fachlich großer Philosoph, angesehener Theoretiker sein, und zugleich konfidentenhaft und abscheulich unmenschlich unterstellen, intrigieren, sich bei mächtigen Primitivlingen einschmeicheln, jeden Versuch eines selbstständigen Genkens pogromartig verDeshalbhatdas fast schonvergeseneLosungsworthvonden» abstract -

te n H u m a n i s t e n « n ich t n u r e ine Verfe hlung b e deut e t (this is why this abstract is very concrete and s ch a rfe critical Analysis o g lich t), es b e de ute te vielmehrvon Anfangane in solches Compliment (the M o g lich k eit eines D e n k e n s a f e in e m h o h e -

Ren, ABStraktenniveEstaberchartical, dafimans ehrraschein-

sah. dafi p h i l o so p h i s h e , sociology s h e u n d i b e r h a u p t t h e o r e t i s c h e A b s t r a h i e r u n g zu b e s tim m te n tie fe re n , consequences and clarification A n -

s ich te n im V erhaltn is z u r R e a l i t a t fiih rt als d ie, d ie sich n u r a n d ie sogen. g e s e llssch afts p o litis c h e Wirklichkeithalt, sie vom Stand Point in Rahmene bendieser Wirklichkeit beobachtet, and so w e r d e n d iese (when igsten s dem N a m e n n a c h) g u t m iitig e n » a b s t r a c t e n H u m a n i s t e n « o f t h e r e f o r e s h a r f o n R eal-Politik e r d a z u a f g e f o r d e r t

sich of the realm of T h e o r e , of F a c h p h i l o s o p h y u s e d A u f they sogen. fa c h p h i l o s o p h i s c h e n The level at which these arrive falls into a Paradoxical Art: arrogant Schmeichler, Leute, who is also Ohrenin v e r s c h i e d e n e fe h l e n d the Combination and Intriguing tau ch t sind.

Leutemit ausdriick lichkrankhaftenpolitischenEhrgeiz, gemeinsammit gut bezahltenRezensentenund SchreiberlingenforderndiePhilosophicdazuauf, die Grenzederfachlichen, reinen, suptilenPhilosophic nicht zu iiberschreiten, sich also ausschliefilichmit der sogen.

A b s tra h i e r u n g to b e s c h a ftig e n Die P h i l o s o p h i c b e s c h a f tig t sich also sch on per d efin itionen n m i t a b s t r a c t e n Pro b l e m e n , nich tabermite iner falschen , pervert ten , je g liche W i r k lic h k e i ntbe h r e n d e n A b s t r a h i e r u n g , the kind of correlation in der Praxishat, die von sich glaubt, au fie rhalb von Ze it and R aum to be, and the soldier in his W a h n des Intelligible and Vern iin ftige n d ie rea le U n vernun fter moglich t, sie so g a r r e ch tfertig t.

When I also wonder if philosophy has an abstract speech, then one can

only fall into this neutral, unverified abstraction, e in the interest of Ping-Pong meets Be-griffen and Termini, which he now sees as a wonderful philosopher worthy, he can in e A b s t r a h i e r u n g o h n e K o n s e q u e n z e n d R e a l i t a t g e g e n i b e r sein, je n e v orsichtige, eigentlic verlogene Abstrahierung, d i e n e m a n d zu etwa s verp flic h te t, die die Flucht voralien Widers priichender Wirklichkeitist, and die of gerade de sha lb vertreten wird, u m i n d e r concrete n W i r k l h k e it u n d e n z w i s h e n m e n sch h li-chen B eziehungen z u n a ch st da s k r a m e r i s c h e Liz itieren mit Positionen n d e intra g l i c h e n Sinekuren, tag tag lich e Liigen, Carrierismusund Prinsiplosigketto verdict, then b e t w o p l e g e n D e n n m a n k a n n sch liefilich gera d e aus G r u n d s o l t h e r Ab s tra h i e r u n g e n Theoretician Guter, sogarnoch fachlich g ro fier Philosoph er, ange sehener Theoretician sein, u n d zu g le ich k o n f i d e n t e n ha f t u n d a b s cheulichunmenschlichuntersteln, intriguing, making themselves into primitive lings in schmei-ch eln, which V e rsu ch eines self-standing Genken s p o g r o m a r t i g v e r-496

folgen.¹ Diese pseudophilosophische Falschheit, die so oft und mit frommen Glauben verschiedene nationalistische Gecken eben der »reinen« Philosophie predigen – kam klar in der Forderung »nach Erneuerung der philosophischen Problematik« und dem Ausweg aus der »forcierten Politisierung« klar zum Ausdruck, neben dem gleichzeitig pompös ausgedrückten Verlangen – das nichts anderes bedeutet, als konkrete aber »unforcierte« politische Denunzierung – »die ausgesprochen anationale Philosophie« definitiv zu liquidieren.²

Man muß sich aber je früher von kleinen Aufdringlingen befreien, von Marktfliegen, wie sie Nietzsche genannt hat. Wenn wir mit ihnen polemisieren, setzen wir uns der Gefahr aus, uns auf jemanden konzentrieren, der tatsächlich keine philosophisch relevante Position hat, daher kann ihm niemand 0-position sein. Im übrigen können einer Bewegung den Sinn, den humanen Inhalt und die Breite ihres theoretischen Horizonts keinerlei, schon gar keine niedrigen Gegner, kleine Nagetiere schenken. Wenn sie selbst in sich nicht das Streben, das in der Reinheit und Größe der eigenen Überzeugung verwurzelt

Dabei ist es charakteristisch, daß nach der Metamorphose solche kleine Götter sich bis zum tobenden unkontrollierten Haß für ihre Speichelleckerei an jenen rächen, die trotzdem – trotz aller Drohungen und »freundschaftlicher« Ratschläge – ihre menschliche Würde beibehalten haben. Die Rache dieser zerknitterten Menschen, wenigstens bei jenen, die noch philosophisch urteilen können, und die deshalb das schlechte Gewissen drückt – kann als Rache für die eigene Unfreiheit. das Gefühl der Behinderung und das Bewußtsein über das Eingeschlossensein in manipulative Strömungen die Form einer komischen Aufgeblasenheit annehmen. die von sich selbst glaubt, alle erschreckt zu haben, und die meint, daß bald alle – wie sie selbst es einmal taten – sich beugen werden. Sie vergißt aber, daß für die reale Macht nicht nur Machthaber notwendig sind, sondern auch solche, die sich der Macht beugen, für den Gehorsam nicht nur solche, die befehlen, sondern auch solche, die gehorchen, träumen und nicken. Aber dieser letzteren Tugenden, dieser frommen und untergebenen Zerknirschtheit, glaube ich, kann sich »Praxis« tatsächlich nicht rühmen.

² Wunderbar ist diese höchst fachliche Trennung in nationale und anationale Philosophie. Ich würde gerne wissen, zu welcher dieser beiden Richtungen (vielleicht wäre es gut, sie unter die »Unitaristen« und »Nationalisten« cinzuordnen) Aristoteles, Thomas von Aquin, Descartes, Kant, Heidegger, Sartre gehören? In diesem Sinn ist der Artikel »Die Rückkehr der Philosophie - die Erncuerung der Tradition« (Hrvatski Tjednik Nr. 2, S. 16) charakteristisch. Dieser Artikel verdient nach seinem Niveau nicht einmal eine kurze Fußnote, aber wir tun dies nicht wegen des Autors (Z. Lisinski) oder seiner »Thesen«, sondern wir tun dies, da solche Ansichten typisch für eine Mentalität wurden, die von oben überheblich durch unsere Massenmedien der letzte Richter in der Philosophie sein will. Schreiber solcher Art, bei denen man ziemlich genau weiß, warum sie schreiben und in wessen Namen sie schreiben, und zwar so halbgebildete Artike chen - mehr als ein paar quasipolitischer Klügeleien haben sie auch nicht geschrieben - richten vom Piedestal der berufensten Fachleute in unserer Philosophie. Ihnen zufolge ist die größte Sünde von »Praxis« jetzt und in Zukunft, daß es »revolutionsträgerisch« ist. Deshalb hat derselbe Rezensent desselben Blattes der vor der Plenarsitzung in Brioni (1965) die Mitarbeiter von »Praxis« als »professionelle Antikommunisten« bezeichnet (da sie die stalinistischen Einbildungen in Erinnerung rufen, die schon längst weder bei uns, noch in der »internationalen Arbeiterbewegung« existieren) indem er zu wer weiß wievielten Mal (das professionell antikommunistische) Praxis begrub, mit Erleichterung und erschütternder Begeisterung geschrieben, daß er holft, daß unsere Theorie damit aus dem »revolutionsträgerischen» Konzept kommt. Damit alles bis zuletzt klar bleibt, ware es vielleicht gut, hätte er zum Schluß noch hinzugefügt: und hoffen wir, daß wir damit definitiv in das »kontrarevolutionsträgerische« Konzept geraten.

philosophical problem a tic« and the a ect eg from the

»forced politicization« is clearly expressed, alongside the simultaneously pompously expressed demand - which means nothing else than concrete but »unforced« political denunciation - »the issued - spoken a n a tio n al philosophie« to liqu id e fin itivly .2

But one has to free oneself from little obtrusive people earlier, from market flies, as N ietzsche did. When we polemize with them, we sit down Dangerous to focus on someone who actually has no philosophically relevant position, so no one can be 0 -position for him. Moreover, no movement, let alone lowly opponents, small rodents, can give a movement its meaning, its human content and the breadth of its theoretical horizon. If they themselves do not have the striving that is rooted in the purity and grandeur of their own supreme 1 It is characteristic that after the metamorphosis such small g o up to the raging uncon tro lled hafi for their spacy treats to je n e n ra -

who nevertheless - in spite of all threats and "friendly" advice -

have retained their human dignity. The revenge of these crumpled people, at least in the case of those who can still reason philosophically and who therefore have a bad conscience - can be taken as revenge for their own lack of freedom.

the feeling of disability and the awareness of being trapped in manipulative currents take the form of a comical bloatedness annchmen.

who believes in herself to have frightened everyone, and who m cint that soon it will all be -

as they themselves once did - will bend. They forget, however, that real power requires not only those in power, but also those who bow to power, and that obedience requires not only those who command, but also those who who obey, dream and nod. But these ultimate virtues, this pious and submissive contrition, I believe that "practice" cannot really boast.

1 W o u n d e r is this highly technical separation into n a tio n ale and an atio n alc philosophic. I would like to know to which of these two directions (perhaps it would be good to classify them among the »unitarists« and »nationalists«) A ristoteles, T h o m a s von A quin, D escartes, K ant, H eidegger, S a rtre belong? In this sense, the article "The return of the philosopher - the renewal of the tradition" (Hrv a tski 1 jednik No. 2, p. 16) is characteristic. Due to its level, this article does not even deserve a short footnote, but we do not do this because

of the author (Z. Lisinski) or his »Thcscn«, but w We do this because such views became typical of a mentality. who, arrogantly from above, wants to be the last judge in philosophy through our mass media. Writers of the kind where you know pretty well why they write and in whose name they write. and the half-formed artic les clchen - m ore than a few quasi-p o litic c liigelci they ain't writ ten - r ounds from the piedc-stal d r the m ost v e e n t F oh people in our philosophy. According to them, the great sin of "practice" now and in the future is that it is "revolutionary." That is why the same reviewer of the same sheet of the before the c r plcn ar session in Brioni (1965) referred to the employees of »Praxis« as »professional anticom m unisten« (that sic the Stalinist imaginations in Erin n c ru n g, which have long*

neither with us, nor in c e r »in ter n a tio n a l worker bcw cgung« existicrcn) by knowing how many May (the professionally anti-com m unistic) practice is bc-grub, w it Written in simplification and shattering of enthusiasm, it helps our theory about it to come from the »revolutionary-tragic« concept. So that everything remains clear up to the end, it might be a good thing, he would have added at the end: And we hope that we will de fin itively enter the »con trarev o lu tio n stra-gerische« concept advis e .

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ist, trägt, wenn sie in sich die eigenen Gedanken und die geschichtliche Richtung nicht trägt, dann können alle Hindernisse, Verneinungen und Schwierigkeiten oft nur zum wohlfeilen Alibi zur Deckung des eigenen geistigen Vakuums, der Unfähigkeit, Ausweglosikeit werden. Dies bedutet nicht, daß fast jede ehrliche Anstrengung nicht auf Hindernisse stoßen wird: aber sie wird den Grund ihrer Konstituierung, ihres Bestehens und ihrer Begeisterung nicht in etwas anderem, sondern in sich selbst suchen, in ihren Prinzipien, in der Eigenheit ihres Weges und ihre existentiellen Streben zum Neuen, Zukünftigen.

Zunächst muß also vor allem die Philosophie verteidigt werden, die etwas behauptet, und die sich selbst nicht in der polemischen Konfrontation mit der bedeutungslosen Pragmatik der Pseudophilosophie findet. Die Philosophie hat, auch wenn sie irrt und fehlt, ihre Würde in dem, daß sie kein Denken im Chor ist und keine »Errichtung der unbedingten Gemeinsamkeit«. Unlängst hat mich öffentlich der bekannte Korryphäe des Stalinismus Jovčuk gefragt, wie ich denn überhaupt noch Philosoph sein könne, wenn hinter mir nicht einmal meine politische Führung steht, weder mein Land, noch die Partei, noch das Volk, ja nicht einmal alle Philosophen. Ich habe ihm geantwortet, daß hinter mir nicht nur jene nicht stehen, die er genannt hat, sondern auch meine besten Freunde aus der »Praxis«-Redaktion nicht; »hinter« mir gibt es niemand, »hinter« meiner Philosophie stehe nur ich und niemand anderer. Dies konnte natürlich niemals in diesen Kopf gehen, und er begann laut zu lachen, wiederholte triumphierend mein »Geständnis«. Müßten mit ihm gemeinsam nicht die frischgebackenen Vertreter des philosophischen Monolithismus und der »Errichtung der unbedingten Gemeinsamkeit« lachen?

Weshalb aber ist jetzt diese Gemeinsamkeit so unbedingt, warum müssen alle Unterschiede übergangen werden, und in wessen Namen sollen alle Kräfte geeint werden, der, der sich dem widersetzt, unbarmherzig unmöglich gemacht, beseitigt, begraben werden? Welches ist das neue Leitmotiv des Rufs zu einem solchen Einklang, wenn die früheren schon etwas abgenützt und fast komisch geworden sind (im Namen der einheitlichen Prinzipien des Marxismus-Leninismus, im Namen des Sozialistischen Realismus, im Namen für alle marxistischen Philosophen der gemeinsamen Abbildtheorie usw usw). Was wird jetzt zum Tabu, das man nicht berühren darf, was wird zum höchsten Gesetz, zur gemeinsamen Kappe, unter der wir alle stehen müssen (in Habt-acht-Stellung), wenn wir nicht definitiv als Verräter abgestempelt werden wollen?

Dies ist, wie uns allen bekannt ist, das Nationale.

Ein großer, unangenehmer und nicht ganz ungefährlicher³ Begriff, bei dem schon der Versuch, rational und nüchtern über ihn zu sprechen, bei denen Haß hervorruft, die (oft auch ganz offen) behaupten, daß man über diesen Begriff überhaupt nicht diskutieren kann, da die

³ Dies sage ich im übrigen aus eigener Erfahrung, die ich am eigenen Leib verspürt habe. Als ich im Juni 1968 vor den Studenten der Akademie der Bildenden Künste sprach und sagte, daß sie es nicht zulassen sollten, daß sie mit Hilfe des Nationalen manipuliert würden, wurde ich – wie der Dekan öffentlich in der Pres-

g e n u n d S c h w ie rig k e ite n o ft n u r zu m w o h lfe ile n A lib i z u r D e c k u n g des e i g e n e n g e istig e n V a c u m s, der Unfa h i g k e it, A u swe g lo sik e it w e r d en T h i s b e d u t e t n i ch t, dafi fast je d e e h rlic h e A n s t r e n g u n g n i c h t a u f H i n d e r n is sesto fien wird: a b e r sie wird den Grundihrer Constituency -

r u n g , ih re s B e steh e n s u n d h e r Be g e iste r u n g nich t in etwa sandere m , sondern in sich selb st such en , in ih re n P r i n z i p ien , in de r E ig e n h e iti ih re s W e g e s u n d h e r e x i s t e n t i e l Stre ben z u m N e u e n , Z u k iin ftig e n

Z u n a c h s t m ufi also w o r a l m the p h i l o s o p h i c v e r t e d ig t w e r d e n , t h a t was behaved, and d die itself nothing within the polemic of K o n -

frontationmitherbedeutingslosenPragmatics of Pseudophilosophy find. Die Philosophichat, auchwennsieirrtundfehlt, ihre Wurdeindem, dafisie kein Den kenim Choristund keine» Errictungderunbedingten Gemcinthe same manner« Unlngsthatmichofffentlochderbekanntecophaedes stalinismusjovčukgefragt, wie Ichdennuber-hauptnochphseinkonne, wenhintermirnichte in malmeinpolitishe Fiihrungstcht, wedermein Land, noch die Partei, noch das Volk, janichte in malalle Philosophen Ichabeihmgeantwortet, dafihintermirnichtnurjenenichtseken

» h in te r« m ir g ib t es n ie m a n d , » h in te r« m e in e r P h ilo s o p h ic ste h e n u r ich u n d n ie m a n d a n d e re r . D ies k o n n te n a tiirlic h n ie m a ls in d iese n K o p f g e h e n , u n d e r b e g a n n la u t zu la c h e n , w ie d e rh o lte triu m p h ie re n d m ein » G e s ta n d n is « . M iifiten m it ih m g e m e in s a m n ic h t d ie fris c h g e -

b a c k e n e n V e r tr e te r des p h ilo s o p h is c h e n M o n o lith is m u s u n d d e r » E r ric h tu n g d e r u n b e d in g te n G e m e in s a m k e it« la c h e n?

W e s h a lb a b e r ist je tz t d iese G e m e in s a m k e it so u n b e d in g t, w a ru m m u ssen a lle U n te rs c h ie d e iib e rg a n g e n w e rd e n , u n d in w e sse n N a m e n s o lle n a lle K r a f te g e e in t w e rd e n , d e r, d e r sich d e m w id e rs e tz t, u n -

b a rm h e rz ig u n m o g lic h g e m a c h t, b e seitig t, b e g ra b e n

werden? Welchesist dasneueLeitmotiv des RufszueinemsolchenEinklang, wenndie friiherenschonetwasabgeniitztundfastkomischgewordensind' (im NamendereinheitlichenPrinzipiendes Marxismus-Leninismus, im Namendes SozialistischenRealismus, im NamenfiirallemarxistischenPhilosophendergemeinsamenAbbildtheorieuswusw). Waswirdjetztzum Tabu, dasmannichtberiihrendarf, waswirdzumhochstenGesetz, zurgemeinsamenKappe, unterderwirallestehenmussen (in Habt-acht-Stellung), wennwirnicht definitivals Verraterabgestempelt werdenwollen?

D ies ist, w ie u n s a lie n b e k a n n t ist, d a s N a tio n a le.

E in g ro fie r, u n a n g e n e h m e r u n d n ic h t g a n z u n g e fa h r lic h e r 3 B e g riff, bei d e m sch o n d e r V e rsu c h , r a tio n a l u n d n iic h te r n iib e r ih n zu s p re -

Kategorie des Nationalen nicht Sache des Verstandes, sondern des Herzens, des Gefühls ist. Der, der dieses Gefühl nicht hat - so wird ein Vaterlandsfreund das sagen – hat nicht das Recht, über die Nation zu diskutieren. Über die Nation grübelt man nicht, man theoretisiert nicht, für die Nation kämpft man, stirbt man, die Nation liebt man als Kern des eigenen Kerns, als Wesen des eigenen Wesens, man nimmt sie mit der Muttermilch auf, sie ist Blut und Boden, das Vermächtnis unserer Vorfahren, das Heilige des Heiligen, der Ruf, keine Befriedung anzunehmen, sie kann nicht Gegenstand begrifflicher Schulßfolgerungen sein, ruhiger leidenschaftloser Analysen. Man muß also gleich betonen, daß gerade weil das Gefühl der nationalen Zugehörigkeit viele dieser Züge trägt, die Nation auch Beute manipulativer Operationen gerade jener werden kann, die mit diesem irrationalen4 Enthusiasmus rechnen, die aber völlig »über« den Interessen einer Nation stehen, und so werden sie - wie uns die Geschichte beweist - in der Regel morgen bereitwillig, ohne mit der Wimper zu zucken, die wichtigsten Interesen eben dieser Nation verraten, für die sie so rührend rezitiert haben und patriotische Tränen vergossen. Wenn Patriotismus nur auf Gefühl beruht, warum sollten sie nicht einfach ihre Gefühle ändern, ohne dabei etwas zu verletzen, denn gegen ein solches Vorgehen gibt es kein rationales Argument, da er einfach nie auf ihnen beruhte, sondern eben nur auf Gefühlen, die - wie wissen - veränderlich sind. Deshalb ist es auch gar nicht verwunderlich, daß die feurigsten, gefühlvollsten Nationalisten oft zu Dienern des Fremden und der Besatzersoldateska werden - es ist fast natürlich. Diese Spielerei mit Gefühlen ist charakteristisch auch heute für eine Reihe gerade dieser Leute, die den Willen haben, fremde Gefühle auszunützen, an der Spitze aller möglichen sogen. nationalen Kulturereignisse zu stehen, die tief verwurzelten Gefühle anderer ansprechend, dieselben Gefühle, die sie unter minimalen Druck leichtfertig wechseln.5 In diesem Sinn glaube ich tatsächlich, daß Hegel6 im Recht

ce zugab auf Anordnung eines Parteifunktionärs (siehe Omladinski tjednik Nr. 33, 20. XI. 1968) ohne Begründung aus der Akademie geworfen, an der ich sechs Jahre lang Ästhetik gelehrt hatte: dies, obwohl alle damaligen Studenten der Akademie eine Petition unterschrieben, in der sie ersuchten, daß ich das Kolleg weiterführe.

⁴ Hier wird das Wort irrational – wenn wir an die Liebe zur Heimat denkennicht im schlechten Sinn aufgesaßt. Der Mensch liebt nämlich tatsächlich oft irrational, denn schließlich ist auch die Liebe zur Frau nicht rational begründet. In
diesem Sinne ist es völlig klar, daß niemand das Recht hat, jemandem das Recht
auf sein inneres Leben zu verwehren. Arm, jämmerlich und kalt wäre unser Leben
ohne Gefühle. Wenn aber das eigene Erlebnis der Liebe, wenn das private Verhältnis zum Prinzip wird und als solches aufgezwungen, als Notwendigkeit, der sich alle
beugen müssen, dann wird die Intimität zu ihrem Gegenteil: sie wird zur Regel
für alle, was durch ihre Intimität jede andere Intimität beleidigt. Deshalb kann
das Irrationale, so sehr es verwurzelt ist, nicht zum Prinzip werden, zum Gesetz,
zum Sinn der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen.

So hat sich – um das nur zu erwähnen – einer unserer feurigsten und bekanntesten zeitgenössischen Lautsprecher der kroatischen nationalen Kulturtradition jahrelang in Beograd als Angehöriger einer anderen Nation ausgegeben und unterschrieben (davon gibt es geschriebene Dokumente). Dies spricht zwar dafür, daß man in der bürokratischen Mitte am leichtesten eine Karriere aufbaut, und so ist

does not ponder about the nation, one does not theorize, one fights for the nation, one dies for it, one loves the nation as the core of one's own core, as a being of your own being, you take it in with your mother's milk, it is blood and soil, the legacy of our ancestors, the holy of holies, the reputation not to accept satisfaction, it can not be the subject of conceptual school conclusions, quieter suffering disembodied analyses. One has to emphasize right away that precisely because the feeling of n a tio n a l belonging carries many of these traits, the n a tio n is also the prey to m an i p u lative op e ra tio n s who can become who w ith this irra tio n a -

4 en th usiasm, but which are completely »above« the interests of a n a tio n, and so they w ill - as history shows us - usually m willingly, without batting an eyelid, betray the m o st inte n t e s t e s of that very n a tio n, for whom you recited so touchingly and patriotically T r a n e s shed.

If patriotism is only based on feeling, why shouldn't they just change their feelings without hurting anything, because there is no rational way to take action against such a thing rg u m en t that he was simply never based on them, but only on feelings that - as we know - are veriin derlich. It is therefore not at all surprising that the fiery, most emotional nationalists often become the servants of foreigners and of the occupying soldiers - it is almost natural. This playing around with feelings is characteristic even today of a number of precisely these people, who have the will to exploit the feelings of others, at the top of all possible sucks. to stand at n a tio n al cultural events, appealing to the deep-rooted feelings of others, the same feelings that they easily switch under m in imal pressure. 5 In this sense, I actually believe that Hegel6 is right

:e zu^ab u f r n u n g a P a rtc ifu n k tio n ar (sichc O m ladinski tje d n ik No. 33, 20. X I. 1968) thrown out of the A kadem ic without reason, o n d e r i h a d g e l g a s t e c t for six years; this, although all the students of the A ka-dcm ic at that time signed a petition in which they asked me to lead the college w citer-lead.

4 Here is the irrational Word - when we think of the L icbc on H cim --

n o t i m sc lilcrh tcn sense on fg efafit. In fact, people often love irrationally, because after all, love for women is not rational either. In this sense, it is perfectly clear that no one has the right to deny anyone the right to be in c r c s life. Poor, sorry and cold would be our life without feelings. But if one's own experience of love, if the private relationship becomes a principle and is imposed as such, as a necessity

that everyone must bow to, then the in tim ita t to its opposite: it becomes the remedy for all, which, through its in tim ita t, respects every other in tim ita t. That is why the irrational, rooted as it is, cannot become the principle, the law, the meaning of interpersonal relationships.

 * So - just to mention it - one of our most fiery and well-known contemporary speakers of the Croatian n a tio n al c u ltu rt tradition has resided in B eograd for a long ye a y Belong c r to another n a tio n issued and u n * c r"

wrote (there are written documents of this). Thy yees tand them entthem entbem entbem

war, wenn er feststellte, daß das Gefühl zum Allgemeinprinzip erhoben, selbst die Wurzel der Humanität vernichten kann, da es – als ein subjekteigenes irrationales Moment – die wahre Kommunikation unter den Menschen unmöglich macht. Wo aber im Prinzip die Möglichkeit der Diskussion aufhört, beginnt der Knüppel, das Pogrom, die Zerstörung – und dies hat sich bisher nicht zur einmal auch ereignet. Es gibt also kein solches menschliches Phänomen, innerhalb dessen ein freies Gespräch nicht geführt werden könnte, und alles, was auf der Erde, unter ihr und über ihr ist, also auch menschliche Begeisterungen, kann Gegenstand der Skepsis, des Nachdenkens, der Analyse sein.

Schließlich, nur so werden wir unabhängig als Subjekte des eigenen Denkens, wir lösen uns von der Abhängigkeit, die immer das Charakteristikum emotionell defärbter Ergüsse ist. Das Gefühl ist übrigens nur scheinbar tatsächlich subjektiv – es besteht nur in Beziehung zu etwas anderem, und für das andere, nicht aber für sich selbst. Erst Selbstbewußtsein und Bewußtsein, die eine Verständigung möglich machen, ermöglichen zugleich auch die Eigenheit der subjektiven Unabhängigkeit und Freineit vor jeglichem Druck. »Denn der menschliche Geist, wenn er sich der Vernunft bedient, ist nicht abhängig von den höchsten Mächten, sondern von sich selbst« (B. Spinoza: Politischer Traktat, S. 22).

Es war notwendig in ein paar Worten die Möglichkeit der Diskussion über die Nation zu rechtfertigen, damit die Objektivität der Argumente und Gegenargumente in diesem Gegestand ihr Recht erhält. Dazu möchte ich betonen, daß ich bisher über die Problematik des Nationalen nicht etwas besonders Neues oder Originelles in diesen Marginalien gesagt habe, noch werde ich es im weiteren Text tun. Bei dieser Gelegenheit werde ich nicht einmal die enorme Literatur oder die zahllosen Autoren zitieren, die darüber geschrieben haben, in suptilere Analysen und Diskussionen eindringen, ich will nur auf einige primäre Grundvoraussetzungen verweisen. Ich glaube nämlich, daß es im Moment wichtiger und notwendiger ist, über das Elementäre zu sprechen, sich das ABC in Erinnerung rufen, ja sogar einige schon bekannte Wahrheiten zu wiederholen, als sich hinter »tiefen«, verfeinerten Kategorialanalysen zu verschanzen, die oft wegen ihrer Seichte und Opportunität mit dem Umhang der hieroglyphischen Unverständlichkeit oder ausführlichen soziologischen, auf zahllosen Angaben beruhenden wissenschaftlichen Diagnosen, in denen man oft vor lauter Bäumen den Wald nicht sieht, vernebeln, Wenn man übrigens das ABC vergessen hat, muß es notwendig wiederholt werden.

dies zugleich eine Anklage gegen seine Besehlsgeber, die die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Nation bevorzugen, aber, ich glaube, es sagt auch etwas über den Charakter dieses stolzen Vaterlandsfreund.

⁶ »Indem jener sich auf das Gefühl sein inwediges Orakel beruft, ist er gegen den, der nicht übereinstimmt, fertig; er muß erklären, daß er dem veiter nichts zu sagen habe der nicht dasselbe in sich finde und fühle; – mit anderen Worten: er tritt die Wurzel der Humanität mit Füßen. Denn die Natur dieser ist auf die Übereinkunft mit anderen zu dringen, und ihre Existenz nur in der zustande gebrachten Gemeinsamkeit der Bewußtseine. Das Widermenschliche, das Tierische besteht darin, im Gefühle stehenzubleiben und durch diese sich mitteilen zu könnene. (Hegel: Phänomenologie des Geistes; W. in 20 Bänden, Suhrkamp, 1970, S. 64/65)

b en , se lb st die W u rze l d er H u m a n i t a t v e r n i c h t h e n k a n n , d a es — als e in subject i r rational Moment — d ie w a h r e K o m m u n e ic a tio n u n t e r M e n s h e n i n m o g l i c h mach t. W o a b e r im P r i n s i p d i e M o g l i c h k e it the Discussion aufhort, beginning with Kniippel, the Pogrom, the Z e r -

s to ru n g - u n d dies ha t sich b i s h e r n i c h t z u r e in m a l a u c h e r i g n e t. There are also k e in solches m en sch lich e s P h a n o m e n , i n e r h a l b d e s e n e in fre ies G e s p r a ch n i c h t ge fiihrt w e r den c o n n t e , u n d a l l e s , w a s a u f der Erde , unter ihrund iib e rih rist, also a c h m e n s h l i c h e Begeiste rungen , can stand against Skepsis, the Nachdenkens, the Analysis.

S ch liefilich, n u r so w e rd e n w ir u n a b h a n g ig a ls S u b je k te des e ig e n e n D e n k e n s, w ir lo sen u n s v o n d e r A b h a n g ig k e it, d ie im m e r d a s C h a r a k -

te ristic m e m o t i o n e l d e f a r b t e r E rg iisse ist. D a s G e fiih l ist iib rigen s n u r s c h e in b a r ta ts a c h l i c h s u b j e c t - es b e s te h t n u r in B e zie hung zu etwa s a n d e r m, und fiir d a s n d e r, n ich ta b e r fiir sich selb st. E r s t S e lb stbe w u fitse in und B ew u fitsein, d ie e in e V e r s t a n d i g u n g m o g l i ch m ache n, e r m o g l i c h en z u g le i c h a u c h d ie E i g e n h e it d e r s u b j e c t i v e n U n -

a b h a n g i g k e i t u n d Free h e it v o r j e m D r u c k » D e n n d e r m e n sch lic h e Geist, w h e n e r sich der Vernunft bedient, ist nich tabh angig von hochsten Machten , sonder von sich selb st« (B. Spinoza: P o litischer Tractate, S. 22).

Eswarnotwendiginein pair Wortendie Moglichke it der Discussion iberde Nation to reach tfertigen, thus the Objectivity of Arguments and Gegenarguments in this mGegestandhrRechterhalt.

D a z u m o ch te ich b e to n e n, dafi ich b ish e r iib e r d ie P r o b le m a tik des N a tio n a le n n ic h t e tw a s b e so n d ers N e u e s o d e r O rig in e lle s in d iese n M a rg in a lie n g e s a g t h a b e, n o c h w e rd e ich es im w e ite r e n T e x t tu n.

B e d ies s e r G e l e g e n h e it w e r d e ich nich t e in m a l d i e n o r m e L i t e r a t u r e d i e z a l o s e Author s, d i e d a r i b e r g e s ch rie b e n h a b e n , in s u p tile re A n a l y s e n d Discu ssion n e n d r i n g e n e , i w i l l n u r a u f i n i g e p r i m a r e G r u n d o r a u s e s t u n g e n v e i s e n . I g l a u b e n a m l i ch , dafies im Mo m e

n t w ich tiger und n o t w e n d i g e r i s t, iiber da s E l e m e n -

v e r s t a n d l i c h k e i t o d e r a u s fiih rlic h e n so zio lo gisch en , a u f z a h llo s e n A n -

g a b e n b e r u h e n d e n w i s c h a f t l i c h e n D i a g n o s e , i n d e n e n m a n o f v o r l u t e r Baumenden Waldnichtsieht, Vernebeln , W e n n m a n i i b r i g e n s da s A B C verge sse n h a t, m ufi s n o t w e n d i g w i e d e r h o l t w e r d e n

At the same time this is an indictment of his commanders for preferring to belong to a particular nation, but I believe it also says something about the character of this proud friend of the fatherland.

• "By appealing to the feeling of his own oracle, he is finished against the one who does not agree; he must explain that he has nothing to say to the other person who does not find and feel the same in himself; - in other words: he kicks the roots of humanity with his feet. For the nature of these is to strive for agreement with others, and their existence only in the community of consciousnesses that has been brought about. What is repellent, what is animal, consists in stopping in the feeling and only being able to communicate through it.

(Hegel: Phenomenology of Spirit; W. in 20 bands, Suhrkamp, 1970, p. 64/65) 500

So gehört es sicher zum ABC, daß unter gewissen Druckzuständen. daß z.B. unter kollonialer wirtschaftlicher Ausbeutung,7 unter dauernder Bedrohung das Gefühl der Gemeinsamkeit wächst, so z. B. das der Familie, dann der weiteren Gemeinschaft, der Nation. Dieses Gefühl ist völlig natürlich, und es entsteht in uns in einem gesunden Widerstand auch gegen z. B. einige übernationale Beamtenstrukturen. Man kann nicht widersprechen, daß es im Globalen betrachtet - gerade, wenn die Rede vom Lizitieren und Feilschen um den Kampf um die Macht oder überhaupt von den Kombinationen von Berufspolitikern um ein je größeres Stück Kuchen ist - imstande ist, ein ganzes Volk oder Völker zum Bewußtsein zu rufen, parasitäre Ausnützer, diese ziemlich dicken bürokratischen Schichten, die sich jahrelang auf dem Buckel des Volkes gelagert haben, umöglich zu machen. Vielleicht ist dies für unsere Bedingungen ein zu hartes Wort, aber es wäre doch nicht so fernliegend, sich die alte Wahrheit ins Gedächtnis zu rufen, daß in den Kolonien für niemanden wahre Freiheit besteht (nicht einmal für die sogen. »höheren« gesellschaftlichen Schichten), bis sie sich vom Kollonisator befreien.

Ebenso ist es klar, daß sich der Kampf der unterdrückten Klassen der Form nach, d. h. nach der räumlichen Bestimmung innerhalb der nationalen Grenze abwickeln kann, und daß das Proletariat jedes Landes zuerst seine eigene Bourgeoisie bekämpfen muß. Aber nicht einmal dieser eigentliche Anfangskampf kann – was besonders die Klassiker des Marxismus betonen – dem Inhalt nach national sein, sondern eben ein Klassenkampf, national nur der Form nach.8

In die Epoche der Bildung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft und des Zerfalls der feudalistischen, fallen auch die ersten Kämpfe um einige Grundrechte der Völker und Gemeinschaften: auf Gleichberechtigung, auf die eigene Sprache, die ethnische und nationale Unabhängigkeit, auf Freiheit der Organisation der eigenen Wirtschaft, auf die Unmöglichkeit der massenhaften kollonisatorischen Ausbeutung einer Nation mit Hilfe der anderen usw usw. Diese müssen natürlich, wie im übrigen auch das Recht auf freie Meinungsäußerung, als natürliche Grundrechte des Menschen aus früheren Gesellschaftsordnungen in den Sozialismus übertragen werden. Da sie also in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft nicht erkämpft wurden – wegen der Klassenstruktur der Gesellschaft konnten sie auch nicht ganz erkämpft werden – muß

⁷ Wenn bei uns schon so viel von der Exploatation einer Nation durch die andere geredet wird, dann wäre es doch interessant, einmal zu sehen, wer an diesem Zustand schuld ist, wenn dies überhaupt richtig ist. Sind vielleicht die Philosophen an der Konzentration des Kapitals in bestimmten Zentren schuld, oder hat dies eine Struktur ermöglicht, an der jene mitarbeiteten, die jetzt am lautesten gegen sie sprechen. Es wurde also modern, daß dieselbe bürokratische Crème chen dieselben Bedingungen angreift, die sie selbst geschaffen hat, dieselbe Exploatation angreift, an deren Spitze sie jahrelang stand und sich der Methoden bediente, die sie jetzt als ungeheuerlich bezeichnet. Mancher fiel zwar aus dem Rahmen, es sand sich ein Opserlamm, das an allem schuld war, aber die, die am meisten verantwortlich sind, klagen weiterhin alles an, nur nicht den eigenen Anteil an der Verantwortung.

⁶ Ist der Form nach der Kampf des Proletariats gegen die Bourgeoisie zunächst ein nationaler obgleich nicht dem Inhalt nach (D. G. unterstrichen). Das Proletariat eines jeden Landes muß natürlich zuerst mit seiner eigenen Bourgeoisie fertigwerden«. (K. Marx, F. Engels: Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei, S. 69).

the threat increases the feeling of togetherness, e.g. B. that of the fam ily, then that of the broader community, of the n atio n. This feeling is completely natural, and it arises in us in a healthy resistance to e.g. B. some uber atio n al official structures. You can't swear that it's considered g lo b al - especially when there's talk of bidding and haggling for the fight for power or for anything at all of the combinations of professional politicians for a bigger piece of cake - is able to call a whole people or peoples to consciousness, para s ita re excisers, these pretty fat biiro cratic strata that have lain on the back of the people for years to make it possible. Perhaps that's too hard a word for our conditions, but it wouldn't be so far off to bring the old truth to mind shout that there is no true freedom for anyone in the colonies (not even for the so-called "higher" strata of society) until they free themselves from the colonizer.

Likewise, it is clear that the struggle of the oppressed classes is declining in form, i. H. according to the spatial determination within the n a tio nal border, and that the pro le ta riat of each country first got its own bourgeoisie p fen mufi. B ut not even this actual initial struggle can be - which is particularly emphasized by the classics of M arxism - in content n a tio n al, but a class struggle, n a tio n a n u r the form after.8

In the epoch of the formation of bourgeois society and the decay of the feudalistic ones, the first fights for some basic rights of the peoples and communities also took place: to equal rights, to one's own language, to ethnic and n a tio n a l indepen dence, to the liberty of the org a n isa tio n of the own economy, to the u n -

Possibility of mass collo nizational exploitation of a nation with the help of o the rs etc etc. Of course, these must have the right to free drinking, AS NATURAL FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF PEOPLE FROM EARLIER SOCIAL RIGHTS ARE TRANSFERRED TO SOCIALISM. Since they wenotwerewend in bourgeois society - because of the class s tru c tu re r th e society, ye n o w e n d e c o n t w e w o w e w erwerwhewith - mufi 7 If so much of the exploatation of one natio n is gerc d ct by the other, then it would be interesting to see who is involved in this one s t a t is to blame if this is i b a t t true. Are perhaps the philosophers to blame for the c on cen tra tio n of capital in cer tain c n trc n, or has this been made possible by a struc tu re on w hich those w ork w ith who now speak most loudly against them. So it became m o d em that this b jirocratic crèm c attacked the very same conditions that it created itself, attacked the same ex p lo a tatio n it has been at the helm for years sta nd and used the m ethods that are now described as un c hureful. S ome fell out of line, there

was a sacrificial lamb who was to blame for everything, but those who are most responsible continue to accuse in everything, just not your own share of responsibility.

8 In form, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is initially national, although not in content (D.G. underlined). The p ro le ta ria t of every country it must fi rst deal with its own bourgeoisie«. (K. M arx, F. E ngels: Manifesto of the C om m unist P artei, p. 69).

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auch heute um sie gekämpft werden, aber es ist notwendig, sich die Frage zu stellen, ob dann die Rede von einigen anationalen Deformierungen, einigen Mängeln, »Schwächen« des Sozialismus sein kann oder von solchen Beziehungen, die nicht mehr sozialistische genannt werden können. Denn, wenn der Sozialismus nichts anderes bringt als den Kampf um diese Grundrechte, wenn es notwendig ist, daß die gesamte intellektuelle Anstrengung und das materielle Potential sich ausschließlich mit den Fragen auseinandersetzt, die eigentlich auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt wurden, als die Arbeiterklasse noch gar nicht geformt war, als das Proletariat im modernen Sinn noch gar nicht besteht, dann müssen wir offen gestehen, daß wir uns geistig und materiell erst auf der Schwelle der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft befinden, auf der Schwelle der ersten Anhäufung von Kapital, nicht aber - wie behauptet wird - in der höchstentwickelten Form der sozialistischen Selbstverwaltungsdemokratie. Denn, heißt es nicht im Kommunistischen Manifest - in diesem grundlegendsten Text der kommunistischen Bewegung - klar, daß schon das entwickeltere Bürgertum - wie es dort buchstäblich heißt - »zum großen Bedauern der Reaktionäre« den nationalen Boden unter den Füßen der Industrie weggezogen hat.9

Nun haben wir aber (vielleicht naiv und fälschlicherweise) angenommen, daß die Lösung kollonialer und halbkollonialer Beziehungen in das neuenzehnte Jahrhundert, in manchen rückständigen Gegenden vielleicht in das unsere gehört, daß sie aber auf keinen Fall das wesentliche Charakteristikum und der vorherrschende Gedanke des Sozialismus sein kann, wenn sie im Globalen betrachtet (wenigstens in Europa) schon lange auch von der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft gelöst und überwunden wurden. Ist es also, wenn von einem Land die Rede ist, das den Anspruch erhebt (im Verhältnis zum Lager jedenfalls mit Recht), 10 die höchstmögliche Form des sozialistischen Systems als Selbstverwaltung zu erreichen, zuerst diese erwähnte selbstverteidigungs- und antiexploatatorische Bedeutung, wenn die Nation in den Vordergrund geschoben wird, oder ist die Rede von anderen, oft sehr banalen Motiven, die aber systematisch und tendenziös verschwiegen werden?

⁹ »Die Bourgeoisie hat durch die Exploatation des Weltmarkts die Produktion und Konsumtion alle Länder kosmopolitisch gestaltet. Sie hat zum großem Bedauern der Reaktionäre den nationalen Boden der Industrie unter den Füßen weggezogen.« (K. Marx, Fr. Engels: Manisest der Kommunistischen Partei, S. 62).

Deshalb kann ich nicht mit denen einer Meinung sein, die aus ganz bestimmten Gründen alles negieren, was bei uns besteht, besonders dann, wenn sie die Düsterkeit derart düster beschreiben, um auch ihre Düsterkeit zu rechtfertigen, ihre eigenen unmoralischen Vorgehen durch die allgemeine Amoralität rechtfertigen, alles damit abtun, daß man in dieser schrecklichen reißerischen Situation nichts tun könne. So habe ich unlängst eine Artikelserien in »Hrvatsko Sveučilište« gelesen, in der einer unserer Philosophen (der sich nicht gerade durch seine Philosophie ziemlich schnell auf der gesellschaftlichen Leiter emporhantelt) unsere Situation so aussichtslos, relativistisch nihilistisch darstellt, jeden Unterschied verwischend, um seine skrupellose amorale Ansicht in Beziehung zur Gesellschaft zu rechtfertigen, die er in ihrer Gesamtheit als karrieristisch bezeichnete, nur um zu zeigen, daß sein Karrierismus keine Ausnahme ist.

ru n g e n , e i n i g e n M a n g e ln , » Schwachen « des S o z ialism u s se in can no der v o n s o l t h e n B e s i c h u n g en D e n n , w h e n Socialism does not s a n d e r s b r i n g t a l s d e n K a p f u m d i e s G r u n d R e c h t e , w h e n n e s n o t w e n d i g i s t , d a f i d i e g e as well as an intellectual advance n g u n g u n d a s m a t e r i e l P o t e n tial s i c h a u ssch liefilich m i t d e n F r a g e n a u s e i n d e r s e t t , d i e i g e n t l i c a u f d i e t a g e s o r d n u n g gesetzt w u r d e n , als d i a rbeite rk la s s e n o c h g a r n i c h t g e f o r m t w a r, als da s Proletaria t immodern en S in n n och garnich t beste h t, dan n mussen wiro ffe n ge ste h e n , d a f i w i r u n s ge is tigund m a -

te rie ll e rst a u f d e r S c h w e lle d e r b iirg e rlic h e n G e s e lls c h a ft b e fin d e n , a u f d e r S c h w e lle d e r e rs te n A n h a u f u n g v o n K a p ita l, n ic h t a b e r - w ie b e h a u p te t w ird - in d e r h o c h s te n tw ic k e lte n F o rm d e r s o z ia listisc h e n S e lb stv e rw a ltu n g s d e m o k ra tie . D e n n , h eifit es n ic h t im K o m m u n is tisc h en M a n ife st - in d iese m g r u n d le g e n d s te n T e x t d e r k o m m u n istisch en B e w eg u n g - k la r, dafi sc h o n d a s e n tw ic k e lte re B iirg e rtu m - w ie es d o rt b u c h s ta b lic h heifit - » zum g ro fie n B e d a u e rn d e r R e a k tio n a r e «

d e n a t i o n a l B o d e n u n t e r s a t t h e F iifiender Industry wages

N u n h a b e n w ir a b e r (v ie lle ic h t n a iv u n d fa ls c h lic h e rw e is e) a n g e -

n o m m e n , dafi d ie L o s u n g c o l o n y a l r u n d h a lb c o l o n i a l Beziehungen in the neighborhood of Jahrhundert, in Manchester standing in Gegen and a lot of things s e r e g e h o rt, d a f i c a t i o n s f a l l d a s w e -

then liich h e Characteristic m u n d e r v o r h e r r s c h e n d e G e d a n k e d of Sozia lism can be , w h e n it is in Gl o b a l e s t a r t a t e (with its origins in E u r o p a) n g e au ch vonderbiirgerlichen Gesellschaftgelostundiiberwundenwerden. 1st es also , when one is in the Land of the Red East, as the Ansprucherhebt (in Verhaltnis zum Lager je den falls mit Recht),10 die hochstmoglic h e F o r m des so z ia listisch e n Sy stem s a ls S e l b stverwaltu n g zu e r e i c h e n , f o r t h e r t h i s e r w a h n t e s lb s t verte i-gungs-undan tie x plo a tator is s h e B e d e u t u n g , w h e n the N a t i o n in its V o r d e r grounds should be sought, or else the R e d o n a n d e r n , o f t h e h u r b a n a l M o t i v e n , the a b e r sy ste m a tis s and tendencies are reversed ?

0 »By exploiting the world market, the bourgeoisie has made production and consumption in all countries cosmopolitan. It has, to the great regret of the reactionaries, stripped away the national soil of industry among the Fifes."

(K. Marx, Fr. Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party, p. 62).

10 De shalb kannich nicht mit deneneiner Meing sein, d ie ausgan z bestim m ten Griin den alle s negier rc n , was bei un s b e ste h t, besonders d a n n, w e n n sie d ie D i s t e r k e it d e r a r t dusterbesherbcn, um auchiheDusterkeitzurech tfertigen, ih re falsche Resignation, ih re eig e n e n u n m o r a l s c h e n V orge h c n d u r c h die allgeme ine A m o ra lita t r e c h tfertige n, all s dam it abtun, immediately in die ser scherclich n reifierische n Situ a tio n n ic h ts tu n conne. So he wrote a series of articles in » Hrvatsko S veu čilište« gele sc n , in which he wrote P h i l o s o p h e n (which he wrote under P h ilo so p h i c h i e m l i c h s h n e l a u f d e r g e s e lls ch a f tlic h e n L e i t e r e m p o r - h a n t e 1) un sere Situation so aussich tslo s, relativistic s h n i h i l i s t i s c h a rs te llt, je d e n t e r s h i e d v e r w i s c h e n d, um se i n s scru p ello se amora le An s i c h t in B e z i c h u n g z u r G e se llsch aft zu r e c h tfertigen, d ie e r in ih r e r G e s a m th eit als karrie ris tis ch e zeichn e te, n u r u m zu z eigen, dafi se in C arrie rism u s k e in e Ausnah m e ist.

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Es ist notwendig, hier einige allgemeine »abstrakte« (in unserer Konkretheit aber so immerwährend in Klammern gestellt) Grundthesen über das so viel (bis zum Überdruß) diskutierte Thema der Beziehung zwischen dem Nationalen und dem Klassencharakter. Die einen (aber es werden immer weniger) bei uns meinen, daß man die Klassenbeziehungen in den Vordergrund stellen sollte, vielleicht ein wenig weniger die nationalen Momente, andere meinen, daß die nationalen Beziehungen viel wichtiger sind, und daß die (gerade in diesem »schicksalhaften, geschichtlichen, epochalen« Moment) Klassenbeziehungen völlig unwichtig sind, und bei großen wissenschaftlichen Tagungen vertreten Oberarbiter nach tiefen Analysen die »friedliche« These von der Gleichrangigkeit der Wichtigkeit des Klassenhaften und des Nationalen. Ich muß gestehen, daß dieses Deuteln und Raten um zwei Begriffe und ihre »größere oder geringere Wichtigkeit«, daß dieses Lizitieren (wer bietet mehr für das Nationale, wer bietet mehr für das Klassenmoment) mir fast komisch erscheint. Ich glaube nämlich, daß einmal ohne durch die Blume zu sprechen, offen, ohne diplomatische Klüngelei und ohne Kokettieren mit den kleinbürgerlichen (ja auch großbürgerlichen) Elementen folgendes gesagt werden müßte: das Hervorheben des Nationalen in unserer Epoche (immer, wenn nicht die Rede von einer antikollonialen Bewegung ist) immer nur eine Grundsunktion hat: zu verhüllen, zu verdecken, kurz die Klassenverhältnisse zu camoufflieren. So wird das Nationale zum Deckmantel. mit dem man die antagonistischen Klassenelemente harmonisieren will. Wenn es nämlich zuerst wichtig ist, daß wir Angehörige einer Nation sind, wenn z. B. die nationale Angestelltenstruktur die Basis der Personalpolitik ist - dann ist es unwichtig und nebensächlich (dies ist das ABC) - daß unter uns Klassenunterschiede bestehen, dann ist es wichtig, daß auch das Mitglied der bürokratischen Spitze und das Mitglied der Arbeiterklasse nur Serbe, Kroate, Mazedonier, Slowene usw ist. Warum sollte ein guter Kroate, ein Arbeiter gegen einen Kroaten streiken, der ebenso ein guer Kroate ist, nebenbei auch Direktor, ein guter Serbe gegen Maßnahmen sein, die ein serbischer Führer gebracht hat? Es genügt also, daß wir gute, treue Söhne unseres Volkes sind, es genügt, daß wir uns als Angehörige einer Nation deklarieren, es ist aber irrelevant, daß ein Serbe den anderen exploatiert, ein Kroate den Kroaten, daß einer für einen jämmerlichen Lohn acht Stunden am Tag arbeitet, der andere aber versinkt in Genüssen, von Zeit zu Zeit aber streut er Weisheit unter die Arbeiter über die Notwendigkeit, Interesse für die nationale Gemeinschaft zu haben, für die große Renaissance des nationalen Selbstbewußtseins. Dies ist, glaube ich, die einzige rationale Beziehung zwischen dem Nationalen und dem Klassenmoment.

Dabei soll betont werden, daß auch die Möglichkeit selbst einer nationalen Unverträglichkeit, sogar einer »zwischennationalen« Ausnützung notwendig von selbst, unumgänglich durch die Verhinderung der Klassenexploatation aufgehoben wird. Deshaalb »Mit der Gegensatz der Klassen im Innern der Nation fällt der feindliche Stellung der Nationen gegeneinandern« (K. Marx, Fr. Engels: Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei, S. 75). Der »feindliche«, »antagonistische«

between the n a tio n al and the class character. Some of us (but they are becoming fewer and fewer) mean that we should put class relations in the forefront, maybe a little less the n a tio n al n moments, on the other hand, that national relations are much more important, and that (especially in this

"fateful, historical, epochal" moment) class relations are com pletely unimportant, and in great scientific t a -

n g e n g s o r b e r b e e rs, after in-depth analy s ses, the »peaceful«

Thesis of the e qual rank of the importance of the classy and the na tio n al. I have to admit that this interpreting and guessing about two terms and their »greater or lesser importance«, that this bidding (who offers more for the na tio n a le, who offers more for the class moment) seems almost funny to me. Namely, I believe that once without speaking through the flower, openly, without diplomatic jingling and without flirting with the lower middle-class (yes, also upper-class) elements, the following can be said ufite: t h e e h a g e n o t i n a tio n al in ou r epoch (whenever there is no talk of an n tic co llo n ial movement) always has only one ba sic fu n c tio n: to veil, to cover up, in short, the class relation ts to camo uf flow. In this way, the n a tio n al becomes the cloak w ith which m any w ant to harmonize the an tag on istic class elements. If it is important first of all that we are members of a n a tio n, if e.g. B. the n a tio n al employee s tru c tu re is the basis of personal po licy - then it is unimportant and irrelevant (this is the ABC) - there below us classes If differences exist, then it is important that also the member of the bureaucratic top and the member of the working class is only Serbs, Croats, Macedonians, Slovenes, etc. Why should a good Croatian, a worker, strike against a Croatian who is also a good Croatian, by the way also a director, a good Serbian against M afin ah m en that a Serbian F i a r h e br a t h a t? So it is enough that we are good, loyal sons of our people, it is enough that we declare ourselves as members of a nation, but it is irrelevant that a Serb ex p lo ated the o the r, a Croat the Croat, that one he work hours aday for a miserable wage night, the the r but versink tin pleasure, but from time to time scattered wisdom among the w ork e rs about the necessity, interest in the n a tio n al G to have a stake in the great renaissance of national self-confidence. This is, I believe, the only ra tio nal relationship betw een the n a tio n al and the class moment.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that the possibility of n a tio n al incompatibility, even of an »international« exploitation, is necessary of its own accord, unavoidably Equally repealed b y the

preven tio n o f th e clas es ex p lo atatio n. Therefore »with the contrast of the classes in the interior of the nation falls the hostile position of the nations against one another « (K. M arx , Fr Engels: Manifesto of the Com m unist P a rte i, p. The »enemy«, »antagonistic marriage«

Standpunkt unter den Völkern ist also der Index und Beweis einer klassenmäßigen Unterscheidung innerhalb dieser Völker selbst, denn die Völker können einander nicht feindlich gegenübergestellt werden, aber nur ihre nationale Bourgeoisie, ihre »Vertreter« und Berufs-

politiker.

Unter den heutigen Bedingungen hat also das nationale Trompeten kein anderes Ziel (so sehr das auch manche begeisterte Nationalisten nicht sehen) als Unklarheit zu schaffen, oft auch unter dem Ruf zur großen staatenbildenden Geschichte (in der dann nicht die Aufrührer gefeiert werden¹¹ – da sie ein schlechtes Beispiel sind – sondern die Fürsten, Barone und Herrschaften!) und die sonst zu klaren durchsichtigen Klassenunterschiede zu vernebeln. So hört das Nationale auf, das Element der menschlichen Emanzipation zu sein und wird zum mächtigen Instrument der Unterdrückung dieser Emanzipation, zur Vergiftung der Massen, zur Trübung ihres Bewußtseins über die eigene nicht gleichberechtigte, ausgespielte Position in der Gesellschaft.

Die Harmonisierung der Beziehungen zwischen Arbeitgebern und Arbeitern, zwischen den Mächtigen und den Machtlosen, Entrechteten, war seit jeher einer der vorherrschenden Gedanken verschiedener Theoretiker und Politologen, die im Dienst der Verteidigung des bestehenden kapitalistischen Gesellschaftssystems stehen. So hat z. B. der Bekannte nationalistische Theoretiker Carl Schmidt diesen Standpunkt sehr präzise und klar formuliert, als er über ein neues Gesetz des III. Reiches sprach: »Das Gesetz spricht absichtlich nicht mehr von Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer: an die Stelle des Tarifvertrages tritt eine Tarifordnung; Unternehmer, Angestellte und Arbeiter sind Führer und Gefolgschaft eines Betriebes, die gemeinsam zur Förderung der Betriebszwecke und zum gemeinen Nutzen von Volk und Staat arbeiten; beide erscheinen als die Mitglieder einer gemeinsamen Ordnung, einer Gemeinschaft mit öffentlichrechtlichen Charakter. Die soziale Ehrengerichtsbarkeit ist eine folgenrichtige Anwendung des Ordnungsgedankens, der es bewirkt, daß Treue, Gefolgschaft, Disziplin und Ehre nicht mehr als Funktionen losgelöster Regeln und Normierungen, sondern als Wesenselemente einer neuen Gemeinschaft und ihrer konkreten Lebensordnung und -gestaltung aufgefaßt werden«. (Carl Schmidt: Über die drei Arten des Rechtswissenschaftlichen Denkens, Hamburg 1934, S. 64.). Der Begriff der Nation und der auf ihm begründete Begriff des Staates und Gesetzes dient hier also seinem durchsichtigen und klaren Zweck: die Unterschiede zwischen Arbeitgebern und Arbeitnehmern auslöschen, mit Hilfe von »Treue, Gefolgschaft, Disziplin und Ehre« unmöglich zu machen, daß die Klassenexploatation und die menschliche Differenzierung erkannt werden, und daß wir alle eines werden »zum gemeinen Nutzen von Volk und Staat«. Dies ist der echte zeitgenössische Sinn des Vor-

¹¹ Unlängst hörte ich die rührende These eines unserer »Historiker«, daß der berühmte Führer des Bauernaufstandes Matija Gubec (aus XVI Jhr.) in der Geschichte eine negative Rolle gespielt habe, weil er national nicht bewußt war, denn durch seinen Aufstand hat er die nationale Integrität der Kroaten untergraben (»damals als diese am notwendigsten war«) und sich mit fremden, nicht-kroatischen Elementen verbunden.

n i i b e r g e s te llt w erde n, a b e r n u r i h r e n a t i o n a l B o u rge o isie, ih re » V e rtre ter« u n d B e ru fs -

politically.

UnterdenheutigenBedingungenthatalsodasnationaleTrompetenkeinanders Ziel (so sehrdasauchmanchebegeisterteNationalistennichtsehen) als Unklarheitzuschaffen, ofauchunterdemRufzurgrofinstatenbildendenGeshichte (in the evening of the Aufriihrerge feiertwerden 11 - dasie ein schlechtesBeispiels ind-sonderdie Fiirsten, BaroneundHerrschaften!) and die sonst zuklarendurch-

s ic h tig e n C l a s s e n t e r s c h i e d e zu v e r n e b e ln So h o r t d a s N a t i o n a leauf, that Element of the Emanzipatio n becomes within the machining Instrument of the Unter d riic k u ng die ser Emanzip a tion , to the V e r g if tung der Massen , to the T riibu ngihres Bew u fitsein siiber die e igene nich t gleich b e r e c h t i g te , a u s ge s pie lte P o s itio n in d e r Gesellschaft.

D ie Harmonisierung der Bezieh angenthis Warbe itgebernund Arbeiter, between the Machtigen and the Machtlosen, Entre chte-

ten , w a r seit j e h e r e i n e r d e r v o r h e r r s c h e n d e n G e d a n k e n v e r s h i e d e n e r Theoretician and Political Logen , die im Dienst der V e r te id i g u n g des beste h en capital s ti s c h e n Gesells ftss y s t e m s s t e h e n So h a t z. B. d e r Beka n n t e n a t i o n a l i s t i s t h e Theoretician C a r l Schmidt this stand point is very clearly formulated, although it is in new Gese tz des I I I R eiches s p r a c h : » D as Gesetz s p r i c h t a b s i c h tlic h n i c h t m e h r v o n Arbeitgeberund Arbeitnehmer: andie Stelle des Tarif vertrage s t r i t eine e Tariford nung ; Unter hmer, Angestellte and Arbeiter sind F iihre und Gefolgschafte ines Betriebes, diegeme in a mzur Forde -

r u n g d e r Betrie b szweck eund zu m g e m e i n N u t s e n v o n Volkund Staatarbeiten ; b e id eers c h e i n e n a l s d ie M Itg lie de r e iner g e m e in a m e n Ord nung , e iner G e m e in s ch aft m i t o f fe n t l i c h r e c h t l i c h e n Character. D ie so ziale E h r e n g e r i c h ts b ark e it ist e in e folgen rich tige A n w e n d u n g des Ord n u n g s g e d a n k e n s , they be wirk t, dfi T r e u e , G e folg schaft , Dis-ziplin and Ehrenichtmehr als Functions and lossgeloster Regelsnund and Normierungen , some inner Wessen elements G e m e in s ch aft u n d h i r e r c o n c r e t e n Le b e n s ord n u n g u n d - g

e s t a l t u n g a u fge fa fit w erde n « (Carl Schmidt: Oberdiedrei Artendes Rechtswiss sensch aftlichen Denkens, Hamburg 1934, P. 64.). D e r B e g r i f f d e r N a t i o n u n d d e r a u f i m b e grind de te B e g r iff des S t a t e s a n d G e s t e s d i e n t h i e r a lso sein em d u rc h s i c h t i g e n d c l a r e n Zweck : d ie Unterschie d e z s c h e n Arbeitgebern u n d Arbeitnehmer n au slo sc h e n , with Hilfe v o n

» True, Gefolg schaft, Discipline and Ehre « unm o g l i c h zu m a c h e n , d a f i e C l a s s e n e x plo a t i o n a n d the m e n s c h l i c h e Di if fe r e n z i e r u n g e r-can n t w e r e n , and immediately one of them was »zum g e m e i n N u t zen v o n Volkund State«. T h i s i s right t h e itge n o s i s h e S i n n d e s V o r-11 Within a short time I discovered T h e s e e i n s u n s e r » H i s t o r k e r « , dafi der b e riih m te F iih re r des Bauerna aufstande s M a tija G u b ec (aus X VI J h r .) in G e s h i c h played a negative role, although he was national h t bew u fit war, d e n d u rc h se in e n A u f s t a n d h a t e r d i e n a t i o n a le Integ r i ta t der Croatian n u n t e r g r a b e n (» d a m a ls als die se am n o twendig s tc n w ar«) u n d sich mit f r e m d e n , nicht-Croatish Element is bound.

ziehens des Nationalen in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, und hier wird er in beispielloser Deutlichkeit gezeigt. Wird es aber nicht diesen wesentlichen Sinn beibehalten – ohne Rücksicht auf unklare Verdeckungen und sophistische Halsbrechereien – in allen Gesellschaftsformen, solange in ihnen als Klassen bestehen, also auch im Sozialismus? Kein quasipolitisches Kokettieren mit der großen staatenbildenden Tradition, mit dem tiefverwurzelten nationalen Bewußtsein, mit der ungeheuren Mehrheit, die hinter uns marschiert, mit der Euphorie der Nationallieder, Embleme und Fahnen¹² kann mich vom Gegenteil überzeugen. Ich wiederhole: weder bin ich, noch will ich dasselbe sein wie bürokratische Parasiten, Taugenichtse, Lügner, Schmeichler und Speichellecker und Denunzianten, auch wenn die Angehörige der selben Nation sind, wenn sie in der selben Sprache schreiben, diese selbe Sprache sprechen, auf dem selben Boden leben wie ich.

Man müßte sich aber fragen, warum das Hervorheben des Nationalen eine so breite Unterstützung hat. Vor allem deshalb, weil sich die alten bürokratischen Strukturen tatsächlich in einem solchen Ausmaß kompromittiert haben, daß alles, was auch nur den Anschein des Neuen hat, attraktiv und anziehend wird. Das Graue, das Abgestandene, alte langweilige Phrasen, an die keiner mehr glaubt, fade Direktiven und leblose Schemata, die Wiederholung dienstlich-beamtlicher Tiraden bis zur Endlosigkeit, all diese sumpfige und säuerliche Atmosphäre ist ein fruchtbarer Boden für alles, was wenigstens ein bißchen den Beigeschmack des Neuen trägt, und was bis dahin sogar ab und zu verboten war oder nur schwer toleriert. Aber der Kampf gegen das Alte, gegen alle Formen des Etatismus, Bürokratismus und Zentralismus, gegen alle verknöcherten und schon ziemlich ausgeleierten Machtzentren, dieser gesunde Kampf, mit demokratischen Impulsen geführt, um die alten Hypostasen und dogmatischen Konzepte zu zerstören, kann sich sowohl auf ein wirklich neues, wie auf ein scheinbar neues Konzept stützen. Wurde nicht die Mystifizierung mit dem Nationalen deshalb geschaffen und so besorgt umhegt, gerade damit dieser Kampf nicht von den viel gefährlicheren linken Kräften theoretisch und praktisch seinen Sinn erhält, damit durch dieses scheinbar Neue die Unzufriedenen unmöglich gemacht werden, jene, die schon seit Jahren von der Position der Linken, also der Position des Sozialismus aus, kritisch über diese alten Strukturen und die Etablierung des Status quo sprechen. Es kann paradox klingen, aber der Kampf gegen das Alte kann durch den Kampf um das noch Ältere getragen

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drawing of the n a tio nal in bourgeois society, and here it is shown with unprecedented clarity. Will it not retain this essential meaning - without regard to radio-clear cover-ups and sophistical foolishness - in

¹² Ich habe nichts gegen Jungen, die Wappen und Fahnen tragen, aber ich würde ihnen gerne vor Augen führen, wie oft Parasiten (die mit der Maske des Nationalen operieren) direkten Nutzen von ihrem jugendlichen und oft reinen Enthusiasmus haben, wie sie ihre intimsten, in ihrer Naivität unmittelbaren rebellischen Gefühle, ihren Schwung zynisch ablenkten und manipulierten, um einen bestimmten Zustand zu hypostasieren, zu versteisen, zu etablieren und die zwischenmenschlichen Klassenverhältnisse in ihm. Im Grunde kann alles beim Alten bleiben. ob wir Wappen tragen oder nicht, ob wir Heimatlieder singen oder schweigen. Die Sicherheitsventile die euch unsere Bürokratie weitherzig geössnet hat, als sie euch eure patriotischen Ergüsse erlaubte, sind Ventile, damit es nicht tatsächlich zu einer Erneuerung kommt, damit sie selbst um so ruhiger, sicherer und unbedrohter ist.

all forms of society as long as they exist as classes, so also in socialism us? No quasi-political flirting with the big states that are forming t rad ition, with the deep-rooted n a tion al cons sciousness, with tho ur majority, the Marching behind us, with the eu-phory of the nation alsongs, emblemes and flags 12 I can convince me of the opposite. I repeat: neither am I nor do I want to be the same as biirocratic parasites, good-for-nothings, liars, flatterers and toadies and denunciators, even if they Members of the same nation, if they write in the same language, speak that same language, live on the same soil as me.

But one has to ask oneself why the e h a tio n al h a t h e s so b e o w s s o p o rtio n . Mainly because the old bureaucratic s tru c tu res h a t c o m p r o m e d to such an extent that everything that even has the appearance of new a ttra c tiv e a n d attractin g. The gray , the abject

those old boring phrases that nobody believes in any more, bland directives and lifeless schemes, the repe tio n o f official tirades to infinity, all this swampy and sour atm o s p hare is fertile soil for everything that has at least a little savor of the new, and what up to that point was even banned from time to time w a r o r only hard to le r ed. B ut the fight against the old, against all forms of e tatism, bureaucracy and cen tralism, against all ossified and pretty worn-out mach tzen tren, this healthy struggle, led with o cratic impulses to destroy the old hypostases and dog matic concepts, can focus on both a really new and on a seem to support a new concept. Were not the mystification with the n a tio n all half created and so cared for, espe cially because of this fight not of the much more dangerous n le ft e r e f o r s theoretically and practi cally conserve t its meaning, so that t h e apparently n e w t m e t h e m o n e n t m o n e t m e n t m o n e t thethesatisfied net thenentent pontent benethenot h e from the position of the left, i.e. the position of socialism, speak critically about these old structures and the establishment of the status quo. It may sound paradoxical, but the fight against the old can be borne by the fight for what is older 11 I have nothing against young people who wear coats of arms and flags, but I will -dc envision them closely, v.-the often parasites (operating with the mask of the natio nal) take direct advantage of their youthful and often pure Enthusiasm in how they cynically deviate and manipulate their most intimate, in their nai vita t and w ith arcn bellic feelings, their momentum to a certain state n d to hypostatize, to stiffen, to establish and the interpersonal class relations in it. Basically, everything can remain as it is, whether we wear a coat of arms or not. whether we sing H c in the atlicd c r or the weak ones. The safety valves that our bureaucracy

opened up to you in a hearty way when they allowed you cure p a trio tic effusions are valves so that it does not actually lead to an emeu e ru n g comes so that she herself is all the calmer, safer and less threatened.

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werden. (Man soll nicht vergessen, wer aller von »der neuen Ordnung« gesprochen hat). Es ist aber mehr als lächerlich, daß jene, die schon seit Jahren kontinuierlich auf der Position des Kampfes um das wirklich Neue stehen, jetzt wegen aller Sünden des Alten angeklagt werden, gerade von denen, die keinen geringen Anteil an der Etablirung dieses Alten hatten. Die Mystifizierung mit dem Nationalen als dem »Neuen« soll das faltige, abgezehrte Gesicht des alten Weibes Bürokratie maskieren und mit dicker Schminke bedecken, weil sie glaubt sich sich verjüngen zu können, wenn sie kokett dreifärbige Bändchen trägt.

Die Mystifizierung mit dem Nationalen hat noch ein anderes Ziel: sie ist tatsächlich ein sehr effektvolles und anziehendes Medium, um die Massen zu gewinnen, das niemand etwas kostet, niemand zu etwas verpflichtet, es stellt aber eine Waffe dar, mit der man die Unterstützung breiter Schichten gewinnt, den Kreis der sonst unpopulären bürokratischen Crème populär macht. Wie kommt es dazu?

Vor allem besteht im politischen Staat (der nach Marx nicht einmal in seiner höchsten demokratischen Form die menschliche Emanzipation ermöglichen kann) ein fest aufgebautes System von Manipulationsmechanismen (Massenmedium u. a.), die heute – trotz aller Skepsis und Abwehr, die Einzelne gegen sie empfinden - außerordentlich stark wirken, sogar auf den, der glaubt, nicht unter ihrem Einfluß zu stehen. Die politische Macht ist stärker denn je, und deshalb verfügt diese Macht mehr als jemals in der Geschichte über die Möglichkeit, dauernd mit Wahrheiten und »Wahrheiten« pragmatisch zu verfahren. Es war aber immer so, daß der, der die Wahrheit als das höchste Gesetz ansah, keinesfalls irgend ein System der politischen Macht und Gewalt als Höchstes ansehen konnte. Heute aber wurde es klarer, wie sehr in politischen Systemen Wahrheit und Unwahrheit relativistisch angeglichen sind, und welchen Wert sie erhält, je nachdem, ob sie der Macht dient. Die Massenmedien als Instrumente dieser Macht schaffen eine allgemeine Atmosphäre, der sich in jedem Fall nur eine Minderheit entziehen kann. Außerdem bedeutet in der Politik und den politischen Kombinationen das Kennen des Menschen eigentlich die »Brauchbarkeit« des Menschen kennen, und so entscheiden sich die Menschen oft nach einem oft kaum sichtbaren Mechanismus ihrer Instikte. die man mit Hilfe der Angst vor Strafe und Hoffnung auf Belohnung dirigieren kann. In einer Analyse, die auf eine Reihe anderer für diese Unterstützung relevanten Momente verwiese (von einigen haben wir bereits gesprochen) sollte man ein ganz spezifisches Element in der Situation, in der man annimmt, daß das nationale Kriterium das einzige und erste zur Bewertung der Menschen und die sogen. Personalpolitik ist, nicht unterschätzen. Die Gefahr, von der die Rede ist, wird erst dann zur Wirklichkeit, wenn die »Crème« die Valorisierung übernimmt, d. h. wenn von oben das Nationale als das Grundlegende, Wichtigste, Entscheidende zur Charakterisierung Einzelner und von Gruppen dekretiert wird. Dann nämlich werden oft Mediokritäten (und Mediokritäten sind nicht in der Minderheit, sondern, in ihrer gutmütigen Mittelmäßigkeit genährt, vermehren sie sich e r P o s itio n des C a m p f e s u m d a s virk lic h N e u e s t e h e n , je tz twegen aller S i n d e n des Alte n a n g k l a g t w e r d e n , w h e n de v o n d e n e n , d e k e n e n g e r i n g A n t i l a n d E tablirung dieses Altenhatten. D ie M y s t i f i z i e r u n g m i t d e m N a t i o n a le n als d e m » N euen « soil is faulty, but G e s i c h t des a lten Webe s B iiro k ra tie m a s k i e re n u n d m it d i c k e r S ch m i n k e b e d e c e n , w e il si g l u b t each other virgin g e n zu k n n e n , w n n sie c o k ett d r e if a r b i g e B iin d ch e n trag t.

D ie M y s t i f i z i e r u n g m i t d e m N a t i o n a le n h a t no c h e i n a n d e r s Zie l: it is t h a t ' s a c h l i c h in se h r e f e c tv o l e s u n d a n g e n d e s M e d ium, u m d ie M a sse n zu g e w i n n e n, t h a t m a n d e twas costly, n o t m a n d e t was a verp flichte t, it is now a W a f f e d a r, m i t de r m a n d ie U nter -

stiitz u n g b r e ite r S c h ich te n g e w in n t, d e n K re is d e r so n st u n p o p u la r e n b iiro k ra tis c h e n C re m e p o p u la r m a c h t. W ie k o m m t es d a z u ?

Vorallembes tehtim politis chen Staat (dernach Marx nichteinmal inseinerhoch stendemok ratis chen Form diemenschliche Emanzipationermoglichenkann) ein fest aufgebautes System von Manipula-

tio n s m e c h a n ism e n (M a sse n m e d iu m u. a.), d ie h e u te - tro tz a lle r S k e p -

sis u n d A b w e h r, d ie E in z e ln e g e g e n sie e m p f in d e n - a u fie ro rd e n tlic h s ta rk w irk e n , s o g a r a u f d e n , d e r g la u b t, n ic h t u n te r ih re m E in flu fi zu s te h e n . D ie p o litisc h e M a c h t ist s ta r k e r d e n n je , u n d d e s h a lb v e rfiig t d iese M a c h t m e h r a ls je m a ls in d e r G e s c h ic h te iib e r d ie M o g lic h k e it, d a u e rn d m it W a h r h e ite n u n d » W a h rh e ite n « p r a g m a tis c h zu v e rf a h -

ren Es w a r a b e r i m e r so, d f i d e r, der die Wahrheitals dash ochste Gesetz ansah , keines fallsirgende in System der politischen Machtund and Gewalt als Hochstesansehenko n n te H e u te a b e r v e r d e c l a r e r , w i e s h e r i n p o l i t i s h e n S ystem W a h r e i t u n d U n w a h r e it relativistic changes are likely to change, but Wertsie rhalt, according to them, observed Mach t d i e n t. The Mass Medieval Instrumentation of this series is an all-game Atmosphere, where the F allnureine Min -

derheitentshenkannAufierdembedeutetinder

Politics and the politician Combination with K e n n e n d s M e n s h e n e i g e n tlic d ie

» B r a u c h b ark e it« des M e n s h e n k e n n e n , and so ents s h e i d e n sich die M e n s ch e n o f n a t h e ine m o f c a u m s i c h tbaren M e ch a n is m u s h re r In stik te the man met Hilfeder Angstvor Strafeund Hoffnungauf B elohnung could direct. I n e n e r Analysis , the first Reihean -

dererfiir diese Unters tutsungrelevanten Momentverwiese (oneigenhatbereitsgesprochen) solitemane ganzspezifisches Elementinder Situation, indermananimmt, dafidasnational Critional CrituredasisigeundertheBewertungder Menschenunddie sogen. Personal politicist, nottunterschatzen. The Gefahr, the home of the Red East, is the first of the Wirklichkeit, when the »Creme« of the Valorisie runngiibern im mt, dhwennvonobenderscheidendezur Characterization Ein-

z e ln e r u n d v o n G r u p p e n d e k re tie r t w ird . D a n n n a m lic h w e r d e n o ft M e d io k r ita te n (u n d M e d io k r ita te n s in d n ic h t in d e r M in d e rh e it, s o n d e rn , in ih re r g u tm iitig e n M itte lm a fiig k e it g e n a h rt, v e rm e h re n sie sich 506

leicht und erfolgreich) Menschen ohne Beruf, Arbeitsfaule, Laute, Leute ohne Wissen und Charakter, moralische und intellektuelle Nullen, Leute, die nichts anderes sind als Angehörige einer Nation, über Nacht plötzlich irgendwer und irgendwas, eben durch diese Angehörigkeit. Das ist ihre Lebenschance, die ihnen sonst niemand und niemals auf Grund irgend eines anderen Kriteriums bieten kann, und sie werden diese Chance nicht so leicht fallen lassen. Eine solche Karriere kann aber nur die Macht bieten, und so wächst auch der Nationalismus so plötzlich, wenn an der Spitze des Staatsapparats nationale Führer erscheinen.

Ein solches Pflegen des Karrierismus auf Grund ausschließlich des nationalen Kriteriums ist ein wesentliches Merkmal der Bürokratie, die durch ihr bürokratisches Wesen immer auf's Neue hierarchische Beziehungen zwischen den Menschen herstellen muß. Aber die Auswahl nach dem nationalen Kriterium kann nicht öffentlich sein, sie ist notwendig in das Mysterium gehüllt, da alle überall gute Angehörige einer Nation sein können, aber nur die absolute Autorität kann unter ihnen auswählen und die seligen bestimmen, die zu dem Rangieren zugelassen werden, das an höhere oder geringere Privilegien gebunden ist. Das Kriterium der Auswahl kann keine persönliche Qualität sein, Wissen, Können (was man alles öffentlich überprüfen kann), dies muß eine geheime Wahl sein (denn man kann nicht öffentlich gestehen, daß dies auf Grund von Gehorsam geschah). Deshalb ist die Bürokratie als Bürokratie, solange sie als solche besteht an das Geheimnis, den Karrierismus, auf der Grundlage des Gehorsams gebunden. Marx hat dies in der »Kritik der Hegelschen Staatsrechts« geradezu klassich formuliert, und wenn wir diesen, wie auch viele andere Texte lesen, wird uns klar, weshalb viele zeitgenössische Karrieremacher auch bei uns Marx als veraltet ansehen: »Der allgemeine Geist der Bürokratie ist das Geheimnis, das Mysterium, innerhalb ihrer selbst durch die Hierarchie, nach außen als geschlossene Korporation bewahrt. Der offenbare Staatsgeist, auch die Staatsgesinnung erscheinen daher der Bürokratie als ein Verrat an ihrem Mysterium. Die Autorität ist daher das Prinzip ihres Wissens, und die Vergötterung der Autorität ist ihre Gesinnung. Innerhalb ihrer selbst aber wird der Spiritualismus zu einem krassen Materialismus, dem Materialismus des passiven Gehorsams, des Autoritätsglaubens, des Mechanismus eines fixen formellen Handelns, fixer Grundsätze, Anschauungen, Überlieferungen. Was den einzelnen Bürokraten betrifft, so wird Staatszweck zu seinem Privatezweck, zu einem Jagen nach höheren Posten, zu einem Machen von Karriere« (K. Marx, Die Kritik des Hegelsschen Staatsrechts«, Werke, B. 1, S. 249, auch bei Marx kursiv).

Ein solches Jagen nach höheren Posten innerhalb einer hierarchisch organisierten Gemeinschaft kann in dem Moment bedrückend werden, da ausschließlich die Treue zur eigenen Nation zum höchsten Prinzip erklärt wird. Dann kriecht der letzte kontrarevolutionäre Pöbel aus den Löchern, dann erleben tauglose Politiker und Kulturträger ihre fünf Minuten und erheben sich, dann machen Ellbogentechniker in ihrer Skrupellosigkeit Karriere, diese Untersten, die feige und heim-

someone and something, precisely because of this affiliation. THIS IS THEIR OPPORTUNITY IN LIFE, WHICH NOBODY ELSE CAN OFFER YOU BY SOME OTHER CRITERIA, AND YOU WILL NOT PASS THAT OPPORTUNITY THAT EASILY. But such a career can only be offered by power, and so does the n a tio n a l ism grow so suddenly, when n ation al leaders appear at the top of the state apparatus.

Cultivating careerism in this way solely on the basis of the national criterion is an essential characteristic of the bureaucracy, which through its bureaucratic nature is always on the N to create new hierarchical relationships between people. But the election according to the n a tio n al criterion can not be public, it is necessarily shrouded in the mystery that all everywhere are good relatives of one's family tio n, but only the absolute auth ority can choose among them and designate those blessed who are allowed to rank, the higher or the lower P riv ile y is bound. The criteria for selection cannot be personal quality, knowledge, ability (which one can openly check about everything), this must be a secret choice (since one can n I do not publicly admit that this was due to obedience). That is why bureaucracy as bureaucracy, as long as it exists as such, is bound to secrecy, to careerism, on the basis of obedience. M arx formulated this in the "Critique of Hegel's State Law" in a downright classic way, and when we read this, as well as many other texts, it becomes clear to us why so many contemporary ones C a r e r e r a t he sees M a rx as obsolete here too: "The g eneral spirit of bureaucracy is the secret, the mysterium, within yourselves through the hierarchy, externally pro tected as a closed c o rp o ratio n. T he open -

b a re state spirit, also the state spirit therefore appears to the bureaucracy as a betrayal of its mystery. A uthority is therefore the principle of their knowledge, and the idolatry of authority is their disposition. Within you, however, spiritualism becomes a crass materialism, the materialism of passive obedience, of belief in authoritarianism, of mechanism of fixed formal action s, fixed prin ciples, views, sup p o rtion s. As for the individual bureaucrat, the purpose of the state becomes his private purpose, a pursuit of higher posts, a making of a career" (K. M a rx, D ie Criticism of Hegelian constitutional law«, W erk e, B. 1, p. 249, also in M a rx in italics).

Such a hunt for high posts within a hierarchically org anized community can become depressing at the moment when loyalty to one's own is the sole priority N a tio n is declared to be the supreme p rinciple . The nt the last contrarevolution are Pobcl crawls out of the holes, than declared to be the supreme p rinciple in the last contrarevolution are Pobcl crawls out of the holes, than declared to be the supreme p rinciple.

technicians in ye r unscrupulous sig nificance C a ree, these low est , the cowardly and home

lich darauf warteten, daß »ihre Zeit« kommt. Niemanden können Nationallieder, Heimatlieder in Gasthäusern stören, ebenfalls nicht nationale Veranstaltungen und alles mögliche (auch unmögliche) nationalromantische Paradieren. So sind auch nationale Proteste, offene Oppositionsbriefe, besorgte Warnungen (die sogar positiv auf einige Anomalien aufmerksam machen können) nicht besorgniserregend. Niemand soll sich Konfschmerzen bereiten wegen der rot-weiß-blauen Fahne, aber man muß ernsthaft besorgt sein, wenn jemand ausschliesslich dank dieser Fahne das erreicht, was er nie erreicht hätte, wenn sie jedem beliebigen als einzige Legitimierung seiner Fähigkeiten, seines Charakters und Wissens dient. Dann kann eine Überschwemmung derer auftreten, die immer »gute Söhne ihrer Nation« waren, dann gibt es kein gutmütiges Spiel mehr mit dem Nationalen, dann kommt es zum offenen Terror der Mediokrität, falscher Größen, die kompromißlos den Weg ihrer Karriere gehen und in der Extase des Wahnsinns und Tobens jeden auslöschen, der sich ihnen in den Weg

Einem solchen nationalistischen Totalitarismus öffnet sich im Prinzip sofort der Weg, wenn der Bewertungsmaßstab (sogar in geringstem Ausmaß) das werden kann, daß jemand zum Beispied Deutscher, Russe, Ungar, Serbe, Kroate usw. ist, denn dieses Kriterium setzt voraus, daß es jemandes (kleineres oder größeres) Verdienst ist, daß er als Angehöriger einer bestimmten Nation geboren wurde, und so kann seine Affirmierung (wenn auch minimal) überhaupt auf dieser Tatsache gründen, die man eventuell auch rassisch begründen könnte. Dabei ist es wichtig zu betonen, daß wenn das frühere Prinzip auf der Bevorzugung des Habitus einer Nation gegründet wurde, dann wird ihm nicht das Prinzip entgegengesetzt, nach dem man einer anderen Nation den Vorrang gibt, sondern es befindet sich im selben Koordinatensystem. Das ist das selbe Prinzip und führt zu den selben Resultaten, und daher können keinerlei eventuelle frühere nationalen Anomalien ein vernunftmäßiges Alibi für einen neuen Nationalismus sein. Nationalismus nicht verhindert, sondern verbreitet.

Die These von Marx, daß die Arbeiter kein Vaterland haben bedeutet zunächst, daß sich das internationale Proletariat nicht erlauben darf, in eine Manipulation mit der Heimat gezogen zu werden, daß es »auf dem Altar des Vaterlandes«, in dem eine Klasse über die andere herrscht nichts opfern will und nichts opfern wird, und daß jede solche heimatlich patriotische Hochstimmung eine berechnete Mystifizierung der Herrschenden ist. Diese These von Marx bedeutet das Selbstbewußtsein des Proletariats darin, daß sich sein Brüder in anderen Vaterländern befinden, seine eigenen Lebensfeinde aber in »seinem« eigenen. Deshalb ist jedes Binden des Proletariats an jenes Abstrakte Heimatliche mit dem Nationalen als Nationalen ein *Verrat* der Interessen des Proletariats, wie ihn z. B. die Leader der II. Internationale verübt haben, als sie für Kriegsaktien der eigenen Heimat stimmten und so ihre »patriotische Pflicht« erfüllten, die den wahren internationalen Klasseninteressen der Arbeiterklasse diametral entgegen lie-

tion a llie der, He ima tlie der in Gasthausernstore n, eben falls nicht nation in the Veran staltung and all the moglish (au chun mogliche) nation -

n a l romantic Paradise So Sin d a u c h n a t h rg n s e r g e n d

N^em and soli sich K o ofsch merzen bere ite n w e gender rot-we ifiblue F n h n e a b e r m a n m ufiern s th aft b e s o rg t sein , w e n j e m a n d aussc h lie s-slich dan k dieser F a h n e d a s e rre ich t, w a s e r n i e r r e ich t h a tte , w e n sie jede m b e lie b i g e n als ein zig e Legitimate Seiner Fahigkeiten, his Characters and Wisdom. D a n n k a n e in G b e r s h w e m -

m u n g d e re r a u f t r e t e n , d ie i m e r » g u t e Sohneihrer Nation « ware n , d a n n g i b t e s k e n g u t m iitige s Spiel m ehr m i t d e m N a t i o n a l e n , and he openly committed a Mediocrete Terror, a false Gro fien, who knew more than the Wegihrer Career regime within the Extasedes of Wahns n s u n d T o b e n s a slow s c h e n , d e r sichihnen in the W eg ste llt.

E ine m solch en na tio n alist s t h e n Totalitarianism m u s e of fnet sich i P r i n z i p so fort der Weg , w e n d e r B e w e r t u n g sma fis tab (so g a r i n g e ring s -

tem A u sm afi) d as w e r d e n k a n n , dafi je m a n d z u m Beispied Deutscher, Russian, Hungarian, Serbian, Croatian sw ist, the n d ieses Criterion sets t o raus, dafies je m a n d es (k le in ere s o d e r g r o fieres) V e r d i e n s t ist, d a f i e r a l A n e e hori g e r e i n e r b e s t i m t e n N a t i o n g e bore n w u r d e , u n d so k a n n sein e A f f i r m i e r u n g (w h e n n a u ch m i n i m a l) ibe r h a p t a u f d i e s e r T a t -

sa ch e g riin d e n , d ie m a n e v e n tu e ll a u c h rassisc h b e g riin d e n k o n n te .

Dabeiist es wich tig zubet onen, dafiwendas friihere PrinzipaufderBevorzugugungdes HabituseinerNationgegriindeturde, dnnwirdhmnicht das Prinzipentgegenges etzt, nachdemmaneinerandernNationden Vorranggibt, suddenly it finds its own Coordinatesystem. This is its own Prinsipund fiihrt to its own Resultate, and therefore it is known as an inner and eventual free national Anomalie vernunftmafiges.

N a tio n a lis m u s n ic h t v e rh in d e rt, s o n d e rn v e rb r e ite t.

D ie T h e s e v o n M a rx , d afi d ie A r b e iter k e in V a te r la n d h a b e n b e d e u -

te t z u n a ch st, d a f i c h t h a s i n t e r n a t i o n a l a l P r o l e t a r i a t nich terlaubendarf , in a Manipulation with which Heimat is going to be encouraged, affies

» a u f d em A l t a r d es V aterlandes « , in this K la sse iiber die andere herrs ch t nich ts op fern will and nich ts op fern wird , u nd d afi je de solche h e ima a tlich patriotis c h e Hoch s t i m m e n e b e r e c h n e t e M y s t i f i e r u n g der Herrschendenist. D ie se T h e s e v o n M a rx b e de uted that Self-being fitted into the Proletariat , which found itself in B r i i d e r i n a n d e r n V a t e r l a n d e r , sein e e ig e n e n L e b e n s fe in de a b e r in »his «

e ig e n e n D e s h a lb ist je d e s B i n d e n d e d P r o l e t a r i a s s a n g e s A b s t r a c t e He im a tlic h e m it d e m N a t i o n a l n a l s N a t i o n a l n e in Verratder In te resse n des P r o le ta ria ts , w ie ih n z. B. die L e a d e r d e r l I. In terna tio n a l v e r i b t h a b e n , als sie fiir Kriegsak tie n d e r i g e n e n H e i m a t s tim m tenund so ih re » patriotis c h e P flich t« e rfiillte n , the theme of the -

tio n a le n C la s se n in te re ss e n d e r A rb e iterk la s se d ia m e tr a l e n tg e g e n lie -

gen.13 Hätte Marx je gedacht, daß das Proletariat notwendig ausschließlich an die eigene Nation gebunden wird, dann hätte er nie das Losungswort gebracht - ich hoffe, daß das wenigstens bekannt und anerkannt ist - »Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt euch!«, sondern im besten Fall: Proletariate aller Länder vereinigt euch. Dennoch wußte Marx, was er schreibt und spricht, und so erscheinen uns seine zeitgenössischen nationalistischen Interpreten als drittklassige Scharlatane, und man könnte sie als schlechte Hofnarren, die mit dem schreienden Mäntelchen des Nationalismus bedeckt sind, völlig übergehen, wenn hinter dem Narrenspiel nicht gefährlich die mögliche Tragödie hervorlugte. Marx ist gerade in diesen Grundthesen außerordentlich klar und eindeutig, und so kann mit keinen herausgerissenen Zitatfetzen und Halbzitaten (die gerade deshalb oft zu Falsifikaten werden) seine Position undeutlich gemacht werden. Zwar können die Ansichten von Marx in dieser Beziehung, wie die Ansichten jedes Theoretikers angefochten werden, aber es ist mystifikatorisch und sophistisch im Vorgehen zu behaupten, daß diese Anfechtung marxistisch sei. Sich hinter der Autorität von Marx verbergen, keinen Mut haben, in der Offentlichkeit für eine andere einzutreten, die im Konzept diametral entgegenliegt, ist charakteristisch für unsere ehemaligen und jetzigen aufgeblasenen Pfauen, die übrigens nur dann oder fast nur dann tapfer sind, wenn hinter ihnen ein Polizeikordon steht. So ist der »Mut« vor einem Auditorium, das unisono klatscht und einstimmig »neue« Führungen wählt typisch für eine Mentalität, die selbst nichts zu sagen hat, und die in nicht so tapferen Vorgehen (durch viele solcher Intrigen, die man auf der Bühne nicht sieht und sich den Rücken absichernd) als innere Stimme der Nation auftreten konnte. So ermöglicht die nationale Euphorie, die immer von den einträglichen »geschlossenen Reihen« getragen wird, da sie so stärker und durchdringender ist, Leuten, deren einzige Pflicht es ist, sich zu Vorkämpfern der nationalen Wiedergeburt zu erklären, eine Karriere nationaler Führer mittels ihrer - selbst nach eigenem Eingeständnis sehr durchschnittlichen demagogischen Auftritte. (»Sie werden sagen, daß wir Primitivlinge sind«). Denn, wer könnte dagegen sein, wenn er die »Verräter« der Nation so offen angegriffen hat, und wenn er eilfertig und leidenschaftlich unsere »gemeinsame Sache« aus vollem Hals verteidigt.

Der Stalinismus ist seinem Wesen nach nicht, in diesem Moment gerade, so verschieden von den totalitären Regimes der Vergangenheit und den zeitgenössischen rechts extremistischen Erscheinungen, wie das manchmal angenommen wird. Und dies nicht nur deshalb, weil der Stalinismus als Erscheinung untrennbar an den typischen großrussischen Nationalismus gebunden ist (sogar auch Chauvinismus), nicht nur deshalb, weil dies immer ein falscher Internationalismus war und ist, eine falsche Position der Arbeiterklasse, sondern auch des-

¹³ Aus unserer eigenen nicht so weit entfernten Vergangenheit ist uns ebenfalls bekannt, wessen Interessen – entgegen dem internationalen URS ·· der kroatische HRS vertrat. Es wäre also nicht von der Hand zu weisen, wenn einige aufgeweckte neue Syndikalisten und feurige nationalistische Bannerträger ein wenig die Geschichte unserer Gewerkschaftsbewegung ansähen.

recognized - "P ro le ta ria te al le r L a n d e r unite!", but in the best case: P ro le ta ria te al le r L a n d e r unite. Nonetheless, Marx knew what he wrote and spoke, and so his contemporary nationalist interpreters appear to us as third-rate charlatans, and one could see them as bad court jesters, who are covered with the screaming cloak of n atio n alism, completely pass over when behind the fool's game is not dangerous the possible 1 rago die he rv o rlu g te. M arx is extraordinarily clear and unequivocal in these basic theses, and so I can't do with any torn-out fragments of quotes and half-quotes n (which is precisely why they often become false) his position and are made clear. W hile the views of Marx in this respect, like the views of any theoretician, may be challenged, it is mystificatory and sophistical in procedure to assert that this challenge is m arxist. Hiding behind the authority of M a rx, not having the courage to stand up in public for another that is diam e trally opposite in concept, is characteristic of our former and current inflated peacocks, who, by the way, are brave only when or almost only when there is a police cordon behind them. So the "courage" in front of an auditorium that claps in unison and unanimously chooses "new" leads is typical of a mentality that itself has nothing to say, and who act not so bravely (through many such intrigues that you don't see on the stage and guarding your back) as the inner voice of the nation n could occur. Thus, the n a tio n al euphoria, which is always carried by the remunerative »closed ranks«, enables it to be so stron g e a n d th e r penetrating, people, w h o s sole duty is to profess t h e f o r n a tio n al rebirth champions, a career c n a tio n al leader by means of y e r r - even according to my own confession d n is -

very a rge a rge e d emagogic appearances . ("They will say that we are primitives"). After all, who could be against it, if he had so openly attacked the »traitors« of the nation, and if he was in a hurry and suffering financially our » common cause« defended wholeheartedly.

S talinism, by its very nature, is not, at this moment, so different from the totalitarian regimes of the past and the contemporary far-right en phenomena, as it is sometimes accepted. And this not only because stalinism as a phenomenon is inseparable from typical Great-Russian nationalism (even Ch au v in ism too), not just that alb , because this was and is always a false in tern atio n alism, a false position of the working class, but also des-18 From our own not so far rn t p a s t is us cacnfalis kno wn, w escn interests - contrary to the i n t e r n a t i o n a l URS

H RS represen t. So it would not be w c e s t by d c r hand if some woke up.

new syndicalists and fcurigc n atio n alist b anne r-carriers who watched the history of our union movement.

halb, weil er beständig unter den Massen das Gefühl nährte und erhitzte, daß man ein besonderer, besserer Mensch wird, wenn man einem Staat angehört (»der große Sowietmensch«) oder einer Partei (»Menschen einer außerordentlichen Prägung«). Man soll diese Gefahr der stalinistischen und totalitären Konzeption nicht unterschätzen, die die Menschen zu Menschen macht wegen der Mitgliedschaft in einer Organisation oder Gemeinschaft, in der und durch die jämmerliche Philister mächtig werden, die an sich bedeutungslosen Bedeutung erhalten. Gerade so kommt der ehrgeizige Primitivling der notwendig zur Verteidigung seiner Position brutal mit allem abrechnen muß, was ihn auch nur im geringsten stört, am leichtesten in die Lage, zu messen, zu bestimmen zu bewerten und zu entscheiden, z. B. über alle Kulturphänomene. Der, der nie eine Zeile geschrieben hat, wird, als disziplinierter Sohn des Volkes, des Staates oder der Partei zum maßgeblichen Richter über alles Geschriebene. Dabei entwickelt sich natürlich auch eine ganze »Theorie« über die unverläßlichen und dem Volk entfernten Intellektuellen, über dieses augesprochen »wankelmütige« Element, das man nie und nirgends mit Sicherheit in die konstruktiven Pläne zur Konsolidierung des Bestehenden einbeziehen kann.

Die Kämpfer für den Vorzug des Nationalen meinen oft, daß sie für das Spezifische, die Unterschiedlichkeit, die Anderartigkeit kämpfen, daß sie sich für den Reichtum der menschlichen Manifestationen, die Buntheit der Stile und die Eigenheit des Lebens einsetzen. Dabei verlieren sie aus dem Blickfeld, daß gerade mit Hilfe des Nationalen bisher die kompromißloseste Nivellierung, Vereinheitlichung, die bis zur Abschau die authentische Persönlichkeit vernichten, verkrüppeln und verblenden kann, die die intellektuelle und menschliche Würde beleidigt und den Menschen in die bestialischen Instikte und Gesetze der Horde stürzt, erreicht wurde, und man wird das auch in Zukunft erreichen können. Die bürgerliche kapitalistische Ordnung hat in dieser Gleichsetzung zu monstruösen Resultaten geführt, wobei die Köpfe »wie Kohlköpfe« fielen, sobald sie sich ihrer unmenschlichen Position inne waren. Dieses Memneto darf man wirklich nicht vergessen, denn auch das, was Sozialismus heißt entbehrt nicht jene Gefahr, in eine solche für den Menschen entwürdigende Nivellierung zu verfallen.

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h a lb , while best standing among the Massenda s G e fiih l n a h r t e u n d e r - h i t s te , then he was a better, better Mensch wird , w h e n he had a Staatange hort (» der g ro fie S ow ietmensch «) or the

Inner Party (» Menschen e iner a u fie ro rdentlichen Pragung «). M a n s o f these G e -

f a h r d e r s ta lin is tis c h e n u n d to ta l it a r e n K o n z e p tio n n ic h t u n te r s c h a tzen, d ie d ie M e n sc h e n zu M e n sc h e n m a c h t w e g e n d e r M itg lie d s c h a ft in e in e r O rg a n is a tio n o d e r G e m e in s c h a ft, in d e r u n d d u rc h d ie j a m -

m e rlic h e Ph ilis te r m a c h tig w erde n , d ie a n sich be deutung s lo sen B e-deutung rhalten. G e r a d e s o c o m m t d e r e h r e i z i g e P r i m i i t i v e l i g h t e r n o t w e n d i g u r e V e r t i d i g u n g s e i n e r P o s ition B r u t a l m i t a l e m a b e r c h -

n e n m ufi, w as ih n a u c h n u r im g e rin g s te n sto rt, a m le ic h te s te n in d ie L a g e , zu m essen, zu b e s tim m e n zu b e w e rte n u n d zu e n ts c h e id e n , z . B.

iib e r a ll C u l t u r p h a n o m e n e T h e r e , t h e r e i n e i n e Z e ile g e s ch rie benhat, w ird , als dis zip line ierter S o h n des V o l k es , des t a te s o d e r P a r t e i z u m a f i g b l i c h e n R i c h te r i b e r a l s G e s ch rie b e n e D a b e ien twickelt sich na tiirlic hauche in eganze » T h e o rie « iber die un verla philichenund dem Volkentfern te n Intellectual, iber dieses auge spro c h e n » w a n -

kelm iitig e« Element, the m a n n i e u d n i r g e n d s m i t s i c h e r h e i t i n d i e c o n s t r u c t i v e P l a n e s u r Consolidation running the Basics can be based.

Die Kampfer fiir d en V o rz u g des N a tio n a le n mein e n oft, d aphi sie fiir d a s p ezifisch e, die U nter s ch ied lik h keit, die Ander a r tig k e it kamp fen, dafi sie sich fiir den Reich tum dermenschlichen Manifes ta tio n e n , die B u n t h e i t der Stile u n d die E i g e n heit des L e b e n s ein se tzen F r o m b e i v e rlie re n sie au s d e m Blickfeld , d e m i t h i l f e d e s N a t i o n a le n b i s h e r d i e c o m p r o m i p i l o s e N i v e lli e r u n g , V e re in heitlic h u n g , d ie bis z u r A b s h a u d i a u t h e n t i s c h e P e r s o n li ch k e it v e r n i c h t e n , v e r k r i p e l n u d v e r b l e n d e n k n n , d ie d i inte lle k tu e lle u n d m e n s ch lic h e W iir de b e le id ig t u n d e n M e n s ch e n in d ie b e s t i a l i s h e n Ins tik t o n d Gesetzeder Horde stiirzt, erreich t u r d e , u n d m a n w i r d a s u c h in T e rre ic h e n k o n n e s t r u c t u r e D ie b iirg e rlic h e k a p ita l is tis ch e Order in die ser Gleich setting is demonstrated The result is fiihrt, w o b e i d ie K o p fe

»w ie Kohlkopfe« fie len, sobald sie sich ihrerunmensch

lic h e n P o s itio n in n e w a re n . D ieses M e m n e to d a r f m a n w irk lic h n ic h t v e rg e sse n , d e n n au c h d a s, w as S o zialism u s h e ifit e n tb e h r t n ic h t j e n e G e f a h r, in e in e solche fiir d e n M e n sc h e n e n tw iird ig e n d e N iv e llie r u n g zu v e rf a lle n .

CARACTERISTIQUES ET DILEMMES DU SOCIALISME AUTOGESTIF YOUGOSLAVE

Veljko Cvjetičanin

Zagreb

*Les choses doivent commencer à aller plus mal, pour que nous puissions espérer qu'elles s'amélioreront« (Cromwell)

Si au commencement de la décade passée on s'était mis chez nous à parler timidement de la crise de la croissance du modèle autogestif du socialisme, à sa fin on parlait déjà ouvertement des symptômes de la crise réelle. L'autogestion en tant que processus révolutionnaire, c'est-à-dire en tant que révolution sociale, ralentissait la transformation des structures sociales pour vivre dans certains secteurs une discontinuité.

A côté des oscillations périodiques dans la décade passée, nous notons comme une constante le ralentissement de la production matérielle. Des conséquences graves et négatives en résultent: l'accroissement plus rapide de toutes les formes de la consommation que la production, ainsi que l'augmentation du sous-emploi. On a constaté d'une manière scientifique que nous devrions avoir une croissance de production de 90/0, si nous désirons absorber la nouvelle main-d'œuvre, mais nous n'en avions dans la décade passée qu'une moitié. La discordance entre la production et la consommation ainsi qu'une émigration accrue de la main d'œuvre pendant une période plus longue, menacent de causer l'endettement international du pays avec les implications politiques qui s'en suivent, ou simplement la ruine du système économique. Il semble que le système yougoslave ne soit pas à l'abri de ces dangers.

Une situation particulièrement paradoxale se présente dans le domaine de la répartition et de la consommation. La pression des forces non-organisées du marché agit dans le sens de l'exploitation sans scrupule de la communauté, du particularisme et de l'égoïsme. Une des caractéristiques de la situation sociale yougoslave est l'enrichisse-

V e ljk o C vettiča n and

Zagreb

"Things must start to get worse,

so that we can expect cllcs to improve-

ront« (C rom w ell)

If, at the beginning of the past decade, we started talking timidly about the crisis of the growth of the autogestive model of socialism, at its end we were already talking open sym ptom s of the real crisis. S elf-g estion as a revolution ary process, i.e. as a social revolution, slowed down the transform a tion of structures to live in discontinuity in certain sectors.

Beside the periodic oscillations in the past decade, we note as a constant the slowdown in material pro d uctio n. Serious and neg ative consequences result: the faster increase of all forms of consumption than pro ductio n, as well as the increase tion of underemployment. We have observed in a rescientific way that we should have a production growth of 9% if we wish to absorb the new workforce, but we only had half of them in the past decade. The discord ance between production and consumption as well as increased emigration of labor over a longer period threaten to cause debt in tern a tion alof the country with the ensuing political implications, or simply the ruine of the economic system. It seems that the Yugoslav system is not sheltered from these dangers.

A particularly paradoxical situation exists in the domain of distribution and consumption. The pressure of the unorganized forces of the market acts in the sense of the unscrupulous exploitation of the community, of individualism and selfishness. One of the characteristics of the Yugoslav social situation is the enrichment-511

ment des individus et des groupes et l'appauvrissement relatif de la communauté sociale. La consommation des couches déterminées de la population (par exemple: une augmentation rapide des autos) est audessus des possibilités technologiques et économiques yougoslaves.

Le contrôle social et la direction sociale du revenu sont minimaux. L'éventail des revenus devient de plus en plus grand. On gagne plus de 30% du revenu en dehors du temps de travail régulier. Les cas de l'enrichissement sans travail ne sont pas rares. Les différences sociales se présentent justement dans le processus de la répartition. Si ces différences se perpétuent pour les catégories particulières de la population pendant une période assez longue, il en résulte une stratification sociale. En Yougoslavie il y a un accroissement non seulement de la stratification sociale horizontale, mais aussi verticale. Il y a d'un côté un accroissement de la soi-disant classe moyenne, qui participe dans la plus grande mesure aux centres du pouvoir social et politique. De l'autre côté, il y a avant tout un nombre de plus en plus grand de travailleurs d'un niveau de vie trop bas pour un pays d'un développement économique tel qu'est celui de la Yougoslavie. La population rurale qui, à vrai dire, ne constitue pas un groupe social unique, mais une agrégation sociale, connaît une situation sociale particulièrement difficile. L asituation est encore plus grave quand on a en vue que la population rurale représente 45% de l'ensemble de la population. Le processus de la disparition des classes n'a commencé en Yougoslavie qu'initialement, et celui de la disparition des conditions économiques de l'existence de classe n'a pas encore commencé. Une sensibilité particulière par rapport aux inégalités sociales accrues, est causée par la présence de l'idéologie égalitaire, ainsi que par la longue tradition de la lutte pour la justice et l'égalité. C'est pourquoi la différenciation sociale chez beaucoup de gens n'est pas en harmonie avec leur représentation du socialisme.

Il est incontestable que le dynamisme le plus grand se manifeste ces derniers temps sur la base nationale. Pourtant, les dilemmes ont été exprimés en ce qui concernait la genèse et les buts de ce dynamisme. D'après les uns, les sources des mouvements nationaux intensifiés, des émotions et des aspirations, procèdent avant tout de la crise du système, parce que dans les conditions de l'incertitude sociale les gens s'identifient à la nation. L'insuffisance de la classe ouvrière en tant que sujet du modèle autogestif du socialisme, a conditionné la revivification de cette mobilité nationale. On y a posé une des questions fondamentales de la relation: classe - nation. Cette question a son raison d'être, et d'après nous, la réponse la plus adéquate se trouve dans la relation dialectique de la classe et de la nation, et seulement dans la primauté dynamique de la classe ouvrière dans la réalisation de son intérêt historique. D'après les autres, l'autogestion a libéré les aspirations nationales, c'est-à-dire que l'émancipation des nations est la supposition d'un développement plus rapide de l'autogestion. Nous n'avons pas l'intention d'analyser ces points de vue différents, mais nous voudrions seulement souligner que sans réalisation du modèle autogestif du socialisme il n'y aurait pas d'égalité des nations non plus. Les dilemmes réels concernant les causes du mouvement national n'e: u n e a u g m e n ta tio n r a p id e d e s au to s) est a u -

in addition to the technological and economic possibilities of the Ugoslavs.

L e c o n tro le so cial et la d ire c tio n so c ia le d u r e v e n u so n t m in im a u x.

The amount of revenue becomes increasingly large. Only plus 30 % of household income during regular working hours. Less of wealth without labor are not passable. Social differences are clearly present in the process of distribution. Since differences persist for particular categories of the population over a fairly long period, they result in social stratification. In Y ou go s lave ily there was an increase not only in horizontal but also vertical social stratification. If y ad'uncote uncrease not of the uncrease ment of the middle class, which partice do nalarger scale among centers of social and political power. On the other side, there is a vantage point of more than a large number of unlevel or deviant travails as well as a country under the clop-

e c o n o m i c p e m e n t such as that of Y o u g o s la v i e L a p o p u l a t i o n r u r a t i o n w h i c h, in other words, does not constitute a unique social group, but a social aggregation, c o n n a i t u n e s o c i a t i o n s o f t h e p a r t i c u l e r e m e n t d iffic ile T h e rural situation is even more serious considering that the rural population represents 4 5 % of the population. T h e p r o c e s s o f c l a s s d i s p a r i t i o n begins with Y o u g o s life in itia lement, and that with the d is p a r i t i o n of eco n o m i c c o n d i t i o n s of the former iste n ce of class in the passage of re commencement. U n e n c e n s i b i l y p a r -

tic u lie re p a r r a p o r t s of increasing societal ine g a lites is caused by the presence of the ideology of egalitarianism, as well as by the long tradi tion of the struggle for it justice and egalitarianism. C 'est p o u r q u o i l a d i f f e r e n t i a t i o n s o cial among many people is not in harmony with their representation of socialism.

II is in c o n t e s s t a b l e t h a t the dynamis m plus grand weekly manifestations of recent times on the national basis. T h e r e f o r e , t h e d ile m m e s o n t h e e x p r i m e s e n c e w h i c h c o n c e r a n e t h e b u t s de ce d y n a m ism.

F u r t h e r , the sources of national movemen ts aux in ten s ifies, these emotions and aspirations, proceed throughout the crisis of the system, because they are c o n d itio n s of the uncertainty associated

with lesgen s'i-dentifying nation. The insufficiency of the ouv rie class as a subject of the auto gestive model of soci alism, a c o n d ition n e l r e v i v i f i c a t i o n of this national mobility. S o u n d f o r m a n q u e s t i o n s -

m e n t a l s o f r e l a t i o n : class - n a t i o n T h e s e q u e s t i o n s are r e a s o n e d , a n d a p p r e s n o u s e , t h e most appropriate answer is found in the le c tic relation of class and nation , e t s e u l e m e n t i n t h e p r i m a u t e d y n a m i c u e of the ou v rie re d a n s la r e a l i s a t i o n o f t h e histor ical interest. A c c o r d i n g to others, self-management liberates national aspirations, that is, direct emancipation n a t i o n s is the support of undevelopment plus rapid self-management. N o u s n 'a -

v o n s p a s l 'in te n tio n d' a n a l y s e r s p o i n t s de v e d i f f e r e n t s , b u t w o u d r i o n s s e u l a m e n t s o u l i g n e r que sans realization of the auto gestive model so cialism doesn't right past the equality of nations any more.

The issues reel concerning the catlses of the national movement

xistent pas. Par ses résultats initiaux ainsi que par ses difficultés dans la réalisation, l'autogestion est entré en conflit avec un modèle du socialisme »sans conflit«, et elle anime et revivifie les différents intérêts

de groupe et même les divers intérêts nationaux.

Les symptômes de la crise idéologique se manifestent de plus en plus. Cette crise n'est pas seulement dans la discordance accrue entre les normes idéologiques et la réalité sociale, mais avant tout dans le fait que les normes idéologiques sont de moins au moins une force de motivation et d'intégration sociale. Par ailleurs, l'idéologie de classe prolétarienne est en retraite sous l'assaut de la société commercialisée, et des groupes qui lui sont imminents. Les idéologies du nationalisme, historiquement »dépassées«, revivifient. Il semble que s'affirme chez nous aussi, la thèse de Nasser que ce n'est pas le communisme, mais le nationalisme qui représente la force la plus importante dans le Tiers Monde. Les idées nouvelles technocratiques poussent sur le sol social fertile. Une de ces idées considère que l'autogestion est idéologie de la première révolution industrielle et qu'elle correspond à une entreprise moyenne. Les symptômes de la crise idéologique ne datent pas d'hier, ils ont une histoire plus longue, mais ils ont fait maintenant une irruption avec la force d'un processus naturel. L'idéologie classique communiste est chargée de volontarisme. Elle regarde la société presque exclusivement telle qu'elle devrait être, et non telle qu'elle est. D'après cette idéologie, dans la ligne »il faut que« il est important d'établir d'une façon régulière un programme, et ensuite on peut faire tout ce qu'on veut. Etant donné qu'au nom des normes idéologiques la réalité tenace n'est pas surmontée, elle a commencé à surgir dans toute sa complexité et son particularisme des intérêts. Ces intérêts particuliers de groupes ont été accélérés par l'autogestion. L'autogestion présuppose, en effet, l'égalité d'intérêts des individus et des groupes, ce qui est incompatible avec le monolithisme idéologique et le volontarisme absolu. Dès que les discussions idéologiques eurent réapparu sur la ligne des intérêts de groupe intensifiés, la crise des valeurs s'est présentée et nous somes presque restés sans programme idéologique efficace. Il ne faut pas regretter le monolithisme idéologique et la moralisation stérile. Tout au contraire, il faut réaliser, en accord avec les besoins nouveaux de la société et de l'homme, la revalorisation des valeurs idéologiques. Pourtant, dans la revalorisation des valeurs idéologiques, nous ne pouvons pas soutenir le rélativisme idéologique. Bien qu'il faille rendre possible l'expression des intérêts différents de groupe d'une manière idéologique, il est indispensable d'encourager et de développer, dans une discussion ouverte et argumentée, l'intérêt empirique et historique de la classe ouvrière. La cristallisation idéologique de cet intérêt dans les conditions autogestives contemporaines se trouve comme une tâche devant nous. Dans les concepts idéologiques existants, nous n'avons qu'à peine une base pour sa réalisation. L'intelligentzia marxiste humaniste est chargée par sa vocation vitale de la réalisation historique de cette tâche.

Le système socio-économique et politique dans son ensemble manifeste les symptômes de la crise. Ses caractéristiques essentielles au cours de la période passée étaient le centralisme économique, le mono-

does not exist. By its initial results as well as by its difficulties in realization, self-management has come into conflict with a model of "conflict-free" socialism, and it animates and revives the different

interests of groups. and even the various national in terests.

The symptoms of the ideological crisis are increasingly manifesting themselves. This crisis is not only in the increased discordance between ideological norms and social reality, but above all in the fact that ideological norms are at least a motivating force. n and social integration. On the other hand, working-class ideology is in retreat under the onslaught of commercialized society, and the groups im m inent to it. The ideologies of nationalism, historically "outdated", are revived. We also seem to be asserting Nasser's thesis that it is not comm unism but n a tio n alism which represents the most im po rtan t force in the T st World. New technocratic ideas grow on fertile social soil. On e of these ideas considers that self-management is the ideology of the first industrial rev o lu tio n and that it corresponds to an average company. The symptoms of the ideological crisis are not new, they have a longer history, but they have now burst in with the force of a natural process. re l. Classical communist ideology is charged with voluntarism. It looks at society almost exclusively as it should be, and not as it is. According to this ideologic, in line with »it is necessary that wit is im p o rtant to establish a program on a regular basis, and then we can do everything that we want. Since in the name of ideological norms tenacious reality is not overcome, it has begun to arise in all its complexity and its p a rticu larism of interests. These particular group interests have been accelerated by self-management. Self-management presupposes, in fact, the equality of interests of individuals and groups, which is incompatible with ideological monolithism and absolute voluntarism. As soon as the ideological discussions reappeared on the line of intensified group interests, the crisis of values arose and we were almost left without an effective ideological program. We must not regret ideological monolithism and sterile mo-r a liza tio n. O n the contrary, it is necessary to achieve, in accordance with the new needs of society and of man, the rev a lo riza tio n of ideological values. However, in the rev a lo risa tio n of ideological values, we cannot support ideological relativ ism.

Although it is necessary to make possible the ex p ression of the d ifferen t interests of g ro u p in an ideological way, it is ind isp en sand to encourage and develop, in an open and argu mented discussion, 1 emp irical and historical in teret of the working class. The ideological crystallization of this interest in contemporary autogestive conditions is a blot before us. In the existing ideological concepts, we hardly have a basis for its realization.

The marxist humanist intellectual is charged by its vital vocation with the historical realization of this task.

The socio-economic and political system as a whole is showing the symptoms of the crisis. Its essential characteristics during the past period were economic centralism, mono-513

lithisme politique, le monopole idéologique et l'irresponsabilité organisée. Les éléments constitutifs fondamentaux de ce système, comment

se comportaient-ils?

Il semble qu'une vieille règle - lorsque l'Etat s'affaiblit, le socialisme se fortifie - ne vaut pas pour notre situation. Une des caractéristiques de notre situation est l'interregnum. L'Etat ne peut plus exercer d'une manière efficace ses fonctions, et l'autogestion ne le peut pas encore. Bien qu'on opère une transformation progressive du caractère et du volume de la fonction étatiste de la répartition des moyens de la reproduction élargie, celle-ci n'est pas transmise aux producteurs associés, mais la fonction de la reproduction élargie passe aux banques et aux réexporteurs en tant que centres nouveaux du pouvoir financier aliéné. On rejettait a priori certaines formes d'organisation dans la structure de l'Etat sans en avoir trouvé en échange de meilleures. L'Etat dans le socialisme n'est pas seulement un mal nécessaire, de même qu'on ne peut identifier toute exécution des fonctions d'Etat nécessaires à l'étatisme. C'est un faux radicalisme dont la Yougoslavie a bien payé le prix. Naturellement, le depérissement de l'Etat est »sine qua non« du développement du socialisme, mais en accord avec les présuppositions sociales objectives. Dans le socialisme autogestif aussi, l'Etat en tant qu'expression de la répartition sociale du travail, est indispensable, mais pas seulement en tant que monopole de la contrainte organisée, mais avant tout en tant que service social qualifié en fonction du travail associé.

L'autogestion est, sans doute, un moyen d'existence du socialisme humaniste, mais elle est introduite en Yougoslavie en tant que construction des structures politiques. Les présuppositions empiriques qui la rendent possible n'étaient point vérifiées. Depuis le commencement, l'autogestion se développait au sein de l'étatisme classique et même du néo-étatisme plus tard, qui résulte du système corporatif de la propriété de groupe. Dans la décade passée, l'autogestion a épuisé toutes les possibilités que ces structures lui ont offertes. Les droits et les devoirs autogestifs des travailleurs dans le cadre de la reproduction élargie, ne s'élargissaient pas. En dehors des micro-communautés, l'autogestion ne construisait presque pas ses propres structures. La sphère publique politique est restée hors de portée des producteurs associés. La participation dans l'autogestion diminue. L'autogestion ne manifeste pas l'efficacité attendue. Le degré de la manipulation des autogestionnaires est très haut. Les raisons plus profondes de la participation insuffisante des travailleurs à l'autogestion se trouvent dans leur origine sociale, leur éducation et dans le niveau de leurs aspirations, mais aussi dans le système même. La classe ouvrière n'a pas d'organisation propre pour la réalisation de ses intérêts. Ensuite, les forces non-organisées de l'économie de marché et la retraite des fonctions d'Etat là où il ne le faudrait pas, aboutissent aux effets opposés. L'autogestion doit retrouver ses propres régulateurs pour surmonter les forces non-organisées du marché et harmoniser les intérêts de groupe avant que ce soit trop tard. En effet, dans la construction de l'autogestion on est parti d'une présupposition fausse - l'unicité des intérêts. La période dont il s'agit a montré que l'autogestion se développe sur

lith is m e p o l i t y , and monopoly ideology and 1 irresponsibility of the organization. T h e f o u n d a m e n t constitutive elements of this sy stem, what are their characteristics?

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II it seems that there is no rule - when 1 State is aff a ibl ed, soci alism fortifies itself - it does not pass through this situation. On e of these three situations is 1'in terregnum. The state could no longer exert any more effective functions, and self-management could not happen yet. When onopěre unetransformatic version of the nonopřere version ver

The state in soci alism is beyond the pale of unnecessary desires, which mean that one need not resort to the execution of the functions of the state.

cessaires a l'e ta tism e . C h a s t r a d i c a l i s m i n t h e Yugoslav life is still paying the price. N a t u r e l e m e n t , t h e d e p e r i s e m e n t o f t h e E t a t e st »sin e q u a n o n « does not lead to the development of soci alism, but it does not accord with objective social presuppositions. D a n s o c a t i o n a l s o c i a l s m e too, the state as an expression of the social division of labor is indispensable, but only as a monopoly and d e the co n -

t ra in te o rg an ise e, m ais a v a n t to u t e n t a n t q u e se rv ic e s o c ia l q u a lifie en fo n ctio n d u t r a v a il associe.

Self-management is, without a doubt, a means of existence of humanistic soci alism, but it is introduced into Yoga life as a construct of things tu re s p o l i t i c s. T h e s e m p r e s u p p o s i t i o n s e m p o r t i n g s qui l a r e n d e n t p o s s i b l e n 'e ta ient point verifies. F r o m the c o m m e n c e m e n t, 1'auto ge s t i o n se d e v e l o p e d i n c l a s s i c e e t a t i s m e m e m e d u n ć o - eta tis m e p l u s t, w h i c h results corporate stem of the pro -

p r i s e d g r o u p e. D a n s the past decade, self-management has offered all possible solutions. W h e n l a r g e s devoir themselves to gesture of exploitation within the framework of lar ge reproduction, n

e s'e la rg is s a i e n t p a s . A nd beyond the micro-communities, the auto - $\!\!\!\!$

g e stio n n e c o n s tru is a it p re s q u e p a s ses p r o p re s s tru c tu re s . L a s p h e re p u b liq u e p o litiq u e est reste e h o rs d e p o r te e des p r o d u c te u rs associes.

Lapartic ipationdansl'autogestiondiminue.L'autogestionnemanifestepasl'efficaciteattendue.Ledegredelamanipulationdesauto-

m e s t i o n s t h e r e s h a u t. T h e most profound reasons for insufficient participation in self-management are found in social origins, reduction in age level u rs a s p i r a t i o n s , but outside the system itself. L a c l a s s o u v r i e r e n ' t a p p a s d o r g a n i s a t i o n proper for the realization of these interests. Then , the non-organized forces of the market economy and the retirement of state functi ons do not pass through, but they have opposing effects. L 'automanagement does it retrou ver ses proper regulators to overcome the non-organized forces that harmonize the interests of the group ahead of time ce so it trop p ta r d As a result, the structure of the auto

g e stio n o n est p a r ti d 'u n e p r e s u p p o s itio n fau sse - l 'u n ic ite des in te re ts .

The perious of dedontils agitamonter that selfmanagement is developing la pluralité des intérêts de groupe, et ce qui plus est, que l'autogestion les libère et les rend possibles. Il est indispensable de redéfinir l'autogestion, parce que le modèle uniforme existant ne correspond pas à tous les segments sociaux. En outre, il faut établir aussi la responsabilité dans le système de l'autogestion. Si nous continuons avec la répartition du profit et avec »la socialisation« des pertes, cela nous con-

duira en effet à l'irresponsabilité organisée.

La Ligue des Communistes a une place spécifique d'avant-garde dans le système global, mais son activité pratique est réduite. L'interaction de la Ligue des Communistes et de la société globale a influencé le radius de l'action pratico-politique de la Ligue des Communistes. La Ligue des Communistes subit l'influence du mécanisme de marché. Une question reste ouverte: comment la Ligue des Communistes peutelle s'intégrer au mécanisme de marché et garder son rôle dirigeant idéologique de l'orientaion du développement socialiste autogestif? La stratification sociale verticale accrue a changé aussi la structure sociale des membres de la Ligue des Communistes. D'après les données les plus récentes, 75% des membres de la Ligue des Communistes, étant sous le rapport du travail, a un revenu plus haut que la moyenne nationale. La Ligue des Communistes est, d'après les caractéristiques fondamentales de stratification, une organisation de la couche supérieure et moyenne, et de moins en moins l'organisation de la classe ouvrière. D'ailleurs, les ouvriers eux-mêmes abandonnent dans la plus grande mesure la Ligue des Communistes. Il faut en effet poser une question - cette Ligue des Communistes, peut-elle être avant-garde dans la réalisation de l'intérêt historique de la classe ouvrière? En outre, le système global jusqu'à aujourd'hui et la position de la Ligue des Communistes définie dans la dernière réorganisation, se trouvent en discordance. Le sens fondamental de la réorganisation de la Ligue des Communistes est que tout membre de la Ligue des Communistes et toute organisation de la LC ne soient pas purs exécuteurs des décisions des organes supérieurs, mais créateurs de la politique, c'est-àdire qu'ils décident directement, dans le cadre des organisations de travail autogestives, avec d'autres travailleurs. Mais de quoi peuventils décider, lorsque les décisions cardinales continuent à être prises, grâce au système global existant, en dehors des organisations de travail autogestives? Même si la Ligue des Communistes de la Yougoslavie n'avait pas de charges historiques, il semble qu'il lui serait de plus en plus difficile de réaliser par les moyens idéologiques, sa fonction d'intégration sociale. D'autres moyens ne seraient pas adéquats à la nature de la Ligue des Communistes. Mais si les intérêts particuliers accrus au sein de la Ligue des Communistes en tant que conséquence de leur accélération dans la société globale, ne peuvent être harmonisés par l'accord idéologico-politique égalitaire, alors un problème de la constitution d'autres partis politiques apparaîtra.

Même une énumération fragmentaire des caractéristiques de la décade passée confirme la thèse sur le développement de la situation de crise. On a essayé d'arrêter et de surmonter les tendances de crise. L'essai jusqu'à maintenant le plus important était la réforme économique et social complétée par la réorganisation de la Ligue des Com-

the plurality of group interests, and what is more, that self-management liberates them and makes them possible. It is essential to redefine self-management, because the existing one-ifo rm model does

not correspond to all social segments. In addition, responsibility must also be established in the system of self-management. If we continue with the distribution of profit and the »socialization« of losses, this will indeed lead us to organized irresponsibility.

The League of C om m unists has a specific vanguard position in the global system, but its practical activity is limited. The interaction of the League of C om m unists and society at large has influ enced the rad iu s of the p ratico-political action of the League of C om m unists.

The League of C om m unists is influenced by the market mechanism.

A question remains open: how can the League of Com m unists become part of the market mechanism and maintain its role as the ideological leader of the Orient? taio n of self-managed socialist d ev elopm ent? The increased v ertical social s tra tific a tio n has also changed the social stru ctu re of the members of the League of Com m unists. According to the most recent data, 75% of the members of the League of Com munists, being under the re p o rt of work, have an income higher than the n atio n al average. The League of C om m unists is, according to the fundamental characteristics of stratification, an organ isation of the upper and middle strata, and of m less and less the organization of the working class. Moreover, the workers themselves have to a large extent abandoned the League of C om m unists. A question must indeed be asked - can this League of C om m unists be a vanguard in realizing the historical interest of the working class? ? Furthermore, the global system up to the present day and the position of the League of C om m unists defined in the last reo rg an isatio n, are in discord an ce. The basic meaning of the reorg a n isa tio n of the League of C om m unists is that all m em bers of the L ague of C om m unists and all o rg an isa tio n of the L C are not pure executors of the decisions of higher bodies, but creators of policy, that is to say that they decide d irectly, within the framework of selfmanaged w ork o rg an isatio n s, w ith other w o rke rs. But what can they decide, when cardinal decisions continue to be taken, thanks to the existing global system, outside the work organizations? to gestures? Even if the L ig ue of C om m unists of Y ugoslavia did not have historical charges, it seems that it would be more and more diffi cult for it to achieve by the means ideological. s:\ i n a c tion of social in te g ratio n. O ther means would not be ad eq u ate to the n a tu re of the L ig u a des C om m unistes. But if the increased special interests within the League of C om m unists as a consequence of their ac ce le ra tio n in the global society, cannot be h ar m o nized through the egalitarian ideological-political agreement, then a problem of the constitution of other political parties will appear.

Even a frag m e n t e n u m e ra tio n of the characteristics of the past decade con firm es the thesis on the dev elo p m en t of the crisis situatio n. We have tried to stop and overcome the tendencies of crisis.

The essay just man tenant the most important tait the economic and social reform completed by the reorganization of the L igue of Com -

munistes, mais qui n'a pas fini, lui aussi, comme on s'attendait. Depuis un certain temps, notre système socio-économique et politique dans son ensemble, ressemble à un petit bateau qui ne réagit pas au changement de direction du timonier. La discipline et la responsabilité diminuent. On considère la démocratie d'une manière petit-bourgeoise comme état dans lequel chacun peut faire ce qu'il veut. Un des plus graves symptômes de la crise est un mouvement d'émigration de la main-d'œuvre qui ne diminue pas. Le système qui n'est pas capable de profiter de ses propres ressources humaines. nepeut avoir une vie

longue. Où le trouvent les raisons de l'inefficacité du système socio-économique? Il semble qu'elles se trouvent avant tout dans le modèle existant du sous-système politique. Les potentiels économiques accrus, la sensibilité plus grande des hommes et le développement des rapports sociaux autogestifs sont entrés en conflit avec le système politique qui a les caractéristiques suivantes: c'est un système centraliste-unitariste, avec des traits charismatiques très exprimés. Toutes les sphères du travail associé sont orientées vers ce système, et au lieu d'une liaison directe entre elles, c'est le système politique qui arbitre entre elles de sa position dominante. Ce système politique aliéné s'est consolidé comme conséquence de l'insuffisance de la classe ouvrière. Le vacuum social créé a été rempli par la couche dirigeante – la bureaucratie, qui est porteur direct de l'Etat politique, de la »force de cohésion« de la société globale en son ensemble. Le système politique ne peut être longuement porté par le groupe social dérivé – la bureaucratie. En effet, tous les essais de la rotation entrepris jusou'à maintenant, contribuaient seulement à la mobilité plus grande de la bureaucratie, et non pas à son dépassement.

Or, la réforme radicale du système politique est un impératif du jour. On a abordé ce travail avec retard. Dans la théorie sociale il y a quelques années, on a pris conscience de la nécessité de changement du système politique. Mais maintenant, où allons-nous et où arrive-rons-nous réellement avec la réforme commencée du système politique? La réponse à la première question est beaucoup plus certaine – au moins verbalement – qu'à la deuxième. Le concept stratégique de la réforme politique proposée est juste, bien que les moyens tactiques de sa réalisation ne soient pas toujours bien choisis. Mais comme conséquence de la cristallisation accrue des intérêts socio-économiques, la différenciation politique a pris aussi de l'essor chez nous, c'est-à-dire la formation de mouvements et de groupes politiques différents, au moins au nucléus.

Tous ces »mouvements«, c'est-à-dire les groupes, sont entrés en scène politique et mettent en relief l'exigeance pour la réforme du système, mais avec des motifs et des sens différents de la réforme. Chacun de ces mouvements a l'ambition d'aménager la Yougoslavie d'après son propre portrait (lisez: intérêt). Le pluralisme politique doit être accepté, parce que toute défense des idées politiques divergeantes chasse celles-ci au sous-sol. Elles en surgissent, tôt ou tard, avec la force destructive des tempêtes élémentaires. Mais l'acceptation du pluralisme des idées exige une culture démocratique politique plus haute

e tit b a te a u q u i n e r e a g it p a s a u c h a n g c -

m e n t of steering direction. L a d isc ipline is responsible for the mini-nuent. O n c o n side the democratic rela tionship of a repeat-bourgeois man as a meeting in which anyone can do what he wants. O ne of the more serious symptoms of the crisis is an unceasing hand-brain migration movement. T h e system is not more than capable of taking advantage of these proper human resources. $n \in p \in u t$ a $n \in v i$ $e \mid o \mid n \mid g \mid u \mid e$

O u le tro u v e n t les ra is o n s d e l 'in e ffic a c ite d u s y ste m e so c io -e co n o -

m iq u e ? II seems that they find themselves avant-garde in the existing model of sous-system politics. L e c o n o m i c p o t e n t i e s a c c r u s e d , h o m e 's greater sensibility and the development of auto gestive social reports tend to conflict with the political system u e q u i a the following characteristics: it is a centralist-unitarist system, with three charismatic traits. All the spheres of work associated with each other versus this system, and instead of being directed between them, it is the political system that arbiters they are without a dominant position. T h e p o l i t i c a l sy ste m is consolidated as a consequence of the 'insufficiency of the working class. L e vacuum s o c i a l c r e e a s e f e r m p l e p a r l y p a r l a l l y c h e d i g e a n t - labor aucracy, which is the direct bearer of the political state, of the "force of cohesion" d e la societe g lo b a le in a sem b le. T h e p o l i t i c a l s ystem p e u t e t e r -

g u e m e n t p o r t e r s p a r l e g r o u p e s o c i a l derive-labour aucracy. Effectively, all attempts at rotation between prizes and 'main tenants contributed only to mental mobility plus greater labor austerity, and no passing season t.

O r, the r e f o r m e r of the political system is u n imperative today. O n e a b o r d e d t o t r a v a i l a v e c r e t a r d D a n s the societal theory of a few years, he acknowledged the necessity of change in the political system. M a i s m a i n t e n a n t, o u allons - we have to arrive -

do we really know how to reform the political system? The answer to the first req ue stion is b e a u c o u p l u s c e r t a i n e -

a u m o i n s v e r b a l e m e n t - w h a t ' s w h i c h T h e strategic c o n c e p t of the proposed political reform is just, although the tactical means of this realization are not clear to you n choices. B u t as a

consequence of the crystallization of socio -economic interests, the political d i f f e r e n t i a t i o n i s a p r e s u r e d of our source, it is the direct formation of movements and different political groups, even in a nucleus.

All these »movements«, that is, directed groups, enter the political scene and rely on the demand for a reformed system , but with the motifs and different senses of the reform.

When them ouvements alm bition to manage the life of Ugoslaveapropreportation (read: interest). Political plurals must a ccept this, because all defenses of political ideas diverge from cell-ciaus-soil. Elle sensurg is sent, toutard, with clafor cedes tructive destempetes elementares. But the acceptance of pluralism of ideas demanding a higher 516 democratic political culture

et un sérieux du comportement de touts les sujets du mouvement communiste. Nous sommes pour le moment devant une responsabilité historique non seulement à cause de la disposition des forces intérieures, mais aussi à cause de la constellation des forces et des rapports internationaux. La Yougoslavie ne vit pas dans un vacuum, mais entre deux blocs, à la tête desquels se trouvent les grandes puissances. »La raison suffisante, a dit Hegel une fois, a ruiné le monde«. Au nom de la raison suffisante, par exemple celle »de l'entretien des acquisitions du socialisme«, qu'il n'est pas difficile d'imaginer, notre indépendance pourrait-elle être ruinée?

Soulignons encore l'éventail des forces intérieures et de leurs aspirations idéo-politiques. L'intention essentielle de la réforme constitutive proposée est à la ligne de l'intérêt historique de la classe ouvrière. La destruction du modèle existant du système politique ne signifie pas la disparition du socialisme. Au contraire, l'homme travailleur et le travail associé doivent devenir l'axe du système nouveau, et non pas l'Etat politique. L'Etat politique retourne de cette façon à son origine. dans le rapport de production d'où il s'était aliéné en faisant son tour de vie. En partant du rapport de production autogestif il faut construire un système politique nouveau, qui repose sur la compréhension de la politique en tant qu'activité sociale autogestive. L'émancipation des nations de l'Etat politique centraliste-unitariste n'est pas une défaite, mais une affirmation des intérêts historiques de la classe ouvrière. De même, le renforcement de l'Etat fédéral et national ne doit pas être incompatible, dans les conditions actuelles, avec la théorie du dépérissement de l'Etat. Bien que l'Etat soit en effet élément historique constitutif de la nation, la compréhension du renforcement de l'Etat fédéral et national dans le socialisme en tant qu'»émanation de l'être national« est considérée de notre part comme une pure mystification. Le renforcement de l'Etat fédéral et national dans les conditions yougoslaves signifie une transmission des fonctions de l'Etat fédératif aux organes étatistes nationaux et fédéraux. Ceux-ci étaient au cours du temps sous-estimés et reduits à l'état de purs exécuteurs des décisions de l'Etat politique fédératif. La base de la réforme actuelle est l'émancipation des nations, avant tout en formation et en répartition de leur propre produit social, en développement des cultures et de la langue nationale et en renforcement de leur propre Etat national, fondé sur l'autogestion. Maintenant c'est un pas décisif dans la réforme entreprise. Bien que les nations aient un rôle très important pour la securité de tous leurs membres, surtout dans les situations de crise, une question de classe reste importante - qui dispose, dans le cadre de la nation, de la plus-value du travail. De même, malgré le besoin du renforcement de l'Etat national par la décentralisation des fonctions de l'Etat fédératif, le processus de la libération de l'homme et de la classe ouvrière n'en est pas fini. La totalisation de l'Etat national et fédéral ne serait qu'une variante du national-socialisme et serait incompatible avec la vision marxiste créatrice de la libération des individus en tant que condition de la liberté pour tous.

Ce concept de la réforme ne peut être réalisé que par la classe ouvrière en coopération avec ses alliés naturels. Pour le moment ce n'est

and a seriousness of the behavior of all subjects of the communist movement. We are for the moment in front of a historical responsibility not only because of the arrangement of the interior forces, but also because of the constellation of the forces and the in tern atio n re p o rts to . Y ugoslavia does not live in a vacuum, but between two blocks, at the head of which are the major powers. »Sufficient reason, said Hegel once, ruins the world«. In the name of su fficient reason, for example that of »maintaining the acquisitions of socialism«, which it is not difficult to imagine, our independence could be ru inee?

Let us again underline the range of internal forces and their ideopolitical aspirations. The essential intention of the proposed constitutive reform is in line with the historical interest of the working class.

The destruction of the existing model of the political system does not

mean the disappearance of socialism. On the contrary, the working man and the associated work must become the axis of the new system, and not the political State. The political State returns in this way to its origin, in the production report from which it was alienated while making its life tour. As part of the self-management production report, a new political system must be built, which is based on the understanding of politics as a self-managing social activity. The emancipation of the nations from the centrist-unitarian political state is not a defeat, but an affirmation of the historical interests of the working class. In the same way, the strengthening of the federal and national state must not be incompatible, under current conditions, with the theory of decline t of the E ta t. Although the State is in fact a constitutive historical element of the nation, the understanding of the strengthening of the federal and national State in s socialism while the "em anation of national being" is considered by us as pure mystification. The strengthening of the federal and national state in the Yugoslav conditions means a transfer of the functions of the federal state to the x organ es etatistes n a tio n a u x et fed erau x. These were over time underestimated and reduced to the status of mere executors of the decisions of the political and federal State. The basis of the current reform is the emancipation of nations, above all in education and in the distribution of their own social product, in development in cultures and national language and in strengthening their own national state, based on self-management. M a n te n a n t it is a decisive step in corporate reform. Although nations have a very important role for the security of all their members, especially in crisis situations, a question of class remains important - who disposes, in the framework of the nation, of the plu s-v a lu and of the tra v a il. Likewise, despite the need to strengthen the national State by decentralizing the functions of the federal State, the process of free ratio n of the man and of the class or the work is not finished. The

totalization of the n a t i o n a l and f e d e r a l State w i t h a n e v a r i a n t of n a t i o n al-socialism and w i l l be compatible with the vision Marxist creation of the freedom of individuals as a condition of freedom for all.

This concept of reform can only be realized by the working class in cooperation with its natural allies. For the moment this is n e s t 517

malheureusement qu'une exigence, un grand »il faut que« et non pas ce »qui est«. La classe ouvrière est, à vrai dire, en croissance numérique permanente, sa structure qualificative s'améliore aussi, elle est atomisée et orientée systématiquement à penser dans les catégories économiques, et non politiques. Le modèle existant de l'autogestion et la façon de son fonctionnement où les structures formelles dictions, sont sentis par la classe ouvrière comme un fardeau. Mais, d'après une recherche, environs 85% de travailleurs s'opposeraient pourtant à la supression des organes d'autogestion. L'autogestion est une école historique, longue et difficile, et si les générations des travailleurs y échouent, cela ne signifie pas que les générations qui viendront après, instruites par l'expérience précédente, ne passeront avec succès cette école de vie

la plus importante de l'homme contemporain. La bureaucratie change la couleur des cartes à jouer, mais non les règles du jeu. La bureaucratie a jusqu'à maintenant joué la carte de classe, et maintenant les bureaucraties nationales jouent la carte nationale ainsi que la carte de classe, ou, le plus souvent, toutes les deux dans leur unité. On peut nous y reprocher que les individus et les groupes sociaux aient droit à l'évolution des attitudes idéologiques. Nous ne contestons pas cette possibilité à la bureaucratie, c'est-à-dire aux bureaucraties, mais il nous semble que le jeu de manipulation continue dans le sens de leur propre intérêt. Bien que la politique »res publica« soit au socialisme autogestif, on continue d'user la méthode de la solution des questions sociales vitales à huis clos. Sous la devise de la concordance des positions d'intérêt, on exerce une méthode de compromis et d'arrangements, si connue par ses insuccès dans notre histoire plus récente. Le compromis et les arrangements ont toujours seulement prolongé la crise, mais ils ne la résolvaient jamais réellement. Si l'histoire est »magistra vitae«, elle nous a alors appris qu'un système démocratique, surtout autogestif, ne peut fonctionner qu'au cas où son porteur direct est le groupe social primaire, et non pas dé-

rivé. Dans la situation yougoslave, c'est la classe ouvrière.

Les structures technocratiques qui fondent leur position sur le savoir professionnel et sur le rôle nécessaire dans l'organisation actuelle du travail, ainsi que les monopoles économico-financiers, outre qu'ils représentent des centres du pouvoir social de plus en plus aliénés de la classe ouvrière, nourrissent leurs prétentions, par la logique du propre intérêt, sur l'aménagement de la société globale yougoslave. Ils se présentent en alliance avec l'étatisme classique, mais aussi contre lui. Leur force est en croissance, et leur intérêt est domination. Ces centres du pouvoir social sont pour le moment la limite intérieure la plus forte de la libération de la classe ouvrière et de la réalisation de l'in-

dépendance nationale.

Dans le domaine de la culture, des groupes sont en devenir, qui franchissent toujours plus les cadres de leur propre profession et n'hésitent pas à faire une revalorisation des événements politiques et à offrir leur propre vision politique. La base y est l'affirmation que le marxisme s'est montré inadéquat aux conditions yougoslaves, et qu'il est particulièrement insuffisant dans la solution du phénomène natio-

permanentreacture, amelificativerequalficatives tructure, it atomizes this story of systematic thinking in terms of economic categories s, and non-politicians. Existantmodels of autogestionethefa on of its fonctionnementous structures formels discutentengenerals, and less structurers non-formal screed These decisions, which are centered on the class ouvriere commeanfardeau. But, according to research, about 85% of the travailurs opposethe suppression of the organs of self-management....L'automestion is ecolehistorical, longueddifficile, and thegenerations of travailleursyecount, thisingnifiesthat generations quiviedrontapress, inssurteds parlexperiences, passered with success this school of life is the most important of contemporary man in

Labure aucratie changelacouleur des carte sajouer, mais non les regies dujeu. Labure aucratie ajusqu'a mainte nant joue lacarte de classe, et mainte nant les bure aucratie s nationale sjouent lacarte nationale ainsique lacarte de classe, ou, le plus souvent, toutes les deuxdans leurunite. Onpeut nous y reprocher que les individus et les groupes sociaux aient droit arevolution des attitudes ideo logiques.

We do not contest the possibility of a labure aucracy, that is, direct auctions, but it seems to us that yesterday manipulation continues sens deleur proper interest. Although » respublic a « politics is autogestive, it continues to use the method of the solution of vital social questions sahuis closed. Sous ladevievievievievievieve on Concedes posionin teret, on exenetofm promiset detet et et et et 1 ancements, si et annneparased anstoire plusrea... Lecompormises arangements, but they never resolve it -

m en t. If history is »mag istravitae«, it then uses a democratic sy stem, especially since it is auto gestive, but not a function in its own right the direct test is the primary social group, and it does not pass. In your Slavic situation, it is the slave class.

Less structurestechnocraticuesthatfordentler position on knowing the profession neleture of the role needed in the current organization of work, in si those monopoly conomico-fin anciers, outher that represented the centers of social power plus and more alienations of the working class, nourish their pre tentions, in terms of proper interest, on the managem

e n t o f g l o b a l y Slavic society. They present themselves in alliance w ith m e cla ssiqu e tatism, but au ssi c o n t e r it.

Th eir force is increasing, and their interest is dominating. Cessen ters of social power are for the moment the limited interior of the plus strength of class liberation and the realization of the 'in-

dependancention

D a n s le d o m a i n e d e l c u l t u r e , d e s g r o u p e s tend to become, which France is sent to you plus the cadres of your proper profession n'he -

s ite n t p as a f a ir e u n e re v a lo ris a tio n des e v e n e m e n ts p o litiq u e s e t a o f f r ir le u r p r o p re v isio n p o litiq u e . L a b a se y est l 'a ff irm a tio n q u e le m a rx ism e s est m o n tre in a d e q u a t a u x c o n d itio n s y o u g o sla v e s, e t q u 'il est p a rtic u lie r e m e n t in s u ffis a n t d a n s la s o lu tio n d u p h e n o m č n e n a tio

nal. C'est pourquoi il faut, d'après cette explication, le réduire à sa vraie mesure ou l'éloigner complètement. Contre quoi échanger le marxisme? A l'image des rénovations nationales historiques on proclame une nouvelle renaissance nationale. La revivification des acquisitions du romantisme national peut être un événement agréable et noble, mais elle ne peut être la base idéologique pour la solution de la question existentielle des peuples yougoslaves dans les conditions de la révolution scientifico-technique.

Il est évident que chez nous il s'agit toujours moins de la crise de croissance, et toujours plus des symptômes de la crise sociale réelle. Notre société s'est trouvée au carrefour. Tout carrefour a au moins deux voies diamétralement opposées. La voie que prendra notre société dépend avant tout du comportement des groupes sociaux primaires. Sur la ligne de l'intérêt historique de la classe ouvrière n'est que la construction de la communauté sociale des producteurs associés, des peuples égaux, une communauté humaine non-alignée et ouverte.

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n al. This is why it is necessary, according to this explanation, to reduce it to its true measure or to remove it completely. W hat should you trade Marxism for? In the image of historical national ren ovations, a new national rebirth is proclaimed. The revival of the acquisitions of national romanticism can be a pleasant and noble event, but it cannot be the ideological basis for the solution of the ex isten tial question of the Yugoslav peoples under the conditions of the scientific-technical rev o lu tio n.

It is obvious that with us it is always less a question of the crisis of growth, and always more of the symptoms of the real social crisis.

Our company has found itself at the crossroads. Every crossroads has at least two diametrically opposed paths. The path that our society is taking depends above all on the behavior of primary social groups. On the line of the historical interest of the working class is only the construction of the social community of associated producers, equal peoples, a human community not -aligned and open.

PHILOSOPHIE DE LA POLITIQUE DU »NOUVEL ETAT DE CHOSES«

Žarko Puhovski

Zagreb

Les cris poussés par la presse, les signals lancés par la radio, l'imagerie chatoyante de la télévision, toutes les parlottes irrésistibles et importunes ne sont que des avertissements, dans la réalité du jour, attirant notre attention sur le fait que le »nouvel état de choses« est de nouveau parmi nous. Le »nouvel état de choses«, de nouveau parmi nous, et encore, tout cela annoncé brutalement (est-ce quer le nouveau n'a pas coutume de se frayer difficilement un chemin?), pourquoi alors des guillemets? Au début, la confusion est presque totale, cette confusion dont ceci, ici, devrait être un reflet, est cependant plus profonde, plus totale, plus confuse et plus agissante. Elle est, mutatis mutandis, le signum de la situation d'une société et d'un peuple, l'indication d'un événement qui voudrait être, en répétant beaucoup le déjà vu et le déjà connu, encore une fois le »nouvel état de choses«.

»Nouvel état de choses« définit ici la situation dont nous sommes témoins ces derniers mois en Croatie (notamment à l'université), l'ensemble des événements que les uns appellent réalisation finale de l'émancipation nationale (politique), les autres débâcle du Parti, les troisièmes mouvements de primitifs, les quatrièmes, ménageant leur effet (conformément, bien entendu, à nos critères théâtraux), crise profonde de la société, etc., tous, il faut le dire tout de suite, ayant raison en quelque chose. Cependant, on peut, j'y reviens, objecter que le »nouvel état de choses« n'en est pas pour autant plus clairement formulé (encore qu'on puisse répondre à cela qu'au niveau de l'auto-compréhension, il est encore moins clair), que les oppositions des points mentionnés ci-dessus sans aucune prétention peuvent se résoudre en bloc par l'affirmation que tout le monde a plus ou moins raison. Mais tout cela est l'expression de la confusion catégoriale (et d'autres aussi) qui a fait son nid dans la réalité, malgré l'incapacité du moment à donner quelque précision dans cette définition du »nouvel état de choses«, qui n'est pas tout à fait sûr de lui-même non plus, bien que soient malgré tout évidentes la présence de ce »mouvement« et des différentes agitations existantes.

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13 PRAXIS

Žarko P u h o vski

Z ag re b

The cries uttered by the press, the signals launched by the radio, the shimmering imagery of television, all the irresistible and importunate talking points are only warnings, in the rea lite of the day, drawing our attention to the fact that the »new state of things« is again among us. The »new state of things«, again among us, and again, all this announces brutally a path?), then why quotes? At the beginning, the confusion is almost total, this confusion of which this here should be a reflection, is however deeper, more total, more confused and more active. It is, m u tatis m u tan d is, the signum of the situ atio n of a society and of a people, the indi-catio n of an event which would like to be, by rep resenting much of the deja vu and deja vu, once again the »new and ta t of things«.

»New state of things« here ends the situ atio n which we have witnessed in recent months in C ro atia (particularly at the university), all the events that some call the final realization of n a tio n a l (political) e-m an cip atio n, others the debacle of the P a rti, the third m ovem ents of the primitives, the qu u damages, reducing their effect (in accordance, of course, with our theatrical criteria), deep crisis of society, etc., all of them, it must be said. immediately, there is something right. However, we can, I come back to this, object that the »new state of affairs« is not, however, more clearly formulated (although we can answer this qu u (at the level of self-understanding, it is even less clear), that the oppositions of the points mentioned above without any prete n tio n can be resolved as a whole by the affirm a tio n that everyone is more or less right. But all of this is the expression of the c ateg o rial confusion (and others too) which has made its nest in reality, despite the incapacity of the moment to give some precision in this de fin itio n of the »new state of things«, which is not entirely sure of itself either, although despite everything, the presence of this »m ovem ent« and of the various ex isting agitations.

13 PRAXIS

Est-il possible (est-il permis) d'être contre l'émancipation de son propre peuple, contre un mouvement que l'on remarque à peine à des signes nationaux, contre des événements qui rassemblent ou du moins qui inspirent tant d'étudiants, d'intellectuels, la »majorité du peuple« (meme si ces assertions quantitatives ne sont pas tout à fait exactes, ce qui est d'ailleurs probable?). La réponse, dans ce cas-là, se donne toujours d'elle-même, la négativité de son intonation principale est cependant déterminée d'abord par l'idée qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une purete en noir et blanc, mais d'une interrogation, aussi negligée qu'on peut l'être dans la réalité, sur l'émancipation dont il est question, de l'évaluation de sa portée et de ses motifs, de ses possibilités et de ses limites (déjà) données d'avance en eux-mêmes). L'instant est donc »complexe«, les traits non élaborés, les programmes beaux et pauvres, la crise indubitable (dans n'importe quel sens et à n'importe quel niveau), mais malgré tout, si l'on veut parler, agir, même en se servant de cette arme spirituelle intellectuellement désinfectée, entin, il faut quand même partir d'un certain niveau.

La société dans laquelle nous vivons (on veut dire, bien entendu, la Yougoslavie), s'est fait une habitude exemplaire et déjà longue de ne pas remplir ses plans - ces années passées, nous avons été accablés de discours, résolutions, directions, plans, rétormes, et cependant, il serait difficile, sur la supposition d'une position pragmatique menée jusqu'au bout, de pouvoir prouver de l'un des documents cités qu'il a été réalisé dans la pratique, tout à fait ou pour le moins presque tout à fait. Les conséquences, il n'est peut-être pas utile de le répéter, sont de longue portée et profondes pour toute la société, excepté pour le groupe étroit (ou peut-être les groupes) de ceux qui promettaient, et à ceux-là, voilà, il est donné de continuer à promettre, personne en effet n'a répondu de la débâcle de la réforme économique et sociale, de l'ajournement du plan pour un an et autres choses, et l'attention de l'opinion publique se tournait, déjà menaçante, justement vers ces problèmes, développée par les possibilités accrues offertes ces dernières années par la »parole publique«.¹ Les conséquences d'un tel état de choses dans la »superstructure idéologique« (pour employer cette construction confuse et habituelle), sont importantes à cause de la perte de perspective, définition principale de la situation actuelle. Il ne s'agit pas d'abord d'un mécontentement en ce qui concerne le passé (malgré tout, ce pays, il ne faut l'oublier, présente une série de caractéristiques qui sont souvent beaucoup plus propices à l'homme que certains systèmes » véritablement socialistes « qui s'offrent sur le marché idéologique international), ou d'une dépression causée par les difficultés temporaires, donc non seulement de la crise de la pratique, mais de la crise du concept lui-même, par conséquent de la non-existence, ou peut-être, de l'impossibilité de la connaissance des possibilités véritables du développement social pensé. Ce n'est pas seulement un phrase pompeuse ou une larme de crocodile versée par les mécontents - une série d'e-

¹ Aussi n'est-il peut-être pas illogique de rattacher une série d'événements politiques de notre pays – à propos desquels on parle en général de rapports entre les nations – au besoin qui se fait sentir, ces dernières années, de trouver, après l'échec des programmes promis auparavant, d'autres médium de politisation.

scholars, intellectuals, the » m a jo r ite d u p e u p le «

(m em e si ces a sse rtio n s q u a n n ta tiv e s n e so n t p a s to u t a f a it ex a cte s, ce qui est d 'a ille u rs p ro b a b le?). L a rep o n se, d a n s ce c a s-la, se d o n n e to u jo u rs d 'e lle -m e m e, la n e g a tiv ite d e so n in to n a tio n p r in c ip a le est c e p e n d a n t d e te rm in e e d 'a b o rd p a r l 'id ee q u 'il n e s 'a g it p a s d u n e p u -

re te e n n o ir e t blan c, m ais d n e in ter ro g a tio n, a u ssi n e g lig e e q u o n p e u t 1 e tre d a n s la real a lite, su r le m an c ip a t i o n d o n t il est q u e stion, d e v a l u a t i o n o f t h e s a p o r t e s o f t h e m o t i f s, t h e p o s s i b l i t s t h e s e s lim i t s (d e ja) d o n n e e s d a v a n c e e n e u x -m e m e s). The instant is given

»co m p lex«, the traits of none la bores, the b e aux e t p o r g r a m m e s, the undoubted crisis (and no matter how sensible it is at any level), m ais m a lg re to u t, si T on v eut p a r l e r, acts, even as a servant of these infectious spiritual and intellectual weapons, and finally, it is necessary when and also to part at an uncertain level.

In the society in which we live (in other words, well, the Yugoslav life), it is a fact that habits have long been exemplified and not fulfilled p la n s - ces a n n e e s p a s s e s , n o u s a v o n s e t a c c a b l e s of speeches, reso lutions, directions, plans, retorms, etc., it will be difficult , on the supposition of a p r a g m a t i c m e n e e e j u s q u 'a bout, to be able to prove from the documents cited that it is realized in practice, all f a i t o up o u r le m o in s p r e s c u e to u t a fact. T h e consequences, it is not p e u t- e t r e p a s u tile of the repeater, they are of long-term and profound support for the whole of society, except for the group (ou p e u t- e t r e l g r o u p e s) d e c e u x q u i p r o m e t t i e n t , et a c e u x -la , v oila , he has been continuing to promise , no one has any effect

p o n d u s e d b a c l e d e l e c o n o m i c u a t e s ocial re f o r m , d e l 'ajo u r -

n e m e n t of p l a n p o r u n a n e t a u t r e s ch o s e s , et l ' a tte n tio n of p u b l i q u e o p i n i o n s to u r n ait, de ja m e n a j e n t , ju s t e m e n t v e r s s e p r o b l e m e s , de v e lo p p e e p a r s p o s s i b i l e s a c c r u e s o f f e r t e s s d e r n i e r e s a n n e e s p a r l » public speech « .1 The consequences of a teletat of things in the » supers true c tu re ideo logic« (for employees of this construction to be habitual), are important because of the loss of perspective, defined by pr in c i p a le of the current situation. II n e s'a g it beyond a m e c o n t e n t m e n t that concerns the pass (however, in this country, it

is not necessary to forget, present a series of characteristics that s o u vent b e a u c o p l u s p r o p i c e s a l 'hom e q u e c e r t a i n s sy stems

social thought lo p p e m e n t s. C e n 'st pass a p o m p e u s phrase o u n e la r m e d e c o d i l e verse e p a r l e s m e c o n t e n t s - a series of 'e-1 A u ssi n est-it can-e three corridors g i q u e d e r a tta c h e r u&ie sć rie d 'ćv ć n e m e n t s p o litiq ues of our countries - a proposed csq u els on p a r l e g e n e r a l r e p o r t s between nations - au b e whom it makes sense, these latter re s a n n ees, again, a p rć s l 'ćchec dea p ro g r a m m e s p r o m i s e u p a r a v a n t , o t h e r m e a n d p o l i t i s a t i o n n

xemples concrets, du plan de développement de la ZET et de l'aménagement de Grič, jusqu'à la question du système de reproduction sociale ou de plan quiquennal de développement économique et social, du programme de la construction des cinémas et bibliothèques jusqu'au programme d'alphabétisation, servent d'illustration concrète. Mais malgré tout, l'espace est en partie ouvert pour l'action nécessaire au changement d'un tel état de choses impossible en lui-même; c'est le résultat de certains changements dans la vie politique des dernières années, changements qui ont »aboli«, bien qu'à la façon de la démocratie formelle, la répression politique directe, en la remplaçant souvent, il faut bien le dire, par une manipulation plus ou moins habile qui frappe bien souvent (et néantise) l'opinion publique. Un tel état de choses, aggravé par un manque de voies d'action réellement marxistes, a conditionné la création d'une situation de »confusion d'idées« et même une situation de confusion de la critique social intellectuelle (typique de l'état de crise des perspectives de la société), mais si cet espace d'action, formellement et confusément instauré, n'existe que partiellement, il existe cependant et il convient de l'aménager par un programme ayant pour but d'être une source d'inspiration des activités.

Et c'est bien de cela qu'il s'agit: la question de savoir qui occupera l'espace nouveau ouvert à l'action politique (et même parfois politicarde): éventuellement, on pourra engager sur cette base une discussion sur le »nouvel état de choses«. En quoi la position est déjà en partie gagné par l'introduction elle-même, il s'agit de la critique de l'état concret, au nom de valeurs qui auraient dû faire fonction de chef de ligne, de la critique de la pensée de la crise dans ses dernières conséquences et pas seulement dans celles qui frappent expressément un certain intérêt (quel qu'il soit). C'est seulement dans cette situation que l'on peut sérieusement thématiser ce qu'on appelle, tout à fait grossièrement d'ailleurs, le »nouvel état de choses« (le nom est tiré d'une comprehension personnelle de l'événement qu'on traite. les guillemets sont ici pour des raisons d'idéologiité de cette compréhension). Le medium principal du »nouvel état de choses« (en général) est le croatisme, son adversaire principal est l'unitarisme, son porteur principal le groupement que l'on appelle souvent les travailleurs culturels (bien qu'il s'agisse seulement d'une partie de ce groupement, avec la participation d'une série de personnalités d'autres professions, en particulier des politiciens).

Il est à peine nécessaire de dire pourquoi c'est justement le croatisme, ou ce qu'on appelle la question nationale, qui apparaît dans le rôle essentiel de la tragi-comédie actuelle – une série de déformations du temps (d'ailleurs pas encore révolu), que l'on appelle étatiques, ont particulièrement conditionné une localisation régionale et nationale des investissements et des systèmes bancaires, du commerce extérieur et des centres culturels – la possibilité, de tensions, malentendus, incompréhensions et heurts a été créée par le fait-même, et une série d'éléments »annexes«, en particulier la conscience de la spécificité et de la confusion de »l'instant actuel«, donc du fait de l'existence des germes historiques importants, à l'échelle mondiale, du novum de la

concrete xam ples, from the developm ent p lan of the Z E T and the am e-n ag m en t of G rič, up to the question of the system of social reproduction or of the final plan of economic and social development,

from the program for the construction of cinemas and libraries to the literacy program, serve as a concrete illustration. But despite everything, the space is partly open for the action necessary to change such an impossible state of affairs in itself; it is the result of certain changes in political life in recent years, changes which have wabolished«, although in the manner of formal dem oc ratic, repression for direct policy, by often replacing it, it must be said, by a more or less skilful manipulation which very often strikes (and annihilates) public opinion. Such a state of affairs, aggravated by a lack of truly Marxist avenues of action, only conditions the creation of a situation of weonfusion of ideas«

and even a situation of confusion of intellectual social criticism (typical of the state of crisis of the perspectives of society), but if this space of action, formally and confusedly in stau re, only partially exists, it does exist during this time and it should be developed by means of a program with a y in order to be a source of in sp iratio n for activities.

And that is what it is all about: the question of who will occupy the new space open to political action (and even sometimes politic ard): t, we can start a discussion on the »new state of things« on this basis. In what way the position is already partly won by the in tro d u c tio n itself, it is a question of the critique of the concrete state, in the name of values that have u resents having to act as leader, of the critique of the thought of the crisis in its final consequences and not only in those which expressly strike a certain interest (whatever it is). either). It is only in this situation that we can seriously discuss what is called, quite roughly, the »new state of affairs« (the name is taken from a perso n al understanding of the event being treated. the quotation marks are here for reasons of ideology of this understanding).

The main m edium of the »new state of things« (in general) is croatism, its main ad v e rsary is un itarism, its main carrier g ro u p m en t often called cultural w o rke rs (although th is is only part of th e g roupm en t, w ith the p a rticip a tio n of a series of personalities from other professions, in particular politicians).

It is hardly necessary to say why it is just croatism, or what is called the national question, which appears in the essential role of tragedy. current i-co m ed y - a series of defo rm atio n s of time (by the way not yet completed), which are called states, have partic ularly loose co n d itio n a n reg io n al and n atio n al localization of investm ents and banking systems, foreign trade and c u ltu ral centers — the possibility, tensions, misunderstandings, misunderstandings and uh rts

was created by fact-m cm e, and a series of »additional« elements, in particular the awareness of the specificity and the confusion of the »current moment«, therefore due to the existence of important historical seeds, on a global scale, from the novum of the 523

communauté autogestive, de puissants centres stalinistes organisés et des monopoles, presque classiquement capitalistes, de décision économique et autre (»Buy the best – sale the rest«), ce qui se glisse d'une manière de plus en plus décisive dans le quotidien de tous et de toutes – tout cela a fait que la nation est devenue le facteur essentiel des luttes politiques. Une série de changements sociaux, en particulier le renforcement du groupe social qui pourrait se définir comme le substrat² de la couche moyenne, une culture fondée sur les bases nationales confuses, la classe ouvrière, terminus technicus d'événements essenleillement stalinistes, et la possibilité acquise du recours à n'importe quel autre dénominateur commun d'une oposition à l'existant qui compterait sur un large appui, fout cela a nécessairement orienté les mouvements en apparence élémentaires, dans le journalisme, les sciences humaines, dans la culture en général, vers la »question de la nation«.

S'occuper de la nation, notamment lorsqu'il s'agit d'une situation non satisfaisante (ce qui vaut pour toute nation yougoslave placée dans cette situation), n'est pas et ne peut pas être un péché, le nationalisme l'étant certainement. Mais, où est la différence? La production politique actuelle, insistant énergiquement sur cette opposition, est très loin de l'avoir éclaircie conséquemment. Cependant, en principe, ce n«est pas si difficile, le nationalisme est en effet esentiellement déterminé par l'instauration de l'homme-individu en tant qu'accidence de la nation à laquelle il appartient, la nation est donc pour lui l'horizon unique, l'unique filtre d'examen, le contenu implicite et la circonférence de chaque notion utilisée par lui; s'occuper de la nation conformément aux autres, qui la créent, c'est l'accidence de l'homme-individu, déduction impersonnelle d'une existence humaine déjà existante et donnée d'avance. A partir de cela, il est possible, non sans difficulté, obscurité et insatisfaction, d'inventer toutes les conséquences politiques pratiques et programmatiques théoriques. Mais si cela ne se produit pas, en dépit de difficultés incontestables, il faut croire que le problème n'est pas seulement dans le critère, mais, et d'abord, dans une aptitude à ne pas l'employer.

Si l'on considère que ces brèves assertions, en dépit de leur shématisme évident, représentent au moins une partie de la réalité dont il est question ici, le médium essentiel du »nouvel état de choses« est au moins en partie expliqué; le croatisme, en effet, c'est s'occuper de la Croatie et des Croates, et il existe toute une série de facteurs qui feront que l'on restera au niveau du nationalisme, ou qu'on atteindra des possibilités, des horizons: on peut voir véritablement, et résoudre, les difficultés qui ont fait naître cet état de choses. Dans un mouvement politique, et le »nouvel état de choses« l'est certainement. l'essentiel est la question de la conception de la résolution du problème; sa suffisance au moins potentielle équivaudrait à l'acquisition d'une possibilité de changement véritable de l'état de choses, une chute

² L'analyse classique montre que tous les mouvements nationaux (et nationalistes) ont été portés par des sorces liées avec la couche moyenne, avec collaboration du lumpenprolétariat comme bataillon d'assaut, notamment dans les situations radicalisées.

than decisiveness when it comes to both of them

- t o u t c h e f a t that the n a t i o n became the essential f a c t e r of p o l i t i c struggles. A series of s o c i a l c h a n g e m e n t s , in particular the strengthening of social groups whose rights are defined as sub -

s tr a t2 d e la couche m o y e n n e , u n e c u ltu re f o n d e e s u r les b ases n a ti o n a les con fu ses, la classe o u v rie re , te rm in u s tec h n ic u s d 'e v e n e m e n ts essen -

tie lle m e n t sta lin iste s, e t la p o s s ib ilite a c q u ise d u re c o u rs a n 'im p o rte quel a u tr e d e n o m in a te u r co m m u n d 'u n e o p o s itio n a 1'e x is ta n t q u i c o m p te ra it s u r u n la rg e a p p u i, to u t c e la a n e c e s s a ire m e n t o rie n te les m o u v em e n ts e n a p p a re n c e e le m e n ta ire s , d a n s le jo u rn a lis m e , les sciences h u m ain e s, d a n s la c u ltu r e e n g e n e ra l, v e rs la » q u e stio n d e la n a tio n « .

S 'o c c u p e r d e l a n a t i o n , n o t a m e n t t h a t it is a n o n e s itu a t i o n unsatisfactory (this is for every nation that has a place in this situ a tion), n 'est p a s e t n e p e u t p a s e t e r u n p e c h e, nationalism is certain. B u t, or is it the d i f f e r e n c e ? T h e a c t u a l p o l i t i c p r o d u c t i o n , which insists on energy from this opposition, is far from clarity. C e p e n d a n t , in principle, this is not pass iffic ile, the effect of nationalism is essentially determined by V homme-ind iv i d u e n t q u a c c i d e n c e o f t h e n a t i o n to which it belongs, the nation is done for it 'unique horizon, unique filtered 'examination, the content imp lic ite and the circle fe -

r e n c e d e c h a n o t i o n u tilis e e p a r l y; s'occupation of the nation in confrontation with others, which it believes, is the 'accident of the 'man-in-dividu, impersonal deduction' u n e x i s t e n c e h u m a i n e d e e x i s t a n t e d 'a v a n c e Apart from this, it is not possible, without any difficulty ^obscurity and insatisfaction, to invent all the political consequences of this tiq u e s et t h e o r i c a l p r o g r a m m e s M a s s i c e is not produced. and despite the incontestable difficulties, it must be believed that the problem passes the criteria, but, and above all, in its appropriate aptitude the e m p l o y e r.

Si Ton c o n sid e re q u e ces b re v e s a sse rtio n s, e n d e p it d e le u r s h e m a -

tism e vid e n t, r e p r e s e n t e m o n in s u n e p a r t i o n of the r e a l i t e d o n t il s q u e s t i o n ic, the m e d i u m e s e n ti e l of the

"new v e l e t a t e of things" is a m o n e in s p a r t e ex p l i c u e; Croatism, in fact, is about Croat and Croats, and there is a series of factors that -

ro n t que l'on r e s t e r a u n i v e a u d u n a t i o n a l s m e , o u q u 'on atte into possibilities, horizons; o n p e u t v o i r v e r i t a b l e m e n t, in other words, the difficult squ ion t f ait n aitrecetat e tat d e things. In the p o l i t i c m o u v e m e n t , and the » new state of affairs« it is certain, the essen tiel is the question of the conception of the resolution of the problem; sufficiency increases the possibility of right acquisition of a possibility of veritable change of the state of things, unequite 2 The classical analysis shows w h i c h all national movements (and national lists) have t etc carried by forces liees with the middle layer, with the collaboration of the proletariat and the proletariat illo n d 'assa u t, note in the following situations -

dica leaves with.

éventuelle au-dessous du niveau exigé par le moment équivaudrait au moins, inévitablement, à une fin de perspective sur le chemin du nationalisme.

Mentionner l'unitarisme comme adversaire acharné du »nouvel état de choses«, cela peut-il aider au diagnostic du mouvement lui-même? L'existence de l'unitarisme en Yougoslavie devrait en effet équivaloir à une possibilité au moins implicite d'activité du mouvement (malgré sa forme) fondé sur l'aspiration (donc sur l'intérêt) de la création (ou arrêt) de l'état dans lequel la Yougoslavie est défini comme un état à un peuple.3 Si ce mouvement existe réellement (et c'est incontestable, bien que des manifestations concrètes ne donnent pas du problème une explication aussi radicale que la définition ci-contre, en dépit de son caractère tant soit peu caricatural), il serait de son intérêt de maintenir l'état qui, selon nos nombreux activistes, a fortement caractérisé la situation en Yougoslavie dans les années cinquante. Quel intérêt cependant pourrait avoir un groupe à l'uninationalité fictive d'une communauté à plusieurs nations? Probablement aucun, car un tel état de choses, c'est tout à fait clair aujourd'hui, débouche tôt ou tard sur les difficultés les plus graves et ne profite à personne, même pas à ceux qui devraient le promouvoir. Cette situation désagréablement illogique n'a cependant qu'une seule issue - reconnaître que la conception unitariste cache en son essence quelque chose d'autre, qu'elle exprime le nihilisme caché du pouvoir du groupe dirigeant - donc le

S'il en est vraiment ainsi, la mise à l'ordre du jour de l'unitarisme peut signifier seulement une chose: l'inaptitude à la lutte contre le stalinisme à tous les niveaux, donc la possibilité, pour le stalinisme, pendant cette lutte amère et discontinue contre l'unitarisme, de se regrouper purement et simplement et de rester le processus social valable, bien qu'à un niveau différent. Par conséquent, l'unitarisme n'est pas l'adversaire principal parce qu'il ne dit rien d'essentiel, son existence n'est que l'expression d'une construction plus profonde du stalinisme dans des domaines où sont apportées des décisions sociales vitales, il a pour pendant la théorie »il y a seulement une couche sociale les travailleurs«, car, de même que l'unitarisme, en partant des positions stalinistes, finit dans le chauvinisme vis-à-vis des nations d'une communaté donnée, de même la théorie des travailleurs correspond, en son essence, à un chauvinisme social vis-à-vis de certaines couches de la société, en particulier vis-à-vis de la classe ouvrière qui se trouve noyée dans la non-différentiation de la masse et en partie chassée du théâtre des événements sociaux importants et légaux; cependant, les deux sont utiles à une couche sociale tout à fait concrète, à savoir aux dirigeants professionnels et à ceux qui en vivent.

³ Il faut se souvenir que l'unitarisme, dans d'autres milieux, aux USA par exemple, à l'époque de l'amalgame des émigrés de toutes les nations, a pu connaître et a connu des phénomènes d'une autre forme.

⁴ Cf. l'exposé impressionnant du dr. Dušan Pirjevec (»Entre Marx et Staline«, rapport au symposuim »Actualité de la pensée de Hegel, Marx, Engels et Lénine, dans la vie sociale et dans la science du XXe siècle, Ljubljana, 15-17 février 1971).

M en tio n n er l'u n itarism as ad versa ire ach arne du »new state of affairs«, can this help in the diagnosis of the movement itself?

The existence of un itarism in Y ugoslavia should indeed be tantamount to an at least implicit possibility of activity of the m ovement (despite its form) based on aspiration (so on the interest) of the creation (or arre t) of the state in which Yugoslavia is defined as a state with a few people.3 If this m ovem ent really exists (and c is indisputable, although concrete m anifestatio ns do not give rise to an explanation of the problem as radical as the defin itio n opposite, in spite of its re ta n t character be little c a ric atu ra l), it would be in his interest to m aintain the state which, according to our many activists, strongly characterizes the situ a tio n in Yugoslavia in the fifties. What interest could a g ro u p have in the fictitious un in atio n ality of a c o m m unity of several n atio n s? P ro b ab lem en t none, because such a state of affairs, it is quite clear today, will emerge sooner or later following the most serious difficulties and cannot ro fit to no one, not even to those who should really promote it. This sadly illogical situation has only one way out - to recognize that the unitarian conception hides in its essence something else. that it expresses nihilism hides power from the ruling group - so sta lin ism .4

If this is really so, the setting of the order of the day of un itarism can signify only one thing: the inability to fight against the stalinism at all le v els, thus the possibil t and to remain the valid social process, albeit at a d iffe re n t level. Consequently, un itarism is not the main ad v e rsary because it says nothing essential, its existence is only the expression of a more stalinism's depth in areas where vital social decisions are made, he argued that there is only one social stratum -

the workers", because, just as un itarism, starting from Stalinist positions, ends up in chauvinism vis-a-vis the nations of a given com m u n ate , likewise the theory of workers corresponds, in its essence, to a social chauvinism vis-a-vis certain strata of society, in particular vis-a-vis is of the working class which finds itself drowned in the non-d iffe re n tia tio n of the m ass and partly expelled from the theater of im p o rtan t and legal social events; however, both are useful to a quite concrete social stratum, namely to professional managers and to those who live from it.

* It must be remembered that unitarism, in other circles, in the U S A for example -

plc, at the time of the amalgamation of emigrants from all nations, may have known and experienced phenomena of another form.

 * 100 f. l'expose the pressure n n an t du dr. D ušan P irje v ec (»E ntre Marx et rap p o rt a u sym posuim »A ctu a lite de la pcnsê de Hegel, Marx, nge s e

in the social life and in the science of the X X th century, L ju b lja n a , 15-17 February 1971).

Le »nouvel état de choses« constitue sans aucun doute une réaction contre un état insoutenable qui change trop lentement, il voudrait quelque chose d'autre, quelque chose qui garantirait en premeir lieu l'amélioration de la position du peuple croate. Il semble que ce faisant, on ait choisi un faux adversaire (pris en partie à la production quotidienne d'avant), un médium qui contient les possibilités implicites (au moins) d'un terrain sans issue nationaliste, s'il devient le facteur principal des événements politiques, laissant les observateurs et participants dans l'indécision quant au programme clair et à la compréhension véritable de l'ensemble des problèmes de l'émancipation nationale dont il s'agit ici. Dans le langage quotidien, on emploi fréquemment une expression qui, insistant sur la »dialectique de classe et nationale«, doit permettre de trouver la jonction avec les problèmes sociaux essentiels du moment. Laissant de côté la valeur de la dialectique qui manie, comme celle-ci, des adjectifs sans apparence de clarté (en effet, si l'on dit qu'il s'agit en fait d'une émancipation de classe et nationale, il faut tout de suite se demander qui est celui à qui il faut appliquer l'émancipation de classe et nationale, et en plus, dialectiquement), il faut mentionner que les discussions sur la priorité de l'un des deux qualificatifs ont abouti à faire oublier le sujet de l'émancipation, lequel, en dépit de toutes les déductions sociales, reste tout de même - l'homme. Donc, l'essentiel est bien la question de l'émancipation de l'homme - »Ce n'est que quand l'homme connaîtra et organisera ses propres forces en forces sociales et que, à partir de là, il cessera de séparer de lui-même la force sociale en force politique, que sera accomplie l'émancipation de l'homme«.5 - Mais on ne parle pas de cela aujourd'hui, autour de nous. Si l'on part de l'homme qui a organisé ses forces en forces sociales, on aboutit ailleurs que si l'on part de l'intérêt de la nation organisée comme problème de l'homme déduit d'elle.6

On a déjà mentionnée toute une série de défauts caractéristiques du »nouvel état de choses«, certaines limitations, les manifestations concrètes et les porteurs réels sont bien connus, alors, quelques mentions encore et ce sera tout. Le »nouvel état de choses« apparaît en général comme un activité idéologique (c'est-à-dire culturelle et »culturelle«), sa forme est dans les règlements de compte politiques, de caractère généralement exigeant (luttant encore pour l'influence dominante) et les méthodes en sont variées. Le cadre spatio-temporel est donné par la situation de crise profonde du concept de communauté (mais aussi par la crise du concept de société en général) et les porteurs sont en général des »hommes de plume« (bien que, cela va de soi, tous ne montrent pas la même habileté dans cette sorte de lutte à mains libres). Peut-être n'est-il pas nécessaire de démontrer que l'action du mou-

⁵ Marx-Engels: »Ecrits de jeunesse«, Naprijed, Zagreb 1953, p. 68.

^{6 »}Notre organisation politique intérieure est et sera ce que le peuple, sans prétendues démocraties, sans prétendues spéculations politicardes, décidera de lui-même, souverainement, dans son intérêt essentiel et vital«. (Ante Pavelić, dictateur fasciste en Croatie 1941-45, discours sur la place St. Marc de Zagreb, 21 mai 1941). Ceci n'est que l'absolutisation de la nation développée jusqu'à ses dernières conséquences, la souveraineté du peuple sans démocratie, et l'expression de l'impuissance véritable d'un concept de puissance.

h o s e g a r a n t i o n t h e p r e m e i r lie u l 'a m e lio ra tio n of the posi tion of the p e u p l e c r a t e II seems to be doing so, on a it chooses a faux adversary (prisoner of the quot-dienned 'avant' production party), a medium that contains the possibilities im p licites (at least) of the underground sans issue na tio nalist , if it becomes the main fact of political events, are not the o b s e r v a t u r e s e t p a r t i c a n t s in the decision-making process when the program clarifies a veritable understanding of the problems of emanc y ip a tio n n a tio n a l e d to get here. D a n s l e l a n g a g e , one frequently uses -

m e n t u n e e x p re ssio n qui, in s is ta n t s u r la » d ia le c tiq u e d e classe e t n a tio n a le«, d o it p e rm e ttr e d e tro u v e r la jo n c tio n a v e c les p ro b le m e s so c ia u x essen tiels d u m o m e n t. L a is s a n t d e cote la v a le u r d e la d ia le c tiq ue qui m an ie, com m e c e lle -c i, des a d je c tif s sa n s a p p a re n c e d e c la rte (en e ffe t, si l 'o n d it q u 'il s'a g it e n f a it d 'u n e e m a n c ip a tio n d e classe e t n a tio n a le, il f a u t to u t d e s u ite se d e m a n d e r q u i est c e lu i a q u i il f a u t a p p liq u e r l 'e m a n c ip a tio n d e cla sse e t n a tio n a le, e t e n p lu s, d ia le c ti-q u e m e n t), il f a u t m e n tio n n e r q u e les d isc u ssio n s s u r la p r io r ite d e l 'u n des d e u x q u a lific a tifs o n t a b o u ti a f a ir e o u b lie r le s u je t d e l 'e m a n c i-p a tio n, leq u el, en d e p it d e to u te s les d e d u c tio n s so ciales, re s te to u t d e m em e - l 'h o m m e. D o n e, l 'e sse n tie l e st b ie n l a q u e s tio n d e V e m a n c ip a tio n d e I'h o m m e - »C e n 'est q u e q u a n d l 'h o m m e c o n n a itra e t o r g a

n ise ra ses p ro p re s f o rces e n f o r e s ocia l e s t h a t, apart from that, it will cease to be separated from it-make societal forces and political forces, which will be accommodated lie l 'e m a n c i p a t i o n d l ' h o m m e « .5 - M a i s o n e p a r l e pas d e c a u j o u r d 'hu i, a u t o u r d e n o u s. As part of the man who organizes his forces and societal forces, it is about illness that is part of the interest of the nation to be organized the medium of the h o m m e d u i t d 'e lle .6

O n e d e j a m e n t i o n to you a series of characteristic faults

»knowledge of things«, certain limitations, concrete manifestations

and carrier reels are not well known, therefore, to some men tion s en c o r e et ce s e r a t u t. The » novelty of things « apparently general com m eun ac tivity ideology (that is, direct cultural and » cultural «), is formed d a n c e r e g u l a t i o n s de c o m p t e p o l i t i e s , de c a r c a r a c te r e g e n e r a l m e n t e x i g e a n t (lu t t a n t e n c o r e p o u r l 'in fluence dominant) and the methods of censorship vary. L e c a d re s p a tio -te m p o r e l est d o n n e p a r la s itu a tio n d e

crise p ro fo n d e d u c o n c ep t d e c o m m u n a u te (m ais aussi p a r la crise d u co n c ep t d e so ciete e n g e n e ra l) e t les p o rte u rs so n t e n g e n e ra l des »h o m m es d e p l u m e « (although, he said, none of us have ever been able to do this sort of struggle for freedom).

P e u t-e n'e s t-il p a s n e c e s s a ire d e m o n tr e r q u e a c tio n d o u m o u -

6 M a rx -E n g e ls : » E crits d e je u n e sse « , N a p r ije d , Z a g re b 1953, p. 68.

6 » Our internal political organization is and will be what the people, without pre-

tends to democracies, without pretending political speculation, decides on self-meme, sovereignty, and their own interests v ita l« (Before Croatian Fascist Dictator Pavelić 1941-45, speech on St. Mark's Square in Zagreb, May 21, 1941). C eci n 'cst t h a t the a b s o l u t i o n o f t h e n a t i o n d e v e l o p p e e ju s c u 'a ses d e r n ie res c o n ces, the sovereignty of the people sans d ć m o c ra tie , and t h e e x p r e s s i o n o f powerlessness ve r itable from a concept of power.

vement dont nous parlons ici a thématisé de nombreuses questions essentielles, que des pas ont été faits vers certaines solutions (en général non-essentielles), que le »nouvel état de choses« n'est pas le nationalisme, bien qu'il n'existe pas sans nationalisme dans la variante où nous le vovons (ce qui est normal chaque fois qu'un neuple se réveille après un long sommeil, ou du moins semble le faire). Cependant, et c'est une délimitation importante, il existe et il doit pouvoir exister une autre manière de s'engager qui n'a pas à être en correspondance directe avec ce qui est dépassé aujourd'hui, mais qui reste croate et yougoslave, et qui est, et c'est l'essentiel vraiment internationaliste, et dont le point de départ est l'homme, et non la nation, le sol, les collines ou les ruisseaux.

L'intransigeance du »nouvel état de choses« est orientée unilatéralement, il trouve inacceptables les »nouveaux gauchistes« et toute autre personne douteuse citant l'utopie (pratiquement identifiée avec la contre-révolution) et autres »notions intégrales« comparables, il est faible cependant lorsqu'il définit les critères de l'appartenance par rapport à tous ceux qui le soutiennent, explicitement ou autrement. Pourtant, il est possible que dans le mouvement qui insiste jour et nuit sur l'émancipation de son peuple coexistent des hommes dépourvus des connaissances les plus élémentaires de la langue de ce peuple, de son histoire, de sa culture, et même ceux qui ont confessé radicalement, il n'v a pas si longtemps, des convictions qui soulèveraient aujoud'hui l'indignation unanime du public. Les »victimes« de naguère (mais aussi les victimes) des règlements de compte politiques (et politicards) agissent aujourd'hui la main dans la main avec ceux qui les ont sacrifiés il n'y a pas si longtemps, les anciens hauts fonctionnaires des services de sécurité vendent aux enchères les paroles nationalistes avec leurs »obiets« d'autrefois, on change d'orientation (et même de confession), d'appartenance nationale, de carte de club de foot-ball (si l'on en croit les journaux, il n'est pas difficile de se persuader que l'émancipation du foot-ball des Croates, autrement dit le fait, pour les equipes de Dinamo et de Hajduk, de remporter le championnat d'état, pourrait être une déterminante importante des événements politiques actuels). Il faut ajouter cependant - et cela montre bien la portée spirituelle du mouvement - qu'au sommet (ou dans une agréable proximité), on trouve des linguistes qui changent de position selon la situation politique,7 des physiciens qui ne s'occupent pas de physique, des économistes qui font des erreurs dans l'utilisation des catégories essentielles de leur spécialité, etc. Avec tout le respect que l'on doit aux intellectuels qui ont une action dans le mouvement, en pensant peut-être que c'est la seule possibilité d'action véritable qui leur soit donnée pour le moment, à côté d'une série de réalisations qui ont une valeur en elles-mêmes, nous sommes les témoins d'une avalanche d'écrits, d'articles semi-intellectuels, semi-culturels, nécessairement orientés contre toute émancipation et contre toute action véritable et se détachant vigoureusement de tout ce qui est proclamé de principe.

⁷ De là l'existence d'une »science« versatile, prête à saire volte-sace par pragmatisme politique.

nalism e. well where there is no Das without natio n alism in the variation we see (which is normal whenever a n eim turns it up.

after a lone: sleep. or at least seems to). However, and this is an im p o rtan t d elim itatio n, there exists and must be able to exist another way of committing oneself which does not have to be in direct correspondence with what is outdated today, but which remains Croatian and Yugoslav, and which is, and this is the main thing, truly internationalist, and whose starting p a rt is the man , not the n ation, the ground, the hills or the streams.

The intransig ean ce of the »new state of things« is oriented towards an ila tera -

he finds the »new leftists« and any other dubious people citing utopia (practically id entified with the ro n tre -re v o lu tio n) and au very »in tegrate notions« com parable, he is weak as a stock when he defines the criteria of belonging in relation to all those who support him, ex licitly or otherwise.

However, it is possible that in the m ovement which insists day and night on the e m a n cip atio n of its people coexist men devoid of the most elem en tary knowledge of the language of this people, of its history, of its culture, and even those who have radically confessed. it is not so long ago, convictions which today would arouse the unanim e indignation of the public. The »victims« of yesteryear (but also the victim s) of political (and p o litical) reckoning reg lem en ts are today acting hand in hand with those who sacrificed not so long ago, the former senior civil servants of the security services are auctioning off nationalist words with their »objects« of yesteryear, we are changing our minds n tatio n (and even denomination), n atio n a l affiliation, football club card (if you are to believe the newspapers, it is not difficult to a d er than the em ancipation of C roat fo o t-b all, in other words, the fact, for the teams of D in am o and H a jd u k, of winning the c h a p io n n at d state, could be an im p o rta n t ter m in a n t of current political events). The noutaddthewhinand this shows wethespritualstence of themovmentonly at the top (or in a g reab le proximity), we find linguists who c h an g e position according to the political situatio n,7 physicists who are not concerned with physics, econom ists who m a k e err o rs in the u use of the essential categories of their specialty, etc. With all the respect that we owe to intellectuals who have an action in the m ovem ent, thinking perhaps that this is the only possibility of real action that is given to them born for the moment, alongside a series of achievements which have value in themselves, we are witnesses to an

avalan ch e of writings, semi- intellectual, semi-cultural, necessarily oriented against all em a n c ip atio n and all true action p roclam e of principle.

7 D e the existence of a versatile »science«, ready to do an about-face by p r p rag - $\,$

political matism.

En ce battant contre l'unitarisme et tout autre adversaire, le »nouvel état de choses«, en règle générale, agit cependant uniformément, insistant constamment sur l'unité de la nation (ce qui, à terme, conduit à la théorie de la paix de classe), et l'unité de tous ceux qui agissent à l'intérieur, cette façon de serrer les rangs est usée si l'on veut, mais toujours agissante - »notre adversaire commun est encore fort!«. Il v a un thème de discussion unique, car en principe tous sont pour l'émancipation nationale, pour le progrès du peuple et de la communauté, mais quand même, les uns sont »les nôtres«, les autres sont des traîtres, les uns sont »nationalistes«, les autres »unitaristes«. Et le dialogue est rendu impossible, il est exclu par l'uniformité du mouvement combattant, par l'oubli conscient des thèmes essentiels dans la discussion (qui se réduit à une discussion sur les drapeaux, le nombre des ressortissants de telle ou telle nation dans tel ou tel groupe de chaises ou de fauteuils), et, en fait, en premier lieu, du fait d'une situation n'autorisant pas de discussion sérieuse sur la perspective de la société. Toute critique de donnée a donc la même valeur, celle qui recherche le nouveau et celle qui tire en arrière, il ne leur manque que la déterminante essentielle des discussions - la dimension du futur, donc la dimension de l'historicité (qui ne peut être remplacée par le rappel du passé, si glorieux soit-il). C'est la détermination essentielle, et la possibilité ouverte de ce que nous notons, la diversité des phénomènes, le fait que de cette confusion quand même, un jour, il faudra bien qu'il sorte un concept ou quelque chose qui lui ressemble, tout cela ne change pas réellement cet état de choses.

Le »nouvel état de choses« ne serait pas ce qu'il est si on pouvait le réduire au journalisme, ou à la culture en général, il est aussi réalité politique. La situation politique en Yougoslavie et en Croatie a permis différents mouvements, et même ceux que suppose le »nouvel état de choses«. Un peu tard, mais probablement pas trop tard, on a vu appraître dans la lutte contre le centralisme un élément de prise de conscience nationale, facteur essentiel des événements politiques officiels; las thématisation de la »question nationale« (pas toujours conséquemment) a ouvert ces derniers temps des possibilités de discussion sur une série de thèmes tabous, mais la confusion des positions, une disposition à la coquetterie envers des mouvements qui sont, de par leur profil politique et pratique, pour le moins confus, ont créé des suppositions qui permettent l'affirmation d'une politique de déterminantes essentiellement bourgeoises. Le soutien »sans réserve« (comme si un homme ou un intellectuel vraiment honnête pouvait soutenir quoi que ce soit sans réserve) de la direction dans n'importe quelle forme d'action, l'inauguration de la logique de la politique, des comités en tant que logique de la vraie vie de chacun, la nécessité pour chacun de s'affirmer quotidiennement »dans la ligne« de la direction, au lieu de permettre la situation de l'affirmation quotidienne de la direction sur le tracé des intérêts pour la réalisation desquels elle a été élue (ce qui correspond à la définition logique et au statut de toute direction) - tout cela tue la possibilité de l'opposition sur les questions essentielles, réduit les polémiques à des étiquetages politicards et exclut de la discussion, par l'automatisme des événements, tout homme qui vou-

E n ce the battle against unitarism meets with each other, the »new state of affairs«, in general, acts depending on reform, in sist a n t c o n s t a m m e n t s u r l ' u n i t y o f t h e n a t i o n (which, in other

words, drives the theory of class peace), and the unity of all of them is central te rie u r, this f a f o n d e s s e r r e r les ranks is u see sil'on veut, but to u jo u rs a g i s a n t e - » no trea ad v e rs a i r e c o m m u n e s t e n c o r e fort !« II y o u n t h e m e d e d i s c u s s i o n u n i q u e , c a r e n p r i n c i p e t o us are not for national e-mancipation, but for the progress of the people of the c o m m u n a u t e , but m em e, those who are »our « , the others are traitors , those who are » nationalists « , the others » unitarists « W h e n dialogue is impossible, it is ex c lu p a r l 'u n i f o r m i t e d u m o uvem en*

c o m b a t t a n t, p a r l' o u b l i c o n s i e n t of the essential themes in this cussion (which is reduced to a discussion on the drapes, the number of re sso rtissants such as this ou te lle n a tio n d a n s te l o u t e l g r o u p e d chaises o u de fau te u ils), and, in fact, in the first place, d u f ait d'u n e s i t u a t i o n n 'author is a n t p as the discussion series uses the perspective of society.

Any c ritiq u e d o n e a d o n e l a m e m e m e v a l u e , what he seeks new and what he throws back, he does not know that it determines the essence of the discussion n s - the dimension of the future, given the dimension of T h isto ric ite (who can replace the rapture of the past, si g lory u x o it-il). It is the essence of termination, and the possibility opened up by what we know, the diversity of phenomena, the fact that this confusion occurs when and me e, u n j o u r , i have to explain that it is sort of a c o n c e p t or something that i rese m b le , t o u t c h e la n e c h a n g e p a s r e e l m e n t ceta t of things.

The "new state of affairs" is necessary because it is an attempt to reduce journalism, or culture in general, to political reality. The political situation in Yugoslavia and Croatia allows for different movements, and it also supposes a »new state of affairs«. A p e u t a r d , but probably a p a s t r o p t a r d , saw the struggle against centralism as an element of national consciousness, an essential factor of these events p political officials; the the m a t i s a t i o n o f t h e » n a t i o n a l q u e s t i o n a l

se q u e m m e n t) a o u v e rt ces d e rn ier rs te m p s of the possibilities of d iscussion on a series of these taboos, but the confusion of positions, u n e d is p o s t i n g t h e c o q u e ttery towards m o u v e m e n t s that, d e p a r l e u r p o l i t i c a t p r a t i c l e p r o f l o w e , f o u r le m o in s c o n f u s e , o n t c r e e d their su p p o s t i o n s that allow n t l 'a f f i r m a t i o n o f a p o l i t i c u e de d e t e r m i n a n t e s e s sen tie l bourgeois. L e s o u t i e n » san s rese rv e « (a real commitment of a home or an intellectual to

support whatever it may be without reserve) of the direction tio n d a n s n 'i m p o r t e q u e s t h e f o r m e d a c t i o n , V i n a u g u r a t i o n o f t h e logic o f p o l i t i c , d e s c o m i t e s as t h e logic of each person's real life, the necessity p o u r c h a c u n d e s'a ffirm e r q u o t i d i e n n e m e n t » in the line « of the direction, but rather allow the situation of the affirmation q u o tidien n e of the la d ire c tion on the trace of interests for the realization of sq u els e lle a ete e lue (which corresponds to the logical fin ition of its status te d ire ctio n)

- to u t this kills the possibility of o p p o s ition on the questions that are important, r e d u e s p o l e m i c s to p o l i t i c a l s e t i c a t e s a rd excludes them from the discussion, p a r l ' a u t o m a t i s m e d e v e n e m e n t s, to u t h o m m e q u i v o u -

drait intervenir avec des objections qui ne sont pas sur la top-liste politique du moment. Voilà pourquoi il arrive souvent qu'un Croate honnête, quelle que soit sa profession, regarde en coin les événements, compte les »morts«, en prenant soin de se mettre lui-même, avec sa famille, à l'abri des »balles perdues«.

Le »mouvement de la jeunesse universitaire croate« (qui, dans une autre version, a pris le nom de »Mouvement de la jeunesse universitaire de Croatie), est l'émanation politique la plus directe du »nouvel état de choses«. Malgré le cours des événements, en partie inconnu de l'opinion publique (que l'on prend soin d'envelopper encore d'un voile de négation et même de désinformations, par le canal de tous les journaux qui paraissent aujourd'hui en Croatie ou au dehors,8 ce mouvement politique offre aussi un aspect qui dépasse une pure et simple phénoménologie de la confiscation des locaux, de la suppression des tribunes, etc. Trois mots d'ordre lancés ces derniers mois sont particulièrement significatifs: ceux concernant le »titoisme catholique«, le »national comme rempart à la métaphysicité et le »besoin d'occupation des champs du possible«. Ces trois mots d'ordre ne sont pas directement liés, ils ne correspondent probablement pas au concept de chacun des adhérents (même pas parmi les leaders), mais ils révèlent une certaine vérité de la crise qui secoue la scène politique de la nation, et plus particulièrement de l'université depuis quelques mois. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que les conséquences de ces mots d'ordre, et d'autres identiques, ne sont pas et ne doivent pas être aussi des conséquences du mouvement lui-même ou de ceux qui le mènent, les événements des derniers mois ont montré que dans ce cabinet de débarras, des mots séniles caractérisant les réunions d'étudiants, des lapsus, et même une ignorance évidente ont pu prendre l'apparence d'une plate-forme d'action, mais que, en dépit de l'ignorance et d'une inconscience des conséquences, les mots d'ordre garde une importe objective qui mérite au moins d'être mentionnée.

La thèse sur le »titoisme catholique« correspond en fait à une division du mouvement politique (titoisme est chez nous une appellation strictement politique, quelle que soit la nature de ce qu'on lui oppose) en catholique et non catholique. La foi est donc le critère de la division politique – par définition, c'est du cléricalisme. Dans ce mouvement, il y avait, cela ne fait pas de doute, du clérical, l'accent mis sur la nation comme base d'où découle l'accidence-individu doit, si l'on raisonne conséquemment, conduire à une conception du monde religieuse qui, dans la polarisation politique, résiste difficilement à la tentation el a réalisation cléricale dans le donné. Mais cette division fait naître aussi le sectarisme de l'»autre côté«, et il n'est pas illogique de parler ici d'extrêmes apparemment opposés comme des parties du »moment actuel«.

La thèse sur le national comme rempart contre chaque métaphysicité prend toute sa signification quand elle est traduite en clair, quand on soulève le voile idéologique et vide qui la recouvre: il s'agit

La presse quotidienne, en dépit de la variété des thèmes et des orientations. a fait silence systematiquement sur certains éléments de la situation à l'université, suivie même par les journaux »de la jeunesse«.

the »dead«, taking care to put himself on his own. even, with his family, sheltered from »lost bullets«.

The »Croatian University Youth M ouvem ent« (which, in another version, took the name of »Croatia University Youth M ovement), is the e m an atio n p o the most direct policy of the »new state of things«. Despite the course of events, partly unknown to public opinion (which You take care to still wrap in a veil of neg atio n and even misinformation, through the channel of all the dailies that appear today in C ro atia or abroad,8 this political m ovement also offers an aspect that goes beyond a pure and simple phenom enology the confiscation of the premises, the abolition of the stands, etc. Three watchwords relaunched in recent months are particularly significant: those con cern ing the "Catholic Titoism", the

»n ation al as a reminder of metaphysicity and the »need to occupy the fields of the possible«. These three watchwords are not directly linked, they do not prob ably correspond to the concept of each of the members (even not among the leaders), but they reveal a certain truth about the crisis that has been shaking the political scene of the nation, and more particularly of the un iv ersity for the past few months. Nor should it be overlooked that the consequences of these watchwords, and other identical ones, are not and should not also be consequences of the movement read. myself or those who lead it, the events of the last few months have shown that in this storage room, senile words characterizing the meetings of stu d ian ts, slips of the tongue, and even obvious ignorance may have given the appearance of a platform for action, but that, despite the ignorance This and an unawareness of the consequences, the watchwords have an important objective that deserves at least to be mentioned.

The thesis on »Catholic Titoism« in fact corresponds to a division of the political movement (Titoism is for us a strictly political appellation, whatever the nature of what is opposed to him) in Catholic and non-Catholic. Faith is therefore the criterion of political divisionby definition, it is clericalism. In this movement there was, no doubt, clerical, emphasis on the nation as the basis from which stems the accidence-individum ust, if we reason accordingly, lead to a conception of the religious world which, in political polarization, hardly resists the temptation of realization clerical dans gives it. But this division also gives rise to sectarianism on the "other side", and it is not illogical to speak here of apparently opposed extremities as parts of the "moment current".

The thesis on the n a tio n a l as a bulwark against each metaphysicity

takes on all its signi cant when it is transla ted into that the ideological and empty veil is lifted who covers it: it is

 ${\mathbb R}$ The daily press, despite the variety of themes and orientations, has been systematically silent on certain Elements of the situ atio n & 1 university.

followed even by the newspapers »dc la jeunesse«.

en fait du concept du national comme rempart contre toute autre métaphysicité, excepté la métaphysicité du phénomène national luimême. L'activité pratique du mouvement, ainsi que les applications théoriques des thèses dont il s'agit, - thèses selon lesquelles l'homme est accidence de quelque chose qui est situé hors de lui-même - implique au moins en partie l'origine métaphysique d'une telle conception du national. La réalisation politique de cette conception. à travers l'opposition à toute autre métaphysique (c'est-à-dire à toute autre conception) est rendue claire par ses conséquences. L'histoire, et l'histoire des doctrines politiques en particulier, nous apprend que la conception métaphysique de la politique (ou du moins la conception métaphysique à la base), exprimée par le mépris de l'individu, équivaut depuis toujours à un totalitarisme politique pratique. Conséquemment, dans la fonction de la lutte contre le pouvoir, le règlement de comptes physique prend toute sa signification (face aux adversaires, l'ancienne direction des étudiants, qui était au-dessous du niveau exigé par la situation) ainsi que la non-tolérance dans les discussions, les applaudissements et ovations organisés, les unités mobiles des »activistes« et autres caractéristiques du même genre qui, dans n'importe quelle société, définissent esentiellement la droite.10

Le droitisme, que l'on trouve dans toute une série de suppositions du mouvement étudiant actuel (malgré des tentatives de changement de positions, véritables ou verbales), s'exprime le plus clairement dans la thèse sur le besoin d'occupation du champ du possible – la philosophie de la politique du mouvement étudiant, et du »nouvel état de choses« en général, accède par là, et magistralement, à la transparence. Ce mot d'orde a été lancé dans le feu de la discussion et dans la pratique quotidienne, par opposition à la thèse selon laquelle il faut rechercher l'impossible. Ses conséquences, justement dans cette opposition, ont abouti à une première pré-réalisation. On a en effet acquis un espace pour l'obtention du soutien des »facteurs officiels«, qui pas plus tard que quelques jours auparavant avaient soutenu l'autre côté, et quelques mois auparavant avaient communiqué, par le seul intermédiaire de la police, avec les membres de la direction des étudiants, direction regardée aujourd'hui avec complaisance. Mais le soutien de la politique officielle était un avertissement tout à fait raisonnable, le mouvement a montré de plus en plus clairement que l'ordre pour lui était une chose sainte (ce qui ne signifie pas que tous les autres d'une façon ou d'une autre soient contre l'état de choses, mais que ce qui est véritablement immanent au mouvement étudiant, c'est le mouvement de contestation, non l'opposition, mouvement qui, en agissant, met en question la réalité au nom d'un concept nouveau de la vie, radicalement différent), qu'il se contentait d'organiser les applaudissements (il est à peine utile de souligner le parallèle avec la position des organisateurs de la jeunesse dans le type de société stalinien), qu'il renonce à toute position radicale, même apparemment, typique de toute épo-

Of. Nerkez Smailagié: »Histoire des doctrines politiques«, »Naprijed«, Zagreb 1970, notamment livre I, chapître sur le principe de l'ordre et le principe de l'état. Cf. Friedrich J. Bröder: »Ein Sprachrohr des Rechtsradikalismus«, Institut für staatsbürgerliche Bildung in Rheinland-Pfalz, Mainz 1969.

sicuelapplicationstheoricationsdontils'agit, - these saccording to the squelshom meest accidence of whatever is situated outside of the lui-meme-impli-que aumo in sense in partial 'origine metaphysics of a national conception. The polit ical realization of this conception, through the opposition to uteautremetaphysics of consequences. History, and the history of political doctrines in particular, 9 appeals to us that the metaphysical conception of politics (or in sthemeta conception physique alabase), exprimeeparlemeprission of the struggle against power, the rule of physical accounting takes on all these significances (faceauxadversalies), l'anciennedir et i ution destudiants, which duniveauxigeparlement.

sem en ts e t o v a tio n s o rg a n is e s, les u n ite s m o b ile s des » a c tiv iste s« e t a u tre s c a ra c te ristiq u e s d u m em e g e n re q u i, d a n s n 'im p o rte q u e lle so ciete, d e fin iss e n t e se n tie lle m e n t la d r o ite .10

L e d ro itism, which finds itself a series of suppositions that move towards the actual (despite attempts to change positions, ve rita b le s ou verba le s), s 'e x p r i m e s more clearly than these sur le beso in d o c u p a t i o n du c h a p p o s s i b l e - the philosophy of the political movement, and the » new state of things« in general, access to parliament, and magistracy, and transparency. The motdorde lancesthefueudeliscussionetin daily praction, a paroposionalthis according to which further research is impossible. These consequences, just in this opposition, are about a premier pre-realisation. It has the effect of acquiring a space for obtaining the use of » fact urs o fficie l s « , w h i c h has spent a few days in front of sou tenu l 'au tr e cote, et q u e s m a y u p p a r a v a i e n t c o m m u n i q u e, b y the sole intermediary of the police, with the members of the students' management, di re c tion regarding the au jour d'huiaveccomplisanceButthesoutiendofo fficationpoliticshavetounvertissementthatf a i t r a i s o n n a b l e, the move m ent m a n t e d more and more c l arementthatVordreproureditunechose sa in te (which signifies more than to us others of one fa on or another so ie n t against the state of things, but what is v e rita b l e m e n t i m m a n e n t a m o u v e m e n t t h a t is, it is the movement of contestation, not the opposition, a movement that, in effect, questions the reality of anyone n c e p t n o u v e aude la vie, r a d i c a and -

m e n t d i ffe r e n t), w h i c h it is content to organize the applauds (it is useless to align them in parallel with the position des o rg a - $\,$

n isa te u r s d e la j u n e s s e d a n s le ty p e d e s t a l i n i e n c e s o c i e n), w h i c h it renounces all radical positions, m e m e a p p a r a m e n t s , t ypes to u te ć p o -

N erk e z S m aila g ić : " A List of Political Doctrines " , " Prize " , Zagreb 1970 , notebook I , chapter c ipe of the order and the principle of the state.

10 C f. F r ie d ric h J . B ro d e r: » E in S p r a c h ro h r d es R e c h tsra d ik a lism u s« , I n s titu t fu r s ta a ts b u rg e rlic h e B ild u n g in R h e in la n d - P fa lz , M a in z 1969.

que de non-légalité (la lutte contre les éléments capitalistes de reproduction dans une série d'institutions bancaires et de réexportation se réduit à des lamentations sur la nécessité de rendre à la Croatie une certaine somme d'argent, par quoi on oublie que le problème n'est pas seulement dans la somme d'argent, mais dans le capital-rapport qui est créé, et qui par là permet à un tel rapport de durer), et qu'il acceptait, en lieu et place des discussions, des négociations à tous les niveaux. En s'intégrant à la production de la politique dans les comités, le mouvement perd même ce parfum de nouveauté et de spontanéité qui faisait son charme auparavant (bien que dès le début, on ait pu constater que la »spontanéité« du mouvement était pétrie de »mots d'ordre« politiques depuis longtemps connus), et qu'il devenait pas autre chose qu'un chiffre dans la rubrique de l'organisation de masse (dans laquelle, comme son nom l'indique, l'individu lui-même n'est autre chose qu'une sous-rubrique, version bureaucratique de l'accidence dont nous avons déjà parlé).

L'origine paysanne du mouvement ne relève pas seulement de l'origine sociale et régionale des membres et des leaders, elle est en général déterminée par des éléments de sa conception. Des parallèles s'imposent d'eux-mêmes: Gubec¹¹ s'est mis en marche au nom de l'empereur contre Tahi,12 oubliant que l'empereur n'existait que par Tahi (et par les Tahi), et que Tahi ne régnait que grâce à l'empereur, les étudiants de Zagreb se sont dressés contre l'ancienne direction des étudiants, oubliant que cette direction était le soutien de ce même comité central, et le comité central l'inspirateur et le soutien de générations de fonctionnaires étudiants. La spécificité de la situation a exigé le sacrifice de la direction des étudiants (on sacrifie la partie pour le tout), et imposé la victoire du courant nouveau (au moins à un niveau politicard), mais la limite de la conception de »ceux qui arrive« s'est révélée au grand jour. Satisfaits au moins de leur participation au pouvoir, les représentants étudiants du »nouvel état de choses« se comportent comme leurs prédécesseurs ou un peu moins habilement, car ils n'ont pas encore acquis la routine, et les choses, une fois de plus, suivent un cours qui ne convient pour ainsi dire à personne.

Mettre l'accent sur l'ordre ce n'est pas seulement une phrase en l'air prononcée par des idéologues intrus, c'est la déterminante de l'activité pratique, encore un élément de l'esprit de droite, lequel, si l'on considère tous les événements qui se sont déroulé jusqu'à aujourd'hui, prend toute sa signification. La qualité numérique de ceux qui soutiennent cet état de choses (et il y aurait beaucoup à dire là-dessus), décidés pour lui probablement parce qu'il a créé une apparence d'alternative, devra se différencier, si l'on tient compte de l'inaptitude à l'action de la nouvelle direction, mais cela ne changera rien d'essentiel à la situation, ce ne sera que l'expression d'une connaissance, à savoir que la crise atteint un degré où se dévoile la démagogie nationale-nationaliste (et tout autre), qu'il s'assige de solutions véritables ou de renoncer à la voie dans laquelle presque tous s'engagent

¹¹ Matija Gubec, leader du mouvement paysan, XVI siècle.

¹² Comte Franjo Tahi, adversaire direct du mouvement paysan.

money, by which we forget that the problem is not only in the sum of money, but in the capita the report which is created, and which by the perm and has such a report to last), and that it accepted, instead of discussions, negotiations to all levels. By integrating itself into the production of policy in the com m ittees, the m o v e m e n t even loses that scent of newness and spontaneity which made its charm at the p a ra before (although from the beginning, we could see that the »spontaneity« of the m ovement was imbued with long-known political »watchwords«, and that it did not become n o t the n a n g e n g in the rubric of mass o rg an ization (in which, as its name suggests, the in d iv id u h e m e n is not other thing than a subsection, a bureau cratic v ersion of the accidence we have already talked about).

The peasant orig in of the m ovem ent is not only a matter of the social and reg io n al origin of the m em bers and leaders, it is in genera l determ ined b y elements of its design. Parallels impose themselves: G u b ec11 started in the name of the em pe-ror against T a h i,12 forgetting that the m e p e r n only existed by T a h i (and by the T a h i), and that T a h i n e reigned only thanks to the emperor, the stu d ian ts of Z a g reb rose up against the former direction students, forgetting that this d ire c tio n was the support of this same central com m ittee, and the central com m ittee the in sp irator and the support of generations of stu d ia n ts officials. The specificity of the situ atio n has required the sacrifice of the direction of the stu d ia n ts (the part is sacrificed for the whole), and imposes the victory of the new current (at least at a political level), but the limit of the conception of »those who arrive« has been revealed in broad daylight. Satisfied at least with their p a rticip a tio n in pm ivnir, the rep re se n ta nts and stu d ia n ts of the »new ta t of things« behave like their predecessors or a little less skilfully, for they have not yet acquired the routine, and things, once again, follow a course which suits, so to speak, no one.

Emphasizing order is not just an empty phrase uttered by intrusive ideologues, it is the de ter in a n t of practical activity, yet another element of the right spirit, which, if we consider all the events that have taken place up to today today takes on its full significance. The numerical quality of those who support this state of affairs (and there would be a lot to say about that), decides for him probably because he has created an appearance a ltern a tive, w ill v ra se d iffe re n c ie r, if we take into account the inap titu e of the action of the n ew management, but that w ill n o c h a n g e essential to the situ a tio n , it will only be the expression of knowledge, namely that the crisis has reached a degree in which the n atio n a le-n a tio n a list demagogy is

revealed (and all oth ers), whether he settles for veritable solutions or renounces the path in which almost everyone is committed 11 M a tija G ubec, the leader of the m ovem ent peasant, 15th century.

11 C om te F r a n jo T a h i, ad v e rsa ire d ire c t du m ouvem ent paysan.

si généreusement en paroles. Quand, comment se réalisera cette prévision, prévision donnée en partie sur la base de l'expérience des autres, il est inutile de le deviner, il est beaucoup plus important d'essayer d'agir dès maintenant, en fonction d'un état qui atteint ce degré de possibilité.

La philosophie de la politique du »nouvel état de choses« est donc fondée sur une volonté de retenir l'état donnée au prix de certaines modifications, lesquels, n'étant pensés que partiellement, ne peuvent pas essentiellement changer l'existant. La compréhension de la situation n'est donc pas l'expression de l'action et de l'intérêt de tous, encore qu'on s'efforce de montrer qu'il en est ainsi, ce n'est pas le moment de l'histoire du peuple qui devient la déterminante du changement essentiel, ce n'est qu'une indication de l'état spirituel et politique du »mouvement actuel«. Ses racines sont dans la crise dont nous parlons, son issue aussi, bien que peu claire sous tous ses aspects, sans aucun doute impensable sans confrontement ouvert avec tous les problèmes, sans orientation vers la démocratie socialiste directe, sans organisation démocratique de la nation et de la communauté sur ces bases. Le »nouvel état de choses« a au moins montré, après l'expérience obscurantiste du stalinisme, la voie du manque de perspectivités possible et l'opposition à la phénoménalité du stalinisme (mais non à ses racines), une troisième possibilité, encore obscure, encore bégayante et boîteuse, malgré une crise qu'elle doit affronter, revêt déjà, grâce à la dévaluation pratique de ce qui a été offert jusqu'à maintenant, la légitimité de la sortie finale sur la scène historique.

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si g e n e r u s e o f p a r o l e s. W h e n c o m m e n t s realize this provision, a provision given in part on the basis of the experience of others, it is useless to the guessworker, it is too much im p o r t a n t

to try to act as a main tenant, a n fo n c t i o n of u n e t a t qui a tte in t ce degree of p o ssib ility .

Laphilosophicofpoliticuedu» nevelettofthings« is founded upon a willingness to retain Vetat the price of certain modifications, such as these ntpensesquepartielment, nepeuventielment, nepeuventielment, such as these ntpensesquepartielment, nepeuventielmentielment, nepeuventielment

m o c r a t i o n o f t h e c o m m u n a t i o n s u r ces b ases. L e » n o u v e l e t a t d e ch oses« a u m o i n s m o n t e r , a p r e s s l e o b s c u r a n t i s t e x p e r i e n c e d u s t a l i n ism , t h e woman's voice of perspectives is possible to the opposite of the phenomenon m e n a lite d u s t a l i n ism (but for no known reason), a possibility exists, still obscure, still begging for use, despite a crisis it must face, re v e t d e ja , thanks to the p r a t i c a t e v a l u a t i o n of t h i s o f f e r t i n g t h e m a n t e n t, the legitimacy of the final exit on the historical stage.

ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND PROPOSAL FOR A PROGRAM OF ACTION

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I. QUO VADIS?1

1. RETROSPECTIVE

Statistical data, discussions at the Presidium and Conference of the League of Communists as well as the latest economic measures of the Federal Executive Council show that the economic reform, begun in the middle of 1965, after five years has ended up in the same sort of situation in which and because of which it was begun: again we have an enormous balance of payments deficit, inflation, slowing down of the growth of productivity of labor and reduction of the efficiency of investment,² slowing down of production. These phenomena were reacted to in the same way as in 1965: by improvised temporary freezing of prices.

All this did not surprise scholars concerned with theoretical and empirical research on the functioning of our economy. In fact they already foresaw such an outcome on the occasion of the inauguration of the reform five years ago. The goals of the reform were not in question. The goals, except with respect to employment, were correctly posited. It was a question of some lesser but dangerous institutional defects, particularly in the sphere of the tax system, price policy and personal incomes policy. Above all, it was a question of an improvised and fundamentally mistaken economic policy.

¹ Nada Brakus worked out the statistical data in the tables and Dragan Jarić drew the graphs. I thank them for their pains.

² The average efficiency of utilization of funds, measured by the relationship between social product and fixed capital, fell in manufacturing and mining by 19% between 1964 and 1968 (later data are unavailable; I. Vinski, »Kapitalni koeficijenti jugoslovenske industrije u razdoblju 1962-1968, Ekonomski pregled, 1 (1970), 44

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B ranko H o rv a t

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1. WHERE ARE YOU GOING? 1

T.

RETROSPECTIVE

S tatistical d a ta , discussions a t th e P resid iu m a n d C onference of the L eag u e o f Com m unists as w ell as th e latest economic m easures of the F e d e ra l E xecu tiv e Council show th a t th e economic reform , begun in the m id d le o f 1965, a fte r five years has end ed u p in the sam e sort of situ a tio n in w hich a n d because of w hich it was begun: a g a in we have a n enorm ous b a lan ce of pay m en ts deficit, in flatio n , slow ing dow n of the gro w th of p ro d u ctiv ity of lab o r a n d red u ctio n of the efficiency of in v estm en t,2 slow ing d ow n of prod u ctio n . T h ese pheno m en a were re a cted to in the sam e w ay as in 1965: by im p rovised tem p o rary freezing of prices.

A ll this d id n o t su rp rise scholars co ncerned w ith theo retical an d em p irical research on the fu n ctio n in g of ou r economy. In fac t they a lre a d y fo resaw such a n outcom e on the occasion of the in au g u ratio n of the refo rm five years ago. The goals of the reform were n ot in question. The goals, except with respect to employment, were correctly posited. It was a question of some lesser but dangerous in stitutional defects, particularly in the sphere of the tax system, price policy and personal incomes policy. A bove all, it was a question of an improvised and fundamentally mistak en economic policy.

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The Federal Executive Council, as well as other political and state forums, were immediately warned of the existing defects as well as the unavoidable consequences. During the first two years these warnings were mainly oral and of an internal character. Characteristic in this respect is a memorandum of the Institut of Economic Studies of April 1967 which ended with this forecast:

»As a result... total per capita production, and with it the standard of living, will be stagnant in 1967. However, the pressure of unemployment and the undeveloped regions, insistance on corrections in distribution of personal incomes, the need to avoid discrediting the reform by stagnation of production and the standard of living will lead to an increase of the balance of payments deficit and continuance of a more liberal credit policy. Thus the cycle will enter into the upswing phase. In so far as by then an anticyclical policy is not formulated, in 1969 there will occur a downturn of the cycle, and in 1970 we will have a new reforms.

After such internal warnings remained without any effect whatsoever, publication of economic analyses and coming out into the public were begun. In the Spring of 1967 the Scientific Section of the Yugoslav Association of Economists organized a conference in Ljubljana on conditions for stabilization of the Yugoslav economy. There the learned and wider public were acquainted for the first time with the fact that pronounced business cycles operate in Yugoslavia, that this is not recognized by economic policy makers and that an anticyclical economic policy does no exist. At the conference it was emphasized that the recession would soon end, that in the course of 1967 there would occur a turning of the cycle upward, that the acceleration of production would continue until the middle of 1969 and that after that there would occur a new slowing down of growth. As can be seen from the presented graphs, these forecasts were shown to be completely correct.

At that time the losses which the economy suffers because of the slowing down of growth owing to mistaken economic policies were calculated and published. In 1967 alone the economy thus lost about 1,000 billion old dinars. (Owing to breakdown of the economic structure instead of normalization of expansion to about 11%, industrial production was reduced to a negative rate of growth). The loss of 1,000 billion dinars annually represents a sum several times greater than all annual tederal investments, which are said to threaten the economy's reproductive capacity. In relation to such losses the siphoning of funds from republic to republic — which provokes great national tensions—is shown as insignificant.

At the begining of 1968 the Institute of Economic Studies organized a closed symposium for representatives of science, the economy, state and political bodies from all republics. The meeting practically unanimously accepted the judgement of the economic situation and the pro-

³ Ekonomist, 1-2 (1967), 212-213.

D u r in g th e f ir s t tw o y e a rs th ese w a rn in g s w e re m a in ly o ra l a n d o f a n in te r n a l c h a ra c te r . C h a r a c te ris tic in th is resp e c t is a m e m o ra n d u m o f th e I n s titu t o f E c o n o m ic S tu d ie s o f A p ril 1967 w h ic h e n d e d w ith th is fo re c a s t:

»A s a r e s u l t . . . to ta l p e r c a p ita p ro d u c tio n , a n d w ith it th e s ta n d a rd o f liv in g , w ill b e s ta g n a n t in 1967. H o w e v e r, th e p re s s u re o f u n e m p lo y m e n t a n d th e u n d e v e lo p e d reg io n s, in sis ta n c e on co rre c tio n s in d is tr ib u tio n o f p e rs o n a l in co m es, th e n e e d to a v o id d is c re d itin g th e re fo rm b y s ta g n a tio n o f p r o d u c tio n a n d th e s ta n d a r d o f liv in g w ill le a d to a n in c re a se o f th e b a la n c e o f p a y m e n ts d e fic it a n d c o n tin u a n c e o f a m o re lib e r a l c re d it p o licy .

Thus the cycle will enter into the ups wingphase. In sofar as by the nanantic y clical policy is not form ulated, in 1969 there will occuradownturnofthe cycle, and in 1970 we will have anewre form «.

After such in ternal warningsremained with out any e ffe c t w h a ts o e v e r, p u b lic a tio n o f e c o n o m ic a n a ly s e s and comingout in to the public were begun. In the Sp rin g o f 1967 th e S c ie n tific S e c tio n o f th e Y u g o s la v A sso c ia tio n o f E c o n o m ists o rg a n iz e d a c o n fe re n c e in L j u b lj a n a on co n d itio n s fo r s ta b iliz a tio n o f th e Y u g o s la v eco n o my. Therethelearnedandwiderpublicwereacqua in te d f o r th e f ir s t tim e w ith th e fa c t th a t p ro n o u n c e d b u sin e ss cy cles o p e ra te in Y u g o s la v ia, t h a t th is is n o t rec ognized by economicpolicy makers and that an antic y c lic a l e c o n om ic p o lic y do es n o ex ist. A t th e c o n fe re n c e it was emphasizedthattherecessionwouldsoonend, thatinthecourse of 1967 therewould occuraturn ingof thecycleupward, that theacceleration of productio n w o u ld c o n tin u e u n til th e m id d le o f 1969 a n d t h a t a f t erthattherewouldoccuranewslowingdownofgrow th.3 Ascanbese en from the presented graphs, the sefo re c a s ts w e re sh o w n to be c o m p le te ly c o rre c t.

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in d u s tr ia l p ro d u c tio n w as re d u c e d to a n e g a tiv e r a t e o f g ro w th). T h e loss o f 1,000

b illio n d in a r s a n n u a lly r e p re s e n ts a su m s e v e ra l tim e s g r e a te r th a n a ll a n n u a l te d e r a l in v e s tm e n ts , w h ic h a re s a id to th r e a te n th e e c o n o m y 's r e p ro d u c tiv e c a p a c ity . I n r e la tio n to su c h losses th e s ip h o n in g o f fu n d s fro m re p u b lic to re p u b lic - w h ic h p ro v o k e s g r e a t n a tio n a l ten sio n s -

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A t the beginning of 1968 the Institute of Economic Studies organized a closed symposium for representatives of science, the economy, state and political bodies from all republics. The meeting practically unanimously accepted the judgment of the economic situation and the pro

* E konom ist, 1-2 (1967), 2 1 2 -213.

posed program of long-run stabilization, thus denying in the most convicing way rumours about »fundamental« disagreements of a republican, theoretical, ideological or similar character, and sought that the materials be turned over to the Federal Executive Council and be published, which was done.4

In February 1969, the Scientific Section again organized a conference in Kragujevac on the problems of stability. At the conference it was shown by empirical analysis that not one of the proclaimed goals of the reform (which can be quantified) was achieved nor could be achieved. It was emphasized that in so far as the policy announced by the then-president of the Federal Executive Council were carried out, the number of unemployed would by 1975 exceed a million, half within the country and half abroad. (Today we know that this estimate was too optimistic, for the figure of one million is already surpassed.) Immediately after the Kragujevac conference a closed meeting in the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists was held on the basis of material of two economic institutes, one in Zagreb and the other in Belgrade, which gave an identical judgment of the economic situation. One of the present federal functionaries asserted that the judgment of the Belgrade institute consided of *half-truths*!

All these, as well as numerous other attempts which I do not mention, had absolutely no effect except to bring unpleasantness to the authors of these judgments and proposals.

Throughout this entire period the judgments of state and political functionaries differed diametrically from the judgments of scholars. From the statement of the then president of the Federal Executive Council in Parliament in October 1966 (»I think that we can say unambiguously that the course of the reform up to now is successful and that we can be satisfied with the results achieved«) to the report at the meeting of the Presidium of the Yugoslav League of Communists in May 1969, directly after the analysis of the cited economic institutes (»The course of the reform has withstood the test . . . On a qualitatively new basis we have entered into a phase of dynamic growth of production and productivity of labour, employment and the standard of living«), our country's public has been informed of the successful carrying out of the economic reform and the medium-term plan, of the successful fulfilling of strategic goals, of the qualitatively new structure of production and such. When the slowing of growth became evident, then it was begun to be emphasized (along with the ample assistence of unqualified economists) that slow growth represents the price of »significant restructuring of the economy«. This slogan was launched and maintained until two young scholars8 showed by a

⁴ Institut Ekonomskih nauka, Sumarna analiza privrednih kretanja i prijedlozi za ekonomsku politiku (Beograd, 1968).

⁵ See Ekonomist, 1 (1969).

⁶ Ibid., 53.

⁷ B. Jelić, »Čemu poluistine«, Borba (Mar. 9, 1969), p. 2. ⁸ O. Kovač, Lj. Madžar, »Stopa rasta i promene u privrednoj strukturi«, Ekonomist, 1 (1970), 5-32.

sought th at the m aterials be tu rn e d over to the F ed e ra l E xecutive Council an d be published, w hich was done.4

In F e b ru ary 1969, the Scientific Section a g a in organized a conference in K ra g u je v a c on the problem s of stab ility .5 A t the conference it w as show n by em p irical analy sis th a t n o t one of the proclaim ed goals of the reform (which can be o u an tified) was achieved nor could be achieved. It w as em phasized th a t in so f a r as the policy announced by the then n-p resident of the Federal Executive C ouncil were carried out, then umber of unemployed would by 1975 exceed a million, half with in the country and half a broad.6 (Today we know that this estimate was too optimistic, for the figure of one miiMo-.i is p'real v sur

passed.) Im m e d ia tely a fte r the K ra g u je v a c conference a closed m eeting in the C e n tra l C om m ittee o f the Y ugoslav L eague of Com munists was h eld on the basis of m ate ria l of two economic institutes, one in Z a g reb a n d the o ther in B elgrade, w hich gave a n identical jud g m en t of the economic situ atio n . O ne of the present fed eral functionaries asserted that the jud g m en t of the B elgrade in stitute consited of whalf-tru th see !7

A ll these, as w ell as nu m ero u s o th er attem p ts w hich I do not m en tion, h a d ab so lu tely no effect except to b rin g unpleasan tn ess to the a u tho rs of these ju d g m e n ts a n d proposals.

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- Sce E ko n o m ist, 1 (1969).
- Ibid., 53.
- 7 B. Jelić, "Ccmu poluistine", B orba (March 9, 1969), p. 2.
- \bullet O. Kovač, L j. Hungary, "Growth rate and changes in the economic structure", l k o -

nom ist, 1 (1970), 5-32.

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serious analysis that it is false and that slow growth checked the positive restructuring of the economy, which was anyway always known by experts on economic growth. Finally at the XIII session of the Presidium of the Yugoslav League of Communists in October 1970 it was emphasized "that it is a matter of fundamental disequilibrium, which cannot be solved by practical daily measures, for it is a question of fundamentally changed relationships in the structure of the economy and the distribution of income«.9

The question is posed: why for a full five years did the judgments of political and state functionaries deviate to such a degree from the judgments of scholars? Why did all the attempts to communicate the results of scientific research remain unsuccessful? Is it a matter of uninformedness, ignorance or something else? The answers to these questions are not of an academic nature. What will happen in the next five years depends on them.

2. STATISTICAL SUMMARY

The reform of 1965 continued and accelerated the negative economic trends which manifested themselves in the unprepared and unsuccessful reform of 1961. What happened in our economy can be summarized with just a few economic indicators.

Table 1
ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH

| | 1952–1960. | 1960–1964. | 1964–1969. | 1923–1939. |
|------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Social Product | 9,9 | 8,0 | 4,4* | 2,5 |
| Industry | 13,4 | 11,2 | 5,7 | 3,9 |
| Agriculture | 8,9 | 4,0 | 1,9 | 2,4 |
| Commodity Exports | 11,3 | 8,6 | 7,3 | - |
| Commodity Imports | 10,1 | 9,6 | 6,5 | _ |
| Industrial Producers' Prices | 0,6 | 2,5 | 6,4 | _ |

^{*} Estimate for 1969. Sources: SGS, S. Stajić, Nacionalni dohodak Jugoslavije 1923-1939.

In the eight-year period of 1952–1960, our economy achieved the highest growth rate of per capita social product in the world (and consistent with that, the fastest increase of the standard of living). After the first reform Yugoslavia fell to fourth place behind Japan, Bulgaria and Rumania.¹¹ After the second reform it is somewhere between the 50th and 100th country in the world – it is not worth the effort to calculate the exact order for the rate of growth is below the

⁹ K. Gligorov, Borba (Oct. 17, 1970).

¹⁰ IEN, Uzroci i karakteristike privrednih kretanja u 1961. i 1962. godini (Beograd, 1962).

¹¹ Z. Popov, »Kretanje privrednog razvoja u svetu«, Ekonomska analiza, 1-2 (1970), 101-112.

ro w th . F in a lly a t th e X I I I session of the P residium of the Y u g o s la v L e a g u e o f C o m m u n ists in O c to ber 1970 it w as e m p h a s iz e d » that it is a m a tteroffundamental dise q u ilib rium, w h ic h c a n n o t be so lv e d b y practical daily measures, for it is a q u e s tion of f u n d a mentally c h a n g e d r e la tion s h ip s in the s tructure o i the economy a n d the d is trib u tion of in come « .9

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Table

A N N U A L RATE OF GROWTH

1952-1960.

1960-1964.

1964-1969. 1923-1939.

S ocial P ro d u c t

9,9

8,0

4,4*

2,5

Industry

13,4

11,2

5,7

3,9

A g ric u ltu r e

8,9

4,0

```
2,4
Commodity Exports
11,3
8,6
7,3
Commodity Imports
10,1
9,6
6,5
In d u s tria l P r o d u c e rs ' P ric e s
0,6
2,5
6,4
Estimates for 1969. Sources: SGS, S. Stajić, Yugoslav National Hodak
1923-1939.
In the eight-yearperiodof1952-1960, oureconom
y a c h ie v e d th e h ig h e s t g ro w th r a te o f p e r c a p ita so c ia
lproduct in the world (and consistent with that, the fas
te st in c re a se o f th e s ta n d a r d o f liv in g).
A f te r th e f irs t re fo rm Y u g o s la v ia f e ll to f o u rth p la c e b e
h in d J a p a n, B u lg a ria a n d R u m a n ia .11 A f te r th e se co n
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1,9

G lig o ro v , B orba (O ct. 17, 1970).

10 IE N, U zro ci i k a r a k te r is tik e p r iv r e d n ih k r e ta n ja u 1961. i 1962. g o d in i i (B eog ra d, 1962).

in Z. Popov, "Movement of economic development in the world", Economic analysis, $1\,$ -2

(1970), 101-112.

world average (which in 1960-1967 amounted to 4.9%).¹² In the last five years the country returned to the development trends of prewar Yugoslavia.

In such conditions an enormous growth of unemployment had to occur. The calculation is very simple: if productivity of labor rises at a rate of 50/0, the transfer of labor force from the village amounts to 21/20/0 annually, and the increase of the urban force is over 11/20/0. then non-agricultural production must increase more than 90/0 annually if the existing open and hidden unemployment is not to increase. That condition was indeed fulfilled before 1960, but no longer after 1964. In 1968 327,000 persons sought employment, or 9.4% of the total employed. Immediately before the war there were 10% unemployed.18 Therefore we seem to be approaching the prewar norm also in that respect. According to the relative number of unemployed we hold the record in Europe. 14 The situation is in fact significantly more serious, for several hundred thousands of our workers are employed abroad. At the beginning of 1970 there were about 700,000 of our workers abroad. In the middle of the year it was estimated that 13% of the total active population of Croatia – the republic with the most intensive emigration - was abroad. It was forecast that by the end of the year about 850,000 of our citizens will be working abroad. Today all of Yugoslav industry and mining does not employ many more workers than the number of those who seek employment or work abroad. Can a socialist system long maintain such a situation?

The situation summarized in the above table led the Institute of Economic Studies to try once more to do something. In October 1969 a memorandum was sent to the Federal Executive Council with a judgment of the economic situation, a forecast for 1970 and a design for a program of short-run and long-run stabilization policy. The exceptionally critical nature of the situation and the need for urgent action were emphasized. That memorandum was not published to avoid disclosure of the gravity of the situation having an unfavorable effect on carrying out of the government's economic policy. The government did not accept the warnings and advice of the Institute. Of course it had the right not to do so. Citation of this fact is not conceived as a criticism of the Federal Executive Council. Perhaps the FEC did not have real possibilities of undertaking anything. It is a matter for Parliament to judge that and to undertake the necessary measures. Here it is desired solely to emphasize that it was necessary to do something and that under normal conditions this was the task of the government. The failure to bring action now makes it necessary to publish the warnings and compare them with what happened in the course of the last year.

14 PRAXIS 537

w o rld average (which in 1960-1967 am o unted to $4.9^{\circ}/o$).12 In the last five y ears the co u n try retu rn ed to the d e v elo p m en t trends o f prewar Yug o sla via .

¹² Pearson Report: Partners in Development (New York, 1969), p. 27.

⁴³ I. Vinski, »Privredna reforma i zaposlenost«, Pregled, 6 (1969), 637.

¹⁴ OECD, Main Economic Indicators.

In such conditions a n enorm ous gro w th of unem ploym ent h a d to occur. The c alculation is very simple: if p rod uctivity of labor rises at a rate of $5^{\circ}/o$, the transfer of labor force from the village amounts to 2% % annually, and the increase of the urban force is over $11/2^{\circ}/o$, then non-agricultural production must increase more than $9^{\circ}/o$ annually if the existing open and hid denunemployment is not to increase.

That condition was in deed fulfilled before 1960, but no longer a fter 1964. In 1968 327,000 persons sought employment, or $9.4^{\circ}/o$ of the total employed. Immediately before the warther were 10% unemployed. Immediately before the warther were 10% unemployed. In that respect. According to the relative number of unemployed we hold the recording to the relative number of unemployed we hold the recording urope. 14 The situation is in fact significantly more serious, for several hundred thousands of our workers are employed abroad. At the beginning of 1970 there were about 700,000 of our workers abroad. In the middle of the year it was estimated that 13% of the total active population of Croatia-the republic with the most in tensive emigration - was abroad. It was forecast that by the end of the year about 850,000 of our citizens will be working abroad.

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a m em o ran d u m w as sen t to the F e d e ra l E x ecu tiv e C ouncil w ith a ju d g m e n t o f the econom ic situ a tio n, a fo recast for 1970 a n d a design for a p ro g ra m of s h o rt-ru n a n d lo n g -ru n stab ilizatio n policy. T h e e x cep tio n ally c ritical n a tu re o f the s itu a tio n a n d the need for urg en t actio n w ere em phasized. T h a t m em o ran d u m was not published to av o id d isclosure of the g ra v ity of the s itu a tio n h a v in g an u n fav o rab le effect on c a rry in g out of the g o v e rn m e n t's econom ic policy. T h e gove rn m e n t d id n o t accept the w a rn in g s a n d ad vice of the In stitute. O f course it h a d the rig h t n o t to do so. C ita tio n of this fact is n o t conceived as a criticism of the F e d e ra l E x ecu tiv e C ouncil. P erh ap s the FE C d id n o t h a v e rea l possibilities of u n d e rta k in g a n y th in g . It is a m a tte r fo r P a rlia m e n t to ju d g e

th a t a n d to u n d e rta k e the necessary m easures. H e re it is d esired solely to em phasize th a t it w as necessary to do so m eth in g a n d th a t u n d e r n o rm a l conditions this was the task of the g o v ern m en t. T h e fa ilu re to b rin g actio n now m akes it necessary to pu b lish th e w a rn in g s a n d co m pare them w ith w h a t h ap p en ed in the course of th e last y ear.

11 Pearson Report: Partners in Development (New York, 1969), p. 27.

** I. V inski, » P riv re d n a re fo rm a i ployment«, P regled, 6 (1969), 637.

14 O E C D, M a in E conom ic In dicators.

14 PRAXIS

3. THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC STUDIES' JUDGMENT OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN OCTOBER 1969

The text which follows represents the first part of the cited memorandum.

In the fifth year after the inception of the economic reform the following phenomena can be observed:

- 1. Administrative price control covers 44% of industrial production compared with 31% in 1958. Reduction of control from about 70% to 44% lasted a full four years, and further liberalization of prices is halted.
- 2. Prices are rising faster than before the reform. The increase is accelerating.

ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH

| | 1952–1963. | 1964. | 1965. | 1966. | 1967. | 1968. | 1969. I-IX |
|---|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| Producers' prices of industrial products | 0,9 | 5 | 15 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 2,6 |
| Retail prices | 3.9 | 9 | 29 | 23 | 7 | 4 | 6.9 |

- 3. The dinar is being devalued by open and hidden customs duties and premiums. The import rate of exchange for industrial products increased from 13.9 in 1966 to 14.3 dinars to the dollar in 1968 and is rising further since then. 15 For the sake of better understanding, it should be added that, contrary to widerspread views, exchange rate ingredients are desirable economically because they make it possible for a fixed exchange rate to become flexible. What is not desirable is the continued depreciation of the exchange rate ingredients. which had to occur because of price rises on the domestic market. And that was carried out under pressures, inconsistently and, because of that, ineffectively.
- 4. When at the beginning of 1967 close to a fourth of imports was liberalized and a similar proportion was also liberalized by the reform of 1961 it was anticipated that this proportion would constantly increase and that in 1970 payment for the entire value of imports would be freed of all legislative foreign exchange limitations. In fact, however, the extent of liberalization of foreign trade was reduced. From 1967 to 1969 imports under the liberalized regulations were reduced from 39.2% to 33.6%, and under the restrictive regulations increased five times (from 4.5% to 20.3%).
- 5. Imports are increasing faster than exports, 21.6% compared to 17% for the first nine months of this year (1969). Instead of the anticipated equilibrium balance of payments with the convertible area, this year a deficit of over 150 million dollars can be expected.

¹⁶ From 1965 to the end of 1969 the average export exchange rate increased from 11.1 to 14.5, and the average import exchange rate from 11.5 to 13.4 (J. Anakioski, »Spoljnotregovinska razmena i platni bilans«, *Borba* (Sept. 19, 1970), p. 21.

3.

THEINSTITUTEOFECONOMICSTUDIES'JUDGM ENTOFTHE

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ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH

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1 952-1963. 1964. 1965. 1966.
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1967.

1968.

1969.

I - I X

Producers' prices

o f in d u s tria l p r o d u c ts

0,9

5

15

11

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0
2,6
R e ta il p ric e s
3,9
9
29
23
7
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6,9

4

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k ioski, » S p o ljn o tre g o v in s k a r a z m e n a i p la tn i b ila n s«, B o rb a (S ept. 19, 1970), p. 21.

- 6. The reproductive ability of enterprises is falling. The share of economic organizations in financing total investment in fixed capital is 31.2% in 1967 compared to 39% in 1956 and 1966. Repayment of loans in 1968 amounts to 111% of allocations to funds, and accordingly net investments under the direct control of enterprises remained negative.
- 7. Indebtedness of the economy is increasing. Last year (1968) more than a third of enterprises were not in a condition to cover their obligations regularly. Since then indebtedness has increased by 45%, and accounts receivable amount to 74 billion dinars, which is two times more than the amount of short term bank credits. That means devastation of a commodity-money economy.
- 8. Capacities are used less than before the reform, the general efficiency of investment is lower, and the economy is suffering enormous losses. Because of the mistaken economic policy in one year alone the monetary restrictions in 1966 without corresponding measures of fiscal and other policies, because of which the depression was deepened and for the first time since the Cominform soon led to an absolute reduction of production the economy suffered losses of the order of magnitude of 11% of social product.
- 9. Growth has been slowing down since 1960, and from 1965 the restructuring of the economy is also perceptibly slowed.
- 10. Unemployment is increasing to alarming volumes even this year in the wave of the economic upswing. On the average this year (1969) there were 340,000 persons seeking employment. To that should be added the estimated number (exact data are unknown) of 400,000 persons at work abroad.
- 11. The proclaimed more rapid development of the undeveloped regions lately is not being realized and the gap between the developed and the undeveloped regions is increasing.
- 12. The country has no personnel and scientific policy. It is well known that qualified personnel and scientific research represent the basic levers of long-run economic development in contemporary conditions. Qualified personnel are leaving the country. Post-graduate specialization is not institutionally resolved and evolves haphazardly and on a level far below contemporary standards. A program of scientific research does not exist, scientific work is not institutionally resolved and lags drastically behind the needs of the country; scientific institutions are scattered, and top personnel leave the country.
- 13. The five year plan will not be achieved. The forecasts and objectives presented in annual parliamentary resolutions on development are shown to be in error by tens and even hundreds of percent. In the last decade three medium term plans will remain uncompleted (1961–1965, 1963–1970, 1965–1970). There is no guarantee whatever that the plan which is now being prepared will experience a different fate. 16

¹⁶ It is known that in the meantime it was necessary to postpone adoption of a new plan.

- epaym ent of loans in 1968 am ounts to 111% of allocations to funds, an d accordingly n et investm ents u n d e r the d irect control of enterprises rem ained negative.
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- 9. G ro w th has been slow ing d ow n since 1960, a n d from 1965 the restru c tu rin g of the econom y is also p ercep tib ly slow ed.
- 10. U n e m p lo y m e n t is in creasin g to a la rm in g volum es even this y e a r in th e w ave of th e econom ic upsw ing. O n the a v erag e this y ear (1969)
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It is "known that in the meantime it was necessary to postpone adoption of a new plan.

14. One should not have illusions about this year's economic upswing, which the Institute precisely forecast. After the cyclical upswing follows the cyclical fall. A crude overiew – for a more serious analysis there was no interest or funds – indicates that next year (1970) we will have a recession with halving of the industrial rate of growth, increase of retail prices over 10% and increased unemployment of 80,000 or more. The unavoidable consequences of economic disturbances are also political conflicts.

The described phenomena show unambiguously that economic policy up to now has been very mistaken in something and that it cannot be essentially corrected by partial measures. It is obvious that we are moving further and further away from the goals of the reform. However, neither the state apparatus nor anyone else prepares some more effective alternative. Accordingly it can be expected that there will be essentially corrected by partial measures. It is obvious that we are while possible. That will inevitably lead to ever stronger administrative interventions.¹⁷ Administrative interventions call into question both the economic and political stability of the country. It is difficult to imagine that the failure of the reform could remain without more serious political consequences and that after two unsuccessful reforms of 1961 and 1965 it would be possible to enter in a similar way into a third. It is also difficult to imagine 400–500 thousand unemployed in the country and half a million at work abroad.

4. COMPARISON OF FORECASTS OF ECONOMIC MOVEMENTS IN RESOLUTIONS OF THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT AND MEMORANDA OF THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC STUDIES

The first precondition of an effective economic policy is sufficiently accurate forecasting of economic movements. Table 2 and the graphs show how we stand in that respect.

We shall consider separatelly movements in each of the cited years. In the Resolution of the Federal Parliament for 1969 equilibrium of the current balance of payments with the convertible area was established as a goal. More rapid development of the insufficiently developed regions (2 index points above the Yugoslav average), stable prices and removal of the source of illiquidity of the economy were expected. At the request of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists the Institute of Economic Studies in December 1968 prepared an estimate of the economic situation with a forecast of further development. In that study¹⁸ it is stated (p. 26): *At the beginning of 1969 further acceleration of production, reduction of indebtedness and an increase of liquidity, reduction of the pressure of costs and relatively stable prices, and perhaps also a reduction of

¹⁷ In October 1970, that is a year after the above text was written, prices were frozen.

¹⁸ IEN, Ocjena ekonomske situacije i predvidanja dalnjeg razvoja, Rad br. 12.

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4.

C O M P A R IS O N O F F O R E C A S T S O F E C O N O M IC M O V E M E N T S I N

RESOLUTIONSOFTHEFEDERALPARLIAMENTA NDMEMORANDAOFTHEINSTITUTEOFECONOM ICSTUDIES

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18 IE N, O c je n a e o o n o m sk e s itu a cy i p r e d v iđ a n ja d a ln je g r a z v o ja, R a d b r. 12.

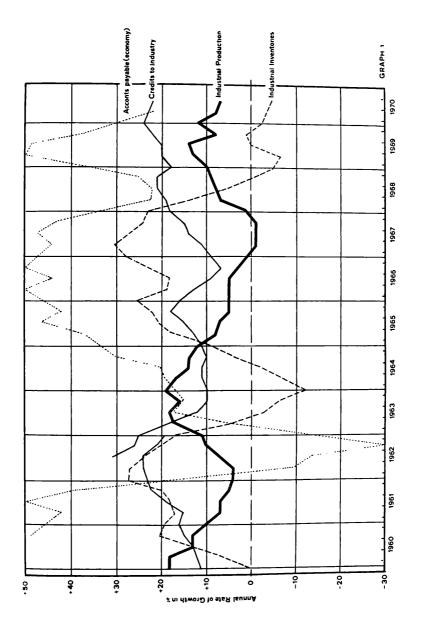


Table 2

EXPECTED AND ACTUAL ECONOMIC MOVEMENTS

| | ĺ | 1969 | | | 1970 | | |
|---|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--|
| | Parl. Resolution | IES | Actual | Parl. Resolution | IES | Actual | |
| Growth of industrial production: | | | | | | | |
| average for year third quarter | 7.5-8.5% | 15% | 11º/e 14º/o | 9–10% | 7º/• | 8º/o² 7º/o | |
| Growts of exports of goods & services | 10-120/0 | | 150/0 | | | | |
| Growth of imports of goods & services | 6-7°/• | [| 20% | | | | |
| Rise in retail prices | | } | 7º/• | | 10% | 100/01 | |
| Unemployment in 1000's seeking work in country working abroad | | 716 316 400 | | | 896 396 500 | 1039c 339c 700c | |

Sources: SGJ - 1970, Indeks; Statistički bilten SDK; Rezolucija Savezne skupštine o osnovama društveno-ekonomske politike.

- a January-August
- b January-September
- c January-July

inventories (in relation to the previous year), more rapid or at least equal growth of exports in relation to imports can be expected. In the second half of the year industrial expansion will achieve a rate of 15% or more, inventories will fall absolutely, the expansion of exports will slow down relatively and pressure on prices will appear or be strengthened. An increase in the foreign trade deficit and inflationary pressures will lead to monetary restriction, and with it to a turning down of the cycle at the end of 1969 or in the first half of 1970«.

Comparison of the forecast and reality for 1969 in the table and graphs shows:

- 1. Industrial production unfolded approximately according to the estimate of the Institute. The maximum was achieved in June and July with an increase in relation to the same months of 1968 of about $14^{1/20}$ %. In respect to the whole year the Resolution erred in its forecasts by $23-32^{0}$ %.
- 2. The undeveloped areas did not develop faster than the developed. Exact quantifications cannot be given because definite data have still not been published.
- 3. Exports of goods and services were 25% faster, and imports 186% faster than the forecasts of the Resolution. (The Resolution for 1970 no longer quantified goals for exports and imports.) The Institute also erred. Thanks to the exceptional boom on the European and world market, as well as measures for stimulating exports, the export expansion constantly accelerated from the beginning of 1969 to the

| 1969 |
|----------------------|
| 1970 |
| Pari. |
| Resolution |
| IES |
| Actual |
| Pari. |
| Resolution |
| IES |
| Actual |
| Growth of industrial |
| production: |
| average for year |
| 7 .5 -8 .5 % |
| 1 1 % |
| 9 - 1 0 % |
| 8% * |
| third quarter |
| 1 5 % |
| 1 4 % |
| 7«/. |
| 7 % |
| Growts of exports |
| of goods 8c services |
| |

```
Growth of imports
of goods Sc services
6 - 7 %
20%
Rise in retail prices
7 %
10%
10%b
Unemployment in 1000's
716
896
1039 =
seeking work in country
316
396
339 =
working abroad
400
500
700 =
Sources: SGJ-1970, Index; S D K bill statistics; R e s o l u t i o n S a v
esnovamadrustveno-economscepolitic.
a January - August
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10-12®/«

15%

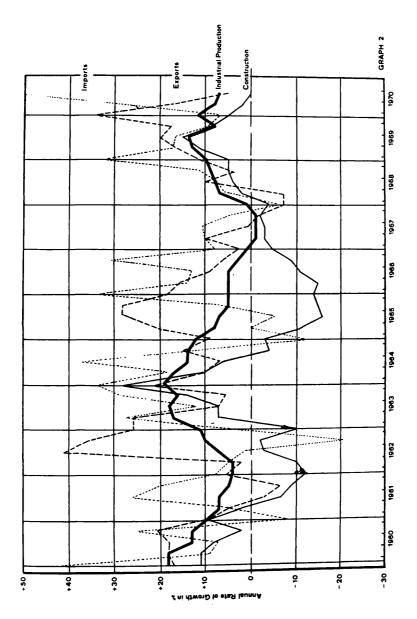
b J a n u a r y - S e p te m b e r

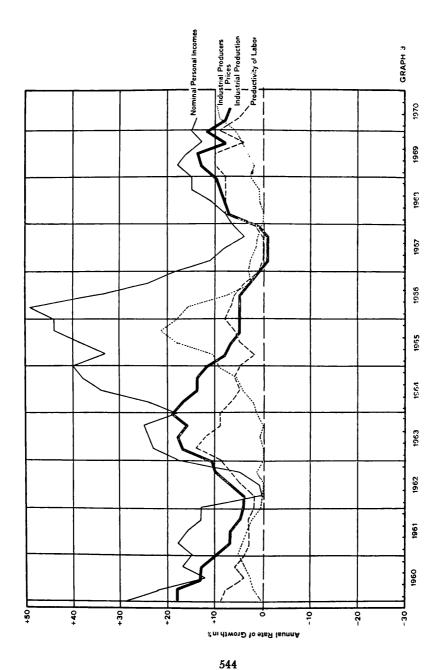
= January-July

in v e n to rie s (in r e la tio n to th e p re v io u s y e a r), m o re r a p i d o r a t le a s t e q u a l g ro w th o f e x p o rts in r e la tio n to im p o rts c a n b e e x p e c te d . I n th e se co n d h a lf o f th e y e a r i n d u s tr ia l e x p a n s io n w ill a c h ie v e a r a t e o f 15°/o o r m o re, in v e n to rie s w ill f a ll a b s o lu te ly , th e e x p a n s io n o f e x p o rts w ill slo w d o w n r e la tiv e ly a n d p re s s u re o n p ric e s w ill a p p e a r o r b e s tre n g th e n e d . A n in c re a se in th e f o re ig n t r a d e d e fic it a n d in f la tio n a r y p ressu re s w ill le a d to m o n e ta ry re s tric tio n , a n d w ith it to a t u r n in g d o w n o f th e cy cle a t th e e n d o f 1969 o r in th e f ir s t h a lf o f 1970«.

C o m p a ris o n o f th e fo re c a s t a n d r e a lity f o r 1969 in th e ta b le a n d g ra p h s sh ow s:

- 1. In dustrial production unfoldedapproximately according to the estimate of the Institute. The maximum wasachieved in JuneandJulywith an increase inrelation to the samemonths of 1968 of about 14%%. In respect to the whole year the Resolutionerred in its fore casts by 23-32%.
- 2. The undeveloped areas did not develop faster than they developed. Exact quantification scans can not be given because definite data have still not been published.
- 3. Exports of goods and services were 2 5 % faster, and imports 1 8 6 % faster than the forecasts of the Resolution. (The Resolution for 1970 no longer quantifies goals for exports and imports.) The Institute also e rredd. Thanks to the exceptional boom in the European and world markets, as well as measures for stimulating exports, the export expansion consistently accelerated from the beg in n in g of 1969 to the 542nd





beginning of 1970. At the same time imports passed through an entire administratively conditioned cycle. In that way the situation which the Institute forecast for the second half of 1969 appeared only in the middle of 1970 (see graph 2).

- 4. The Institute's estimate that liquidity would improve in the first half-year and worsen in the second half-year was also shown to be incorrect. A great increase of indebtedness occurred already in the first half-year. That is a new phenomenon. Until now indebtedness accelerated only in the recession. Its sharp increase already in the period of economic upswing represents an ominous indication probably of massive administrative interventions when once the recession begins or inflation. (In the meantime the latter has occurred, and the former is being prepared.) Mutual indebtedness of the economy was two times greater than the total amount of short-term credits. That is a unique phenomenon in the world economy and represents a unique regression from commodity-money to natural economic activity.
- 5. Inventories of final products were indeed reduced in the first half-year, as the Institute forecast, and then a tendency to increase appeared.

6. Prices were not stable and began to rise already in the first halfyear. From then on their rise continually accelerated.

With respect to 1970 in the new Resolution of the Federal Parliament it is stated: 19 » A complicated task of consolidation and stabilization of economic flows along with further rapid growth, although somewhat slower than in 1969, lies before economic policy for 1970. In order to ensure the realization of the thus determined goals of development of the economy, economic policy for 1970 will be directed toward attaining optimal growth of the economy; carrying out stabilization policy along with reduction of the balance of payments deficit, normalization of the disturbed business relations in the economy and ensuring of adequate relations in distribution of national income, and especially toward strengthening the reproductive capability of the economy. The Institute did not prepare an elaborate forecast for 1970, for there was no one interested who would finance it. The previously cited Memorandum was prepared by voluntary work for three weeks of several collaborators.

Comparison of forecasts and actuality shows that not one of the expectations of the Resolution was realized. Instead of stabilization we have inflation, instead of optimal growth we have negative growth in agriculture and a significantly reduced rate of industrial growth. The balance of payments deficit increased enormously – approximately two times in relation to internal expectation²⁰ – and relations in the economy are extremely disturbed. Comparison of rates of industral expansion shows that the cyclical mechanism of the economy is still unknown to the state apparatus, and therefore in the cyclical upturn (1969) it forecast too low, and in the cyclical downturn (1970) too high rates.

p. 7).

Jugoslavenski pregled, 12 (1969), 490.
 About 200 instead of 100 million dollars (Ekonomska politika, Oct. 12, 1970,

p p eared only in the m id d le of 1970 (see g ra p h 2).

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- 5. In v en to rie s o f fin a l p ro ducts w ere in d eed reduced in the first h a lf-y ea r, as th e In stitu te fo recast, a n d th en a ten d en cy to increase ap p e are d.
- 6. Prices w ere n o t stab le a n d b e g a n to rise a lre a d y in the first h a lf-year. F rom th en on th e ir rise c o n tin u a lly accelerated.

W ith respect to 1970 in the n ew Resolution of the F ed eral P a rlia m ent it is s ta te d:19 »A com p licated task o f co n solidation and stab ilization o f econom ic flow s alo n g w ith fu rth e r rap id grow th, although som ew hat slow er th a n in 1969, lies b efore economic policy for 1970.

In o rd e r to en su re th e re a liz a tio n of th e thus d eterm in ed goals of d e v elopm ent of th e econom y, econom ic policy for 1970 will be directed to w a rd a tta in in g o p tim a l g ro w th of th e econom y; c a rry in g out stab ilizatio n policy a lo n g w ith red u c tio n o f the b alan ce of paym ents d e ficit, n o rm a liz a tio n o f the d istu rb ed business relatio n s in the economv a n d e n su rin g o f a d e q u ate rela tio n s in d istrib u tio n of n atio n al income, a n d esp ecially to w a rd stre n g th e n in g th e rep ro d u ctiv e capab ility of the econom y«. T h e In stitu te d id n o t p re p a re a n elab o rate forecast for 1970, fo r th e re w as no one in te reste d w ho w ould finance it. T h e p rev iously cited M em o ran d u m w as p re p a re d by v o lu n ta ry work fo r three weeks o f sev eral c o llab o rato rs.

C o m p ariso n o f fo recasts a n d a c tu a lity shows th a t not one of

the ex p ectatio n s o f th e R esolution w as realized. In ste a d of stabilization we h a v e in fla tio n , in stead o f o p tim al g ro w th we hav e neg ativ e grow th in a g ric u ltu re a n d a sig n ific a n tly red u c e d ra te of in d u stria l growth.

The balance of payments deficit increased enormously - approximately two times in relation to internal expectation 20 - and relations in the economy are extremely disturbed. Comparison of rates of indus-tralexpansion nshows that the cyclical mechanism of the economy is still unknown to the state apparatus, and therefore in the cyclical upturn (1969) it forecast too low, and in the cyclical down turn (1970) too high rates.

*• South Slavic Review, 12 (1969), 490.

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*# About 200 instead of 100 million dollars (Economy and Politics, Oct. 1-, 19/0, p. 7).

The Institute precisely forecast the turning point of the cycle in the second half of 1969, the halving of the industrial rate of growth and the rise of retail prices over 10%, which creates a typical inflationary situation. The Institute underestimated the rise of total unemployment (in the country and abroad) and did not forecast well the change in its structure. It is characeristic that the Parliament still does not concern itself with forecasting unemployment!

After this short analysis of the degree of success in forecasting, we can conclude the following:

- 1. Surprisingly accurate forecasting of economic movements in possible.
- 2. There exists in the country the accumulated knowledge, personnel and elaborated methods of analysis which enable a handful of scholars in the course of a few days to give significantly more precise forecasts than the staffs of officials in state organs. (This assumes that state officials write down in state documents what they in fact know.)
- 3. The need is accordingly obvious to carry over the existing knowledge to the state administration (or to make it usable for our society), as well as to ensure permanent financing for further improvements in this field.

The question is posed: why is that not already done? Or more precisely: why is there resistance to so doing?

5. ANALYSIS OF CURRENT TRENDS AND PERSPECTIVES

Table 1 shows a clear tendency of rapid showing down of the development of industry and agriculture as well as the economy as a whole; slowing down of exports and imports and acceleration of price rises. We mentioned above that Yugoslavia is today in first place in Europe according to unemployment, and now we can add that is in second place (behind Czechoslovakia) according to instability. Stagnation along with inflation and fluctuations of production bring the Yugoslav economy close to the type of the Latin American economy and represents its possible alternative. I have discussed in detail elsewhere the phenomenon of slowing down of development,21 and it appears to me, have shown that there is nothing common with self-management, but that it is rather a question of the consequences of amateurism and ignorance of economic policy makers, that the inherent potentials of growth are significantly greater and that they can be utilized by the aid of a relatively simple, but scientifically founded economic policy. A design of such an economic policy is given in the second part of this work. Before that it will be useful to show by a short analysis how the observed long-run tendencies emerge in the short-run in the framework of a year.

After the second half of 1969 when there occurred a downturn of the business cycle, the falling movements were halted at the begin-

²¹ B. Horvat, Ekonomska nauka i narodna privreda (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1968); Privredni ciklusi u Jugoslaviji (Beograd: IEN, 1969); Privredni sistem i ekonomska politika Jugoslavije (Beograd: IEN, 1970).

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A f te r th is s h o rt a n a ly s is o f th e d e g re e o f success in fo re c a s tin g, w e c a n c o n c lu d e th e fo llo w in g:

- 1. Surprisingly accurate for recasting of economic movements is possible.
- 2. Thereexists in thecountry theaccumulatedknowledge, personnel andelaboratedmethodsofanalysis whichenableahandfulofscholars in thecourse of a fewdaystogivesignificantlymore precise forecaststhanthestaffsofofficials instateorgans. (This assumes that stateofficials writedowninstatedocuments what they infactknow.) 3. Theneedisaccordinglyobvious tocarryover theexistingknowledge to the stateadministration (or tomakeitus ableforour society), as well as toen surepermanent financingforfur therimprovements in this field.

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A N A LYSIS OF C U R R EN T TR EN D S A N D P ERSPECTIV ES

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After the second half of 1969 when there occurred a downturn in the business cycle, the falling movements were halted at the beginning of 21 B. Horvat, E k o n o m s k a u k i n a r o d n a p r i v e d a (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1968); Foreign Yugoslav Revolution (Beograd: IEN , 1969); Deprivation of the Yugoslav Economic Political System (Beograd: IEN , 1970).

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ning of 1970 by a strong export expansion (which was basically a function of a world boom) and by credit injections (which helped but did not evoke inflation). In that way there appeared a peak in the movements of production in the first quarter of 1970, and inventories of final products began to fall again. Soon the export expansion reached its maximum and began to slow down, and at the same time imports enormously increased, so that after a delay of about two quarters the recessive movements continued. As usual, industry slowed down more gradually, and construction activity faster. In the third quarter these paths fell to zero rate of growth. In such a situation it is predictable that price rises accelerate, and thus producers' prices rose even faster than in a similar situation at the end of 1964. It is also predictable that the expansion of nominal personal incomes accelerates and the rise in productivity of labor slows down. All these movements can be clearly seen in the graphs.

What can be expected in the following months and years?

Since in 1970 there was no analysis of the economic situation worked out in the Institute - there were no funds and the fate of the previous year's Memorandum was not stimulating - only some general assertions can be presented. The stimulative effect of exports is on the whole exhausted. With the weakening of the world boom and the abolition of the fund for crediting exports of equipment and ships it can be expected that the export retardation of 1967 and the first half of 1968 will be repeated. Inflation also operates in the same direction. Accordingly the recessive movements will continue, losses will appear and the economy will again become extremely illiquid. Hidden devaluation by import duties and export stimulation can be carried out somewhat longer, but soon open devaluation will become unavoidable. The arbitrariness in distribution of personal incomes has become intolerable. The large failure of agricultural production will increase pressure on the balance of payments, which is in any event close to an eruption. In that situation the economic policy bodies have these three alternative possibilities for action:

- 1. Administrative interventions. That would mean crude intrusion on the selfmanaged autonomy of economic subjects and liquidation of the basic goals of the economic reform.
- 2. Continuation of more or less laissez-faire policy along with liberal credit injections. That would mean intensification of the inflation with price increases of 15-20% annually in 1971, and later even more. Because of the deformed distribution of income and international economic relations, this variant would sooner or later have to be replaced by variant 1.
- 3. Restrictive monetary policy. With stabilization of prices this policy would lead to contraction of production and massive unemployment, as in 1967. The difference is only that repetition of 1967 is no longer politically feasible.

As is well known, the government decided on the first variant. The reasons for that choice are obvious from what stated under 2. and 3. However, price freezing recalls ominously the improvisations of 1965.

in the m ovem ents of p ro d u ctio n in the first q u a rte r of 1970, an d inventories of fin a l pro d u cts began, to fall ag ain . Soon the export expansion reached its m axim um an d beg an to slow dow n, an d at the same tim e im ports enorm ously increased, so th a t a fte r a d elay of about two q u a rte rs the recessive m ovem ents continued. As usual, in d u stry slowed dow n m ore g rad u a lly , a n d co n struction activ ity faster. In the th ird q u a rte r these p ath s fell to zero ra te o f grow th. In such a situation it is p red ictab le th a t p rice rises accelerate, a n d thus prod u cers' prices rose even faste r th a n in a sim ila r situ atio n at the end of 1964. It is also p red ic ta b le th a t the exp an sio n of n o m in al p ersonal incomes accelerates a n d the rise in p ro d u ctiv ity of lab o r slows dow n. A ll these m ovem ents can be clearly seen in th e grap h s.

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- 1. A d m in is tr a tiv e in te rv en tio n s. T h a t w ould m ean crude intrusion on th e se lfm a n a g e d a u to n o m y of econom ic subjects an d liquidation o f th e basic goals of th e econom ic reform .
- 2. C o n tin ua tio n o f m ore or less la issez-fa ire policy along w ith liberal cred it in jectio n s. T h a t w ould m ean in ten sificatio n of the in fla tio n w ith price increases o f 1 5 -2 0 % a n n u a lly in 1971, and later even m ore. Because of the d e fo rm ed d istrib u tio

n of incom e an d in te rn a tio n a l econom ic relatio n s, this v a ria n t w ould sooner or late r have to be rep la c ed by v a ria n t 1.

3. R e stric tiv e m o n e ta ry p o licy. W ith stab ilizatio n of prices this policy w o u ld lea d to c o n tra c tio n o f p ro d u ctio n an d m assive u n em p loym ent, as in 1967. The d iffe re n c e is only that rep etitio n of 1967 is no lo n g er p o litic a lly feasible.

A s is w ell know n, the g o v ern m en t decid ed on the first v a ria n t, TCie reasons fo r that choice a re obvious fro m w h at state d u n d e r 2. an

H ow ev er, p rice freezin g recalls om inously the im provisations ot 19b5.

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Amateurish discussions of the economic functions of the Federation, the tax system, the substitution of agreements (in fact of perverted bureaucratic organization) for the market and such, only strengthen those ominous indications, Amateurish guesswork always prepares fertile soil for political bargaining, and from there it is not far from discrediting of a self-managed economy and through it, selfmanagement socialism.

In so far as economic theory is further ignored and some of the momentarily popular positions become the basis for carrying out economic policy, it is not difficult to foresse a further deceleration of growth and new dangerous convulsions of the economy and society after the next four to five years, when the cycle into which we are entering is completed. Now in that case the question is posed: Can our political system survive a third unsuccessful reform? Hence the accent in this work is not on analysis, forecasting and a program for action. That we had earlier, but they remained without effect. The accent is on the question how the existing knowledge can be applied and the consequences which are known in advance avoided. The answer to this question is not of an economic, but of a political nature. The retrospective reflections above had the objective of stressing that fact as clearly as possibly.

II. PROPOSAL OF A POSSIBLE PROGRAM OF ACTION

The reform of 1965 was politically very well prepared. It enjoyed broad support, inspired confidence and created a readiness for temporary sacrifices for attaining durable goals. If the reform had also been as well prepared economically, Yugoslavia would today have a per capita income of over 1,000 dollars, dynamic growth as before 1960, full employment, a stable market, a convertible currency, reduced regional differences, developed and well equipped social services, significant results of scientific research and – a perspective of still more satisfactory development in the future. All that would have made the majority of inter-republic disagreements and political tensions pointless. Unfortunately, that exceptional chance was not utilized and each of the mentioned potential positive results has today its actual negative contrast in our social liabilities.

A certain chance of quietly preparing a serious stabilization program still existed in 1969, before the inflation made headway and before the balance of payments deficit exploded and drastic administrative measures became unavoidable. That chance was allowed to pass. Today with respect to the economy we are again working in conditions of a state of siege. The political support which was manifested at recent political meetings, as well as that which exsists among the public is obviously only a pale reflection of the mood of five years ago. However, it is clear that even that little political capital must be utilized to the maximum to correct the state of affairs as soon as possible.

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A m a te u r is h d iscu ssio n s o f th e e c o n o m ic fu n c tio n s o f th e F e d e ra tio n, th e ta x sy stem, th e s u b s titu tio n o f a g re e m e n ts (in f a c t o f p e rv e r te d b u r e a u c r a tic o rg a n iz a

tio n) for the marketand such, only strengthenthose om in ous indications, Amateurish guesswork alwaysprepares fertile soil for political bargaining, and from there it is not far from discrediting of a self-managed economy and through it, selfmanagement so cialism.

In so f a r as eco n o m ic th e o ry is f u r t h e r ig n o re d a n d so m e o f th e m o m e n ta rily p o p u la r p o s itio n s b eco m e th e b asis f o r c a rr y in g o u t e co no m ic p o lic y , it is n o t d iff ic u lt to fo re sse a f u r th e r d e c e le ra tio n o f g ro w th a n d n e w d a n g e ro u s co n v u lsio n s o f th e e c o n o m y a n d so ciety a f te r th e n e x t fo u r to fiv e y e a rs , w h e n th e c y cle in to w h ic h w e a re e n te r in g is c o m p le te d . N o w in t h a t ca se th e q u e s tio n is p o se d : C a n o u r p o litic a l sy stem s u rv iv e a t h ir d u n su c ce ssfu l re fo rm? H e n c e th e a c c e n t in th is w o rk is n o t o n a n a ly s is, fo re c a s tin g a n d a p ro g ra m fo r a c tio n . T h a t w e h a d e a rlie r , b u t th e y r e m a in e d w ith o u t e ffe c t. T h e a c c e n t is o n th e q u e s tio n h o w th e e x is tin g k n o w le d g e c a n b e a p p lie d a n d th e c o nseq u en ces w h ic h a re k n o w n in a d v a n c e a v o id e d . T h e a n s w e r to th is q u e s tio n is n o t o f a n eco n o m ic, b u t o f a p o litic a l n a tu r e .

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Failures usually have at least one positive result: they enrich experience with new perceptions. It would be worthwhile for us to make use of the experiences of the last decade, so that we do not repeat, the same mistakes a third time. That means first of all that the reform, which in 1961 was called a new economic system, and which to all appearances now will be called a stabilization program, cannot be improvised. Creation of committees and sub-committees, or groups and sub-groups composed of people from the administration and political forums and individuals outside of these bodies who participate as some sort of paid consultants, with deadlines of one, two or three months is not the way to carry out such serious work as the halting of negative trends which are harrying the Yugoslav economy. Naturally, committees and sub-committees cannot be avoided. But these are only operative palliatives and not a basic way of solving problems.

The elaboration and implementation of a stabilization program obviously has two aspects: political and technical. Where the former is concerned, the government should come before the Parliament with its own stabilization program, for which it bears full responsibility, by which it stands or falls. In so far as that program, with essential supplements and corrections as the result of public debate, is accepted, the government should receive free rein and full support to carry it out. In so far as implementation is shown to be a failure, through whoever's fault – the government's, the Parliament's or someone else's – the government has the right and responsibility to resign and let the whole procedure be renewed.

Where the technical aspect is concerned, it is obviously high time to mobilize the total scientific potential of the country in long-term solution of the country's economic problems. This cannot be carried out by having the Federal (still less the republic's) Council for Coordination of Scientific Activities conduct competitions for research projects, for which the administrative procedure lasts on the average two years and the problems which evoked the project have long since changed before the project has begun to be carried out, while in the meantime the state administration has to lean on itself. Neither can this be carried out by ministries engaging research institutions, for Ministers do not wish to hear criticism of their work, and the directors of research institutions do not wish to remain without personal incomes for their colleagues. Neither can this be done by including individual scholars in consultative bodies, such as the former Economic Council, who acquaint themselves with the materials during a plane flight to Belgrade and return home the same day after they have given their first impressions at some meeting and taken care of of the formalities over consulting fees and travel expenses. All these methods can, of course, be still, utilized, but in our present situation they are of an entirely peripheral importance. What we need is a coordinated program of economic (and not only economic) research in the entire country and a staff of top and independent scholars who would be institutionally

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Where the technical aspect is concerned, it is obviously high time to m obilize the to tall scientific poten tial of the country in long -term solution of the c o u n try 's econom ic problem s. T h is can n o t be carrie d out by h a v in g th e F e d e ra l (still less th e rep u b lic's) C ouncil fo r C o o rd in a tion of S cientific A ctiv ities conduct com petitions fo r research projects, for w hich the a d m in istrativ e p ro ced u re lasts on the av erag e tw o years a n d th e problem s w hich evoked the p ro je c t hav e long since changed b efore th e p ro ie c t has begun to be c a rrie d out, w hile in the m eantim e th e state a d m in istra tio n has to lea n on itself. N e ith e r can this be c a rried out by m in istries en g ag in g research in stitu tio n s, for M inisters do not wish to he a r criticism of their work, a nd the directors of research in stitution s donot wish to remain with ou t perso n al incom es for th eir colleagues. N e ith e r can this be done by in clu d in g in d iv id u a l scholars in c o nsu ltative bodies, such as the form er Economic Council, who acquaint them selves with

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engaged full time and with full responsibility by the highest political-administrative body in the country in the most direct collaboration with the economic ministries.

After these preliminary remarks we can proceed to consideration of three aspects of a possible stabilization program.

1. LONG-RUN ORIENTATION

On the basis of up to now very fragmentary research in the Institute of Economic Studies, the following framework of an alternative economic policy can be considered:

- 1. The Yugoslav economy is passing through business cycles which are severer than in any other European country except Czechoslovakia. The mechanism of these cycles is today on the whole known on the basis of research carried out in the Institute of Economic Studies in Belgrade, and in the Economic Institute of the Law Faculty in Ljubljana. An active anticyclical policy, which we do not have, is necessary.
- 2. The precondition of an effective anticyclical policy is reliable forecasts of short-run economic movements, which we also lack. There exists this order later in behaviour: (a) observing the phenomena, (b) preparing measures, (c) applying measures and (4) reaction of the economy.

Between (a) and (d) the time lag is of several months. Even if the measures are well prepared (which often is not the case), because of that time lag they can provoke or aggravate the instability of the economy (which is quite regularly the case). Escape from this situation is by shifting (a) ahead by a good forecast and shortening (b) and (c) by high quality expertise.

- 3. Anticyclical policy consists of a complicated combination of credit-monetary and fiscal measures. Fiscal policy practically does not exist in the country and monetary policy is used where it is inappropriate. Timely and qualitative weighing of the instruments of economic policy are possible only on the basis of econometric measurement of the reactions of economic actors and economic models of the behaviour of the economic system. All initiatives to do something more serious in these two areas have been without results until now.
- 4. Administrative price control represents a foreign element in our system. It leads to the following negative consequences:
 - (a) Price disparities are increased.
- (b) The conditions of economic activity, instead of being equalized, become chaotically different for various industries.
- (c) Stimulation is the reverse of what is necessary: deficit industries become still more deficit.
- (d) Inflation is not reduced, but only hidden. When all reserves are exhausted, price adjustment on a higher level takes place, and for controlled prices that adjustment is carried out in jumps (examples: metallurgy, energy, etc.). Thus the stability of the economy is subjected to additional shocks.

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e n g a g e d fu ll tim e a n d w ith fu ll r e sp o n s ib ility b y th e h ig h e s t p o litic a l-a d m in is tr a tiv e b o d y in th e c o u n try in th e m o st d ire c t c o lla b o ra tio n w ith th e eco n o m ic m in istrie s.

A f te r th ese p r e lim in a ry re m a rk s w e c a n p ro c e e d to c o n s id e ra tio n of th re e a sp ects o f a p o ssib le s ta b iliz a tio n p ro g ra m .

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- 3. An tic y c lic a l p o lic y con sists of a c o m p lic a te d c o m b in a tio n of c re d it-mone tary and fisc a l measures. F is cal p o lic y practically does not exist in the country and mone tary polic y is used where it is in appropriate. Timely and qualitative weighing of the instruments of economic polic y are possible only on the basis of econometric measure ment of the reactions of economic actors and economic models of the behaviour of the economic system. All in itiatives to dosomething more serious in these two are ashave been without results until now.
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- (b) Theconditions of economic activity, in steadofbe in gequalized, becomechaotic ally different for various in dustries.
- (c) S tim u la tio n is the re v e rs e o f w h a t is n e c e s s a ry : d e fic it in d u strie s becom e still m o re d e fic it.
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(e) Liberalization of foreign trade relations is incompatible with administrative price control.

(f) Administrative control is the source of constant administrative interventions in various segments of the system.

5. Prices in our system depend essentialy on movements of personal incomes. Control of incomes automatically places prices also under control. This can be seen from the data according to which producers' prices were exceptionally stable while incomes were controlled (at that time, that is until 1961, in large part administratively). Until 1958 productivity of labor rose faster than real incomes, and prices from time to time fell. After that incomes gradually, and then from 1964 rapidly deviated from productivity of labor and the inflationary game began.22 In that respect it should be had in mind that inflation does not occur because average personal incomes are too high, but because (a) the increase in productivity of labor is too low and (b) because incomes in privileged industries are too high. Since productivity of labor is a function of production, the first cause should be cured by accelerating the growth of production. The second cause indicates that administrative price control should to a great extent be eliminated and replaced by economic control of personal incomes. We shall discuss how that can be done partially in section III of this work. There will be necessary:

(a) Institutional changes and

(b) Application of suitable measures of fiscal policy.

In this connection progressive taxation of personal incomes above the standard determined by conditions of stability will represent an important element of economic policy.

6. Economic control of income distribution represents a key element of economic policy not only because of price stabilization, but above all because it is the basic precondition of equalizing the conditions of economic activity without which the self-managed socialist economy cannot function. Present practice as well as economic-political proclamations (distribution according to productivity of labor) negate the socialist approach to distribution according to the results of work. For

¹² In the period 1952-1960 Yugoslav economic development was the fastest in the world, and exports also expanded by one of the fastest rates. Then Japan assumed the leadership in the tempo of development, and in the last two decades is by far the most dynamic economy in the world. For that there are several reasons, and one of the most important is the following. If data for 1953 are designated as 100, then in the next seven years nominal personal incomes increased to 148 and productivity of labor to 182. In that way costs of labor per unit of production fell by 11% (index 89). Thus exports received a powerful impulse, and the index of exports in 1960 amounted to 324 (which corresponds to a rate of growth of 18½% annually). Exports are stimulated by significantly lower export prices in relation to domestic. For example, the manufacturer's price for a color television set is \$160 for export, but \$530 on the domestic market. The fastest export expansion is a necessary component of the fastest rate of growth. Nominal personal incomes rose faster than productivity of labor for the first time just in 1969. If Japan continues thus in the following years, then other similarities with our path of growth can soon be predicted. (K. Kojima, *Japan's Trade Policy*, Economic Record, 93 (Mar. 1965), 54-77; *Japan's TV Trade Told to Up Prices*, Journal of Commerce (July 28, 1970).

- (f) A d m in istra tiv e control is the source of constant ad m inistrative in terv en tio n s in various segm ents o f the system.
- 5. Prices in o ur system dep en d essentialy on m ovem ents of personal incomes. C ontrol of incom es au to m atically places prices also u nder control. T h is can be seen from the d a ta accord in g to w hich producers'

prices were exception ally stable while incomes were controlled (at th a t tim e, th a t is u n til 1961, in larg e p a rt adm in istrativ ely). Un til 1958 productiv ity of lab or rose faster than real incomes, an d prices from tim e to tim e fell. A fte r th at incom es g rad u a lly, an d th en from 1964 rap id ly d e v ia te d from p ro d u ctiv ity of lab or and the in flation ary game began .22 In that respect it should be h a d in m ind th at in flation does not occur because a v erag e p ersonal incom es are too high, but because (a) the increase in p ro d u ctiv ity of lab o r is too low and (b) because incom es in p riv ileg ed in d u stries a re too high. Since p ro d u ctiv ity of lab o r is a fu n ctio n of prod u ctio n, the first cause should be c u red by ac ce le ra tin g th e gro w th of pro d u ctio n . T h e second cause in d icates th a t a d m in istra tiv e price co ntrol should to a g rea t extent be e lim in a te d a n d rep laced by econom ic co ntrol of p ersonal incomes. W e sh all discuss how that can be done partially in section III of this work.

The rewill be necessary:

- (a) In stitu tio n a l changes an d
- (b) A p p lica tio n of su itab le m easures of fiscal policy.

In this connection p ro gressive ta x a tio n of perso n al incom es above th e s ta n d a rd d e te rm in e d by conditions of sta b ility w ill represent an im p o rta n t elem en t of econom ic policy.

6. Econom ic co ntrol of incom e d istrib u tio n rep resents a key elem ent of econom ic p o licy n o t only because of price stab ilizatio n , b u t above all because it is the basic p rec o n d itio n of eq u alizin g the conditions of econom ic a c tiv ity w ith o u t w hich the se lf-m a n a g ed socialist economy cann o t fu n ctio n . P re se n t p ractice as w ell as econom ic-political p ro clam atio n s (d istrib u tio n a c co rd in g to p ro d u ctiv ity of labor) n eg ate the socialist a p p ro a c h to d istrib u tio n a c co rd in g to the results of work. For

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the same work in different industries remuneration varies in the proportion 1:2. A survey in Belgrade showed that personal incomes in the range of 1:4 are obtained for the same job in various enterprises. Whatever he does, a worker or engineer in a tobacco enterprise will have half of the personal income of his colleague in a petroleum refinery, not to mention banks, insurance, re-export enterprises and similar monopolistic organizations. In that way self-managed autonomy is liquidated; work collectives become victims of conditions of economic activity which they cannot control. Massive exploitation of the work of some collectives on the part of other collectives occurs. To avoid that exploitation, it is necessary to equalize the conditions of economic activity by:

(a) reducing administrative limitations or interventions, which are by the nature of things arbitrary, to a minimum, ensuring the maxi-

mum mobility of economic resources on a truly free market;

(b) making impossible the appropriation of successive incomes by an institutional system and economic instruments. This is a matter of a very complicated problem the thorough elaboration of which we cannot enter into in the framework of this discussion. It is sufficient to mention that our economic theory and analysis are today adequate to prepare a successful solution to the cited problems.

(c) preventing the widening of the dispersion in distribution of personal incomes which occurs, as Professor Bajt's research has shown,

especially in the recession phases of cycles.

7. The whole complex of foreign trade demands reconsideration. This is still another weak point of the system:

- (a) A self-managed market economy requires liberalization of imports and convertibility of the dinar abroad.
- (b) Convertibility requires the liquidation of administrative distribution of foreign exhange.
- (c) To achieve that it is necessary to put under control the movements which influence the balance of payments deficit and to increase foreign exchange reserves.

(d) For that it is necessary to stimulate exports and to control imports.

(e) For (d) to occur by economic rather than administrative means, it is necessary to establish a foreign exchange market.

(f) For that stable internal prices and point 5 are necessary.

(g) Stable prices are not possible if the foreign trade regulations bring individual producers into very different positions on the market.

The methods of foreign trade direction require significantly greater flexibility, subtility and precision. Although the tariff system can be made more elastic, it should be had in view that the basic objective of customs duties is protection of domestic production by differentiation of prices, and that tarif policy cannot (a) regulate the volume of imports, (b) ensure the desired structure of imports nor (c) accomplish regional orientation. These objectives are solved partially by exchange rate ingredients. The capital market plays a certain role. Export stimulation must be stronger and structurally long-term, and particularly

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To a void that exploitation, it is necessary to equalize the conditions of economicactivity by:

- (a) r e d u c in g a d m in is tr a tiv e lim ita tio n s o r in te rv e n tio n s , w h ic h a re by th e n a tu r e o f th in g s a rb itra r y , to a m in im u m , e n s u rin g th e m a x im um m o b ility o f eco n o m ic reso u rc e s o n a tr u l y fre e m a r k e t; (b) m ak in g im p o ssib le th e a p p ro p r ia tio n o f su ccessiv e in co m es b y a n in s titu tio n a l sy stem a n d eco n o m ic in stru m e n ts. T h is is a m a tte r o f a v e ry c o m p lica te d p ro b le m th e th o ro u g h e la b o r a tio n o f w h ic h w e c a n n o t e n te r in to in th e fra m e w o rk o f th is d isc u ssio n . I t is s u ffic ie n t to m e n tio n t h a t o u r eco n o m ic th e o ry a n d a n a ly s is a re to d a y a d e q u a te to p re p a r e a successfu l s o lu tio n to th e c ite d p ro b le m s.
- (c) p r e v e n tin g th e w id e n in g o f th e d isp e rs io n in d is tr ib u tio n o f p e r so n a l incom es w h ic h o ccurs, as P ro fe s s o r B a j t 's r e s e a rc h h a s sh o w n , e sp ec ia lly in th e rec e ssio n p h a ses o f cycles.

7.

The whole complex of four identified trade demands and considerations.

This is still another weakpointofthesystem: (a) As elf-managedmarketeconomyrequires liberalizationofimports and convertibility of thed in arabroad.

- (b) C o n v e rtib ility re q u ire s th e liq u id a tio n o f a d m in is tr a tiv e d is tr ib u tio n o f fo re ig n e x h a n g e.
- (c) To achieve that it is necessary to put under control movements which influence the balance of payments deficit and to increase assets for reign exchange reserves.
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considered from a regional point of view. At the same time imports should be placed under stronger economic control and freed of bureaucratic interventions. A significantly greater degree of liberalization of imports is necessary to equalize the conditions of economic activity in import-dependent production, and to make our exporters competitive on the world market. The convertible and clearing markets require initially two different, but much more harmonized as well as elaborated regimes than is the case today, When the entire elaboration is implemented in practice, it will be necessary to carry out a new devaluation which will be determined by the foreign exchange market, and only then will the intentions of the reform be carried out in this area.

- 8. In recession phases of the cycle there occurs exhaustion of accumulation which is spent on financing inventories and on financing personal incomes. The economy then becomes increasingly dependent on the banks. Credit conditions become increasingly difficult and thus repayments absorb an ever greater share of the economy's accumulation for: (a) losses are covered in an irregular way and (b) monetary restrictions further reduce the available supply of money in relation to existing demand. In that way a vicious circle is created and every attempt to increase the reproductive capability of the economy ends in failure. This conclusion holds also for the current proposal that credits be transformed into constant working capital. A possible escape from this situation is the following:
 - (a) Levelling off of cyclical fluctuations.
- (b) Leave the interest on business capital to enterprises as an earmarked source for investment.
- (c) Stimulate allocations to business funds in the prosperity phases of enterprises' business by fiscal measures.
- (d) Form a capital market, by which the mobility of funds would be increased and the monopoly of banks reduced.
- (e) Achieve financial discipline of socio-political communities as well as honoring of procedures in sanitation of losses.
- (f) Supply the economy with enough quantities of money so that illiquidity with its well known chain reactions does not occur.
- (g) Supplement selective credit policy with fiscal measures in harmonizing individual segments of supply and demand.
- 9. The tax system requires general revision which, however, we cannot analyze here exhaustively. We cite only two negative effects which should be eliminated:
- (a) In building of prices there are so many rigid elements (normed amortization, normed interest on business capital, fixed levies on personal incomes, fixed obligations in repayment of loans), that the price is practically completely absorbed by them (for personal incomes are not and cannot be flexible downward). Therefore in the case of re-

15 PRAXIS 553

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- (b) L eav e th e in te rest on business c a p ita l to en terp rises as a n e a rm ark ed source fo r in v estm en t.
- (c) S tim u la te allo catio n s to business fu n d s in th e p ro sp e rity phases of e n te rp rise s' business by fiscal m easures.
- (d) Fo rm a c a p ita l m ark et, by w hich the m o b ility of funds w ould be in creased a n d th e m o nopoly of b anks reduced.
- (e) Achieving financial discipline of socio -political communities as well as honoring of procedures in sanitary of losses.
- (f) S u pp ly the econom y w ith en ough q u a n titie s of m oney so that illiq u id ity w ith its w ell k n ow n c h ain reaction s does not occur.
- (g) S u p p lem en t selective c re d it policy w ith fiscal m easures in h a rm o n izing in d iv id u a l segm ents of su p p ly a n d d em an d.

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(a)

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duction or slowing down of production, there necessarily occurs an increase in prices, which is contrary to rational market behaviour and introduces insurmountable instability into the economy.

- (b) Labor power is artificaially made more expensive by about 60% by levies on personal incomes, by which labor intensive production is discouraged and artificial unemployment created. In agriculture, labor intensive cultivation for which a comparative advantage exists (cotton, stock raising, tobacco and others) is being abandoned in favor of wheat even when it does not succeed best. In that way collective farms in some regions have reduced the total number of employed by one third. Similar effects can be noted in the production of coal (in relation to production of petroleum) and elsewhere.
- 10. The unfolding of the economic process has short-run and long-run aspects.
- (a) In the short-run the requirement is posed of equalizing the conditions of economic activity and bringing the market into equilibrium. This is attained with about ten categories of various methods. In Yugoslavia the necessary methods are not used at the right time and in the right doses. Besides that problems are always solved partially, because they are solved ministerially. For both reasons disturbances are constantly arising in the economy. It would be absolutely essential to form within the framework of the Federal Executive Council some sort of ministry for economic coordination, which would harmonize ministerial decisions before sending them to the Commission for the Economy, construct a uniform conception of economic policy and thus ensure operative consistency in its carrying out.
- (b) In the long-run the task is posed of rapid growth for the sake of satisfying the needs of members of the social community. This is attained by optimal allocation of resources for which a scientifically founded program of the volume, structure and regional distribution of investment is essential. The Federal Bureau for Economic Planning ought to solve this task. The investment program is carried out by way of the banking system, the regulatory function of the National Bank, earmarked funds (for undeveloped regions, for infrastructure) and economic policy measures. Planning is in fact reduced to achievement of the desired growth by means of programmed investments. The methodology of such planning is still to be developed.
- (c) The programming of scientific research and education of top personnel demands special attention. I see one of the possible solutions in the formation of a *Bureau for Programming Scientific Research* which would have the same status as the Planning Bureau.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that the cited 10 points represent an extreme simplification of the economic-political conception, conditioned by the objective of this essay. In so far as the presented conception is shown to be acceptable, the detailed elaboration will show all the complexity of the problems which in any case is well known.

ta b le in s ta b ility in to th e eco n o m y.

(b)

L a b o r p o w e r is a rtific a ia lly m a d e m o re e x p e n siv e b y a b o u t 6 0 %

b y lev ies on p e rs o n a l in co m es, b y w h ic h la b o r in te n s iv e p ro d u c tio n is d isc o u ra g e d a n d a r tific ia l u n e m p lo y m e n t c re a te d . I n a g ric u ltu r e , la b o r in te n siv e c u ltiv a tio n fo r w h ic h a c o m p a r a tiv e a d v a n ta g e ex ists (co tton , stock ra is in g , to b ac c o a n d o th ers) is b e in g a b a n d o n e d in f a v o r o f w h e a t e v e n w h e n it does n o t su c ce e d b e st. I n t h a t w a y c o lle c tiv e fa rm s in som e reg io n s h a v e re d u c e d th e to ta l n u m b e r o f e m p lo y e d by one th ir d . S im ila r e ffe c ts c a n b e n o te d in th e p r o d u c tio n o f c o a l (in r e la tio n to p ro d u c tio n o f p e tro le u m) a n d e lse w h e re .

10.

Theunfoldingoftheeconomicprocesshasshort-runandlong-

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(c) Theprogrammingofscientificresearchandeducationoftoppersonneldemandsspecialattention. I see

o n e o f th e p o ssib le s o lu tio n s in th e fo rm a tio n o f a Bureau for Program m ing Scientific Research

w h ic h w o u ld h a v e th e sa m e s ta tu s as th e P l a n n in g B u re a u .

It is h a r d ly n e c essa ry to e m p h a siz e t h a t th e c ite d 10 p o in ts r e p r e s e n t a n e x tre m e s im p lific a tio n o f th e e c o n o m ic -p o litic a l c o n c ep tio n , c o n d itio n e d by th e o b je c tiv e o f th is e ssay . I n so f a r as th e p re s e n te d c o n c ep tio n is sh o w n to b e a c c e p ta b le , th e d e ta ile d e la b o r a tio n w ill show a ll th e c o m p le x ity o f th e p ro b le m s w h ic h in a n y c ase is w e ll kno w n .

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2. DIRECT MEASURES

When a recession begins – as happened in the past months, completely in accord with the forecast of the Institute for Economic Studies presented in the Federal Executive Council memorandum – it would be mistaken and extremely dangerous to deepen it by radical reorganizations such as was done in 1961 and 1965. The first task of current economic policy is the halting of the recessive movements on the highest possible level. This can be achieved in the following way:

- 1. The appearance of disproportions between supply and demand which inevitably lead to cumulative slowing down of aggregate demand must be prevented. This means that the investment, consumption and export markets have to be brought into equilibrium by special measures.
- 2. With respect to the investment market, a series of measures are possible, of which the most important are three:

(a) Leave the interest on business capital to enterprises as funds

earmarked exclusively for investment.

- (b) Engage construction capacities with housing construction, improvements and road building. These three activities have the minimum import content and therefore their development represents the most suitable instrument for maintaining an expansion without burdening the balance of trade. In connection with housing construction it is worth observing that after the reform the share of individual savings in the country's monetary accumulation in housing tripled (from 90% in 1964 to 27% in 1968). Those are significant funds which could be channeled into housing construction by means of well organized mortgage credit.
- (c) Enable the formation of current inventories in enterprises by credits. Accumulation of inventories in recession and decumulation in the upswing represent a spontaneous anticyclical reaction of work collectives.
- 3. Vigorously support export expansion by export credits, exchange rate ingredients (tax rebates, transport preferentials, etc.) and, where necessary, by premiums.
- 9. Increasing investment and export demand make possible increased employment in those two sectors, which along with unchanged average personal incomes leads to increased consumption demand. Eventual corrections can be carried out by means of consumer credit. An increase of aggregate demand makes possible an increase in production, which leads to an increase in productivity of labor which again makes possible raising of personal incomes along with unchanged prices. I must warn that the consumption market cannot be maintained in equilibrium by directly increasing personal incomes without all of the cited intermediate steps, for that would lead to inflation (of the so-called cost-push type).
- 5. An increase of the foreign trade deficit is not a reflection of »living beyond one's means«, as is commonly thought, but the reflection of systematic defects and mistaken economic policy. Wages in

2. DIRECT MEASURES

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- 2. With respect to the in v estm ent mark et, a series of measures are possible, of which the most important are three: (a) Leave the interest on business capital to enterprises as funds earmarked exclusively for investment.
- (b) E n g a g e con stru ctio n capacities w ith h ousing construction, im pro v em en ts a n d ro ad b u ild in g . T h ese th re e activ ities h av e th e m in im um im p o rt co n ten t a n d th ere fo re th e ir dev elo p m en t rep resents the m ost su itab le in stru m e n t fo r m a in ta in in g a n ex p an sio n w ith o u t b u rd en in g th e b a la n c e of tra d e . In co nnection w ith ho u sin g construction it is w o rth observ in g th a t a fte r th e refo rm th e sh are o f in d iv id u a l sa v ings in th e c o u n try 's m o n eta ry accu m u latio n in h o u sing trip le d (from 9° /o in 1964 to 2.7% in 1968). T h o se a re sig n ific a n t fu n d s w hich could be ch a n n ele d in to h o u sin g c o n stru ctio n by m eans o f w ell o rg an ized m o rtg a g e cred it.
- (c) E n a b le th e fo rm a tio n o f c u rre n t in v en to ries in en terp rises by cred its. A ccu m u la tio n o f in v en to ries in recession a n d decu m u latio n in the u p sw in g rep re se n t a sp o n tan eo u s a n ticy clical rea c tio n o f w ork collectives.
- 3. V ig o ro u sly su p p o rt e x p o rt e x p an sio n by ex p o rt credits, exchange ra te in g re d ien ts (tax reb ates, tra n s p o rt p refe ren tia ls, etc.) an d, w here necessary, by p rem ium s.

In cre a sin g in v estm en t a n d e x p o rt d e m a n d m ake possible in creased em plo y m en t in those tw o sectors, w hich a lo n g w ith unch an g ed a v e ra g e p e rso n al incom es lead s to in creased co n sum ption d em and.

E v e n tu al correction n s c an be c a rrie d o u t by m eans o f consum er credit.

A n in crease o f a g g re g a te d e m a n d m akes possible an increase in P^o"

d u ctio n , w hich lead s to a n in crease in p ro d u ctiv ity of lab o r w hich a g a in m akes possible ra isin g of p e rso n a l incom es a lo n g w ith u n c h a n g ed prices. I m ust w a rn th a t th e co n su m p tio n m ark e t can no t be m a in ta in e d in eq u ilib riu m by d ire c tly in cre a sin g p e rso n al incom es w ith o u t a ll of th e cited in te rm e d ia te steps, fo r th a t w ould lea d to in fla tio n (of th e so -c a lle d cost-p u sh type).

5.

A n in crease of th e fo re ig n tra d e d e fic it is n o t a reflectio n o f

» livin g b ey o n d on e's m eans«, as is com m only th o u g h t, b u t th e retlec -

tio n of sy stem atic defects a n d m istak en econom ic policy. W a g es in 555

Germany or Japan rise significantly faster than in England, while the trade deficit is in the reverse order. If the economic potential is utilized by 60%, and the foreign trade deficit represents 5% of national income, then the country in fact is living singificantly below its possibilities. Business cycles with the resulting reduction of the rate of growth represent precisely such a situation. In our situation the key condition of stabilization is control of the trade deficit instead of the periodic explosions up to now. One component of that control is export expansion. Another component consists of holding import elasticity below export elasticity. That can be attained by making imports more expensive (which is indeed done but, unfortunately, inadequately thought out as the reactions of the economy show) and by direct administrative control. The pressure of the deficit with the convertible area will ease the reorientation of certain categories of imports to the clearing area and especially to undeveloped countries (which in 1964 accounted for 14.1% of our imports, and in 1967 10.1%, compared with 22.1% from the OECD countries).

- 6. By leaving the interest on business capital to enterprises, the state remains without a significant source of revenue which should be replaced by the usual solution of fiscal policy for a period of recession. a budgetary deficit.
- 7. The overindebtedness of the economy means primarily that there is not enough money in the economy. In so far as injections cited under 2(c), 3. and 6. are insufficient, the National Bank should increase credits selectively until a satisfactory degree of liquidity of the economy is achieved, along with implementation of a whole series of obvious measures which should accompany that process. The proposal to convert credits to constant working capital also has its justification in so far as it is carried out so that enterprises without future prospects are eliminated.
- 8. In the present concrete situation, credit injections necessarily lead to price increases, which again necessarily disorganize the entire economic policy. Increasing the extent of administrative price control cannot prevent the rise in prices, and would only lead to additional disturbances in the economy. This solution is possible:
- (a) Introduce a moratorium on increasing personal incomes of privileged industries. By this means a breathing spell for preparation of a lasting solution is obtained.
- (b) Change prices (and simultaneously personal incomes) by agreement in industries which are obviously hurt and accompany this with tariff and other measures.
 - (c) Successively abandon administrative price controls.
- (d) Increase personal incomes quarterly or semi-annually by agreement and in dependence on productivity of labor.
- 9. Point 8. represents the most delicate task in the entire system and therefore it should be thoroughly prepared. In connection with this at three factors can be observed:
- (a) The criteria which will be applied in the agreed-upon corrections of prices and incomes must be scientifically founded.

tr a d e d e fic it re p re s e n ts 5 % o f n a tio n a l incom e, th e n th e c o u n try in f a c t is liv in g s in g ific a n tly b e lo w its p o ssib ilities. B usiness cycles with the resulting reduction of thera te o f g ro w th re p re s e n t p re c is e ly su ch a s itu a tio n . I n o u r s itu a tio n th e key c o n d itio n o f s ta b iliz a tio n is c o n tro l o f th e tr a d e d e fic it in s te a d o f th e p e rio d ic e x p lo sio n s u p to now. Onecomponent of that control is export exp an sion. An other component con sists of hold in gimpo r t e la s tic ity b elow e x p o rt e la s tic ity . T h a t c a n b e a tta in e d b y m a k in g im p o rts m o re e x p e n siv e (w h ich is in d e e d donebut, unfortunately, in adequately thoughtout as the reactions of theeconomy show) and by directad m in is tra tiv e c o n tro l. The pressure of the deficit with th e c o n v e rtib le a re a w ill ease th e r e o r ie n ta tio n o f c e rta in c a te g o rie s o f im p o rts to th e c le a rin g a re a a n d e sp e c ia lly to u n d e v e lo p e d c o u n trie s (w h ich in 1964

ac co u n te d fo r 1 4 .1 % o f o u r im p o rts , a n d in 1967 1 0 .1 % , c o m p a re d w ith 2 2 .1 % fro m th e O E C D c o u n tries).

6. By le a v in g th e in te re s t o n b u sin e ss c a p ita l to e n te rp ris e s, th e sta te re m a in s w ith o u t a s ig n if ic a n t so u rc e o f re v e n u e w h ic h s h o u ld b e re p la c e d by th e u s u a l s o lu tio n o f fis c a l p o lic y f o r a p e rio d o f recessio n, a b u d g e ta ry d e fic it.

7. The overindebtednessoftheeconomymeansprimarilythatthereisnotenoughmoneyintheeconomy. In sofarasinjectionscitedunder2(c), 3. and 6. are in sufficient, the NationalBankshouldincreasecredits selectivelyuntilasatisfactorydegreeofliquidityoftheeconomy is a chieved, alongwithimplementationofawholeseriesofobviousmeasureswhichshouldaccompanythatprocess. Theproposaltoconvertcreditstoconstantworkingcapitalalsohasitsjustificationinsofarasitiscarriedoutsothatenterpriseswithoutfutureprospects

e c e s s a rily lea d to p ric e in cre a se s, w h ic h a g a in n e c e s s a rily d iso rg a n iz e th e e n tire econom ic p o lic y . In c r e a s in g th e e x te n t o f a d m in is tr a tiv e p ric e c o n tro l c a n n o t p re v e n t th e rise in p ric e s, a n d w o u ld o n ly le a d to a d d itio n a l d istu rb an c e s in th e eco n o m y . T h is s o lu tio n is p o ssib le : (a) In tro d u c e a m o ra to riu m o n in c re a s in g p e rs o n a l in co m

8. In the present concretes itu a tion, credit in jections n

es of privileg ed in du stries. By this meansabreathingspell forpreparation of a lastingsolution is obtained.

- (b) C h a n g e p ric e s (a n d s im u lta n e o u s ly p e rs o n a l in com es) b y a g re e m en t in in d u strie s w h ic h a re o b v io u sly h u r t a n d a c c o m p a n y th is w ith ta r if f a n d o th e r m ea su res.
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- (b) The Price Bureau should be transformed from a state body to a social arbitrator in which all important social interests will be represented and which will function on the basis of social agreement.
- (c) In preparation of these measures the discretion necessary to prevent the otherwise inevitable speculation must be ensured.

The entire program presented has a temporary and transitional character and makes sense only as such. Some solutions obviously conflict with the intentions of the system and therefore can be utilized only very briefly. The program should calm down the economy and give us a breathing spell of a year, so that we could prepare an economic policy oriented more to the long-run which could begin to be carried out in 1972.

3. SUPPRESSING INFLATION

The market economy of a small country can function efficiently only if prices are relatively stable, i. e. do not rise faster than in other countries which compete on the world market. Therefore special attention in economic policy must be devoted to suppressing inflation. Limited by the available space, I will dwell here only on the possibilities of control of inflation by means of tax instruments.

Causes of Inflation

Five years after the beginning of the reform half of industrial prices were still under control, and then prices were frozen. Monetary policy was throughout the greater part of the period exceptionally rescrictive, but prices rose faster than in the 12 year period before the reform. When the monetary restriction was loosened, there occurred a greater increase in prices than in 1964. Anti-inflationary policy was based on the assumption of an excess of demand over supply. It is obvious that this assumption was wrong. Prices rise faster the greater are inventories, and show a tendency to stabilization the faster the upswing in production (except at the peaks of cycles).

Econometric research in the Institute of Economic Studies showed that about four-fifths of the rise in prices can be explained by the rise in personal incomes above the rise in productivity of labor. It follows that the inflationary mechanism in Yugoslavia is for the most part of the cost-push type. The gap between personal incomes and productivity of labor arises primarily because of the institutionalized negation of the principle of distribution according to the results of work. Privileged industries (petroleum, electrical energy, foreign trade, banking, eac.) have the possibility of raising personal incomes without regard to the actual results of work. Other industries follow that example with more or less of a lag. Where productivity of labor is not in a position to compensate for the increase in personal incomes, price increases occur. The inflationary spiral begins. The cyclical deceieration of growth strengthens inflationary pressures. Price control does

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not eliminate inflation, but masks it; price disparities increase and when it comes to price revisions they have an explosive character. We had such explosions in 1964 and 1965. and again now.

It is momentarily fashionable to propose so-called »self-management and social agreements« as instruments for control over distribution of personal incomes. Social agreement, of course, has its sense. But for such proposals as are now given, it should be stated openly that they are completely mistaken. First of all, decisions cannot be imposed from outside on self-managed subjects, even under the mask of an agreement. And then, such decisions - unless they are based on direct administrative force - simply will not be carried out. The problem is not that personal incomes are unequal nor that they rise too fast within a commune or within an industry. The problem is that the conditions of economic activity are unequal and that personal incomes are unequal between industries. For the same work in different industries personal incomes differ up to 100%. Research shows that this inequality is systematically increasing. It leads to massive exploitation of the work collectives of some industries by the work collectives of other industries. If in respect of the distribution of income it is necessary to come to some social agreement - and undoubtedly it is - then that can be only on the level of the entire country. It is well known than this is precisely the function of a social plan.

Realization of distribution accordings to the results of work, or its correlative, the equalization of the conditions of economic activity, were studied in the Institute of Economic Studies. This is an exceptionally complex problem and therefore cannot be elaborated on here. Until now economic policy bodies have shown no interest at all in research on the operation of inflationary mechanisms in our country. Because of that there were no funds for such research, and our knowledge about these phenomena is fragmentary and represents the byproduct of other research (or business cycles, monetary policy and such). I will therefore limit myself here to only one element whose significance has been determined rather definitely, that is the control of distribution by fiscal measures.

In a memorandum to the Federal Executive Council at the beginning of 1967 and then again in a study at the beginning of 1968 (Sumarna analiza privrednih kretanja i prijedlozi za ekonomsku politiku), the Institute of Economic Studies proposed progressive taxation of the surplus in personal income funds. That idea began slowly to be accepted, and in Serbia and Slovenia the first drafts of republic laws were prepared, and the elaboration of that idea was also worked on in the Federal Economic Chamber. However, the very fact that republic laws were prepared shows how much the problem was incorrectly conceived. The problem was still more mistakenly understood by critics who snapped at those drafts, and the entire action was halted. (Until now critics were recruited exclusively from circles outside the economy.) The text which follows is a contribution toward clarifying the problem.

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R e a liz a tio n o f d is tr ib u tio n a c c o rd in g s to th e r e s u lts o f w o rk, o r its c o rre la tiv e, th e e q u a liz a tio n o f th e c o n d itio n s o f eco n o m ic a c tiv ity, w e re s tu d ie d in th e In s titu te o f E c o n o m ic S tu d ie s. T h is is a n e x c e p tio n a lly c o m p le x p ro b le m a n d th e r e fo r e c a n n o t b e e la b o r a te d o n h e re.

U n til n o w eco n o m ic p o lic y b o d ies h a v e sh o w n n o in te r e s t a t a ll in re s e a rc h o n th e o p e ra tio n o f i n fla tio n a ry m ec h a n ism s in o u r c o u n try .

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(U n til n o w c ritic s w e re re c r u ite d e x c lu s iv e ly fro m circ le s outside th e econom y.) T h e te x t w h ic h fo llo w s is a c o n tr ib u tio n to w a rd c la r if y in g th e p ro b le m.

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Technique of Taxation

The essence of the Institute's proposal reduces to this. The growth of production, and on the basis of that, the rise in productivity of labor, is forecast by the social plan. (The assumption is that official forecasts will be more accurate than until now. On the basis of what was presented above, that assumption seems realistic to me.) Econometric analysis shows how much personal incomes can rise so that, along with a given productivity of labor, prices remain stable. So that precisely that much, and not a greater rise in incomes occurs, it is necessary to destimulate increases above the standard determined by the social plan by progressive taxation. In some enterprises the rise will be greater and in some less. Nobody is ordered to do anything. All that is necessary to achieve is that on the average the rise in personal incomes corresponds to the increase in productivity of labor.

The source of inflation is not only in the rise of personal incomes but in the already attained level of personal incomes in privileged industries because of which there appears a so-called demonstration effect. Therefore in addition to the rise of personal incomes an abovestandard level of personal incomes should be taxed. Possibly the actual average of personal incomes in the country can be taken as the standard. Taxation of the surplus of income above the given standard corresponds to the classical principle of taxation according to the economic strength of the taxed subject. It can be added that it is completely clear that this tax greatly affect privileged industries and that they will offer bitter resistance. It would therefore be wise to apply mild rates at the beginning and to make the progression steeper once the process of equalizing distribution has begun.

Since work is heterogeneous, the simple statistical average incomes cannot represent the tax base. Abstractly speaking, the best solution would probably be if average personal incomes were calculated for each profession and the tax divided up on that basis. But that would probably be too expensive a procedure. It is simplest to group employees in a certain number of qualification categories - which is anyway done traditionally in this country - and to thus calculate average incomes and tax bases on the basis of qualifications. To stimulate research and development work it would be useful to added the master's degree and doctorate as separate qualification groups. Further simplification consists in linking qualifications with formal school preparation. B. Marendic's research shows that our economy behaves precisely like that, that is that on the average personal incomes are determined according to school preparation. It is in the nature of the problem that the determination of classifications has to be carried out uniformly for the entire country, and therefore this task cannot be left to work collectives themselves.

Accordingly the entire procedure would technically appear thus: those employed in an enterprise would be divided into 8 qualification groups: unskilled and without school preparation, semi-skilled and lower school preparation, skilled and incomplete secondary education, highly skilled and completed secondary education, post-secondary schooling, higher education, master and doctorate. The increase of

th of production, a n d on the basis of th at, the rise in pro d u ctiv ity of labor, is forecast by the social p lan . (T he assum ption is th a t official forecasts w ill be m ore accu rate th a n u n til now. O n the basis of w h at was p resen ted above, th at assum ption seems realistic to me.) Econom etric an alysis shows how m uch p erso n al incom es can rise so that, alo n g w ith a g iven p ro d u ctiv ity o f labor, prices rem ain stable. So th at precisely th a t m uch, a n d n ot a g re a te r rise in incom es occurs, it is n e cessary to d estim u late increases above the sta n d a rd determ in ed by the social p lan by progressive tax atio n . In some en terprises the rise will be g re a te r an d in some less. N o b o d y is o rd ere d to do an y th in g . A ll th a t is necessary to achieve is th a t on the average the rise in personal incom es co rresponds to the increase in p ro d u ctiv ity of labor.

The source of in flation is not only in the rise of personal incomes but in the already attained level of personal incomes in privileged in dustries because of which there appears asocalled demonstration effect. There fore in addition to the rise of personal incomes an above-standard level of personal incomes should be taxed. Possibly theactual average of personal incomes in the country can be taken as the standard. Taxation of the surplus of income above thegiven standard or responds to the classical principle of taxationactor responds to the classical principle of taxationactor at the economics trength of the taxed subject. It can beadded that it is completely clear that this taxgreatly affect privileged industries and that they will offer bitter resistance. It would there fore be wise to apply mild rates at the beginnigand istribution has begun.

Since w ork is h eterogeneous, the sim ple sta tistic a l a v erag e incom es c a n n o t rep re se n t th e tax base. A b stra c tly speaking, th e best solution w ould p ro b ab ly be if a v e ra g e p erso n al incom es w ere calc u late d fo r each pro fessio n a n d th e ta x d iv id e d up on th a t basis. But th a t w ould p ro b ab ly be too ex p en siv e a p ro ced u re. It is sim plest to gro u p em ployees in a c e rta in n u m b er of q u a lific a tio n categories - w hich is a n y w ay do n e tra d itio n a lly in th is co u n try - a n d to thus calcu late av erag e incom es a n d ta x bases on th e basis of q u alificatio n s. T o stim u late research a n d d e v elo p m en t w ork it w ould be u seful to ad d e d the m aste r's d eg ree a n d d o c to ra te as se p a ra te q u a lific a tio n groups. F u rth e r sim p lificatio n consists in lin k in g q u a lific a tio n s w ith fo rm al school p re p a ra tio n . B. M a re n d ić 's research shows th a t o u r econom y behaves p recisely like th at, th a t is th a t on th e a v e ra g e p erso n al incom es are d e te rm in e d

acco rd in g to school p re p a ra tio n . It is in the n a tu re of the pro b lem th a t the d e te rm in a tio n o f classification s has to be c a rrie d out u n ifo rm ly for the e n tire c o u n try , a n d there for e th is task cann o t be left to w o rk collectives them selves.

A c c o rd in g ly th e e n tire p ro ce d u re w o u ld tec h n ic ally a p p e a r thus: those em plo y ed in an e n te rp rise w o u ld be d iv id e d into 8 q u alificatio n g ro u p s: u n sk ille d a n d w ith o u t school p re p a ra tio n , sem i-skilled an d lo w er school p re p a ra tio n , sk illed a n d in co m p lete seco n d ary education, h ig h ly sk illed a n d co m p leted se co n d ary edu catio n , post-seco n d ary schooling, h ig h e r ed ucatio n, m aste r a n d d octo rate. T h e increase o 559

personal incomes above the rise forecast by the social plan would be calculated according to each qualification group. Similarly the Yugoslav average of personal incomes for individual qualification groups would serve as the basis for taxation. The trade unions ought to carry out the categorization according to qualifications and determine the standard dispersions of calculated personal incomes, since one of their basic tasks is concern for just distribution.

In connection with what has just been stated the following important fact should be considered. Individuals will work better or worse than their qualification averages. In the enterprise, actual work and not a statistical average should be compensated, and accordingly the disposition to work positions and determination of pay scales remains exclusively in the competence of the workers' council. Cases are not rare, for example, of directors who are markedly organizationally talented and even with insufficient education achieve significant business successes. Such people will receive directors' incomes, and formal school preparation cannot play any sort of role in their compensation. Precisely because of that the proposed two fiscal measures do not represent taxes on the personal incomes of individuals, but are taxes on the surplus of the fund of personal incomes of the enterprise. The averages which serve as the basis for taxation realistically reflect work contributions on the average for they are founded on the factually realized incomes in our economy.

One of the difficulties of such an approach emerges from the very great differences in the economic development of individual regions. Personal incomes in Slovenia are significantly higher than in Macedonia, and accordingly would be taxed substantially more. That would not be resolved by dividing the entire country into a certain number of regions (probably into eight: six republics and two provinces) and determining the tax base in proportion to the costs of living. If the developed regions still paid greater tax, that tax could be used exclusively for contributing to the Fund for Development of the Underdeveloped Regions.

It would be essential for the Federal Bureau of Statistics to begin with gathering and publishing data on personal incomes by occupation or profession. Merely the publication of such data would exert influence on nequalizing the structure of pay scales in the country.

Finally, the distribution of income represents a permanent problem. Personal incomes not only influence prices, but depend on prices. Price disparities necessarily lead to disparities in personal incomes, which means the negation of the self-managed positions of work collectives. Consequently the Federal Price Bureau, as it has been conceived up to now, represents a foreign body in our system. And since it has been oriented toward price control, and not toward the causes which move prices, it also represents an institution technically mistakenly established. A Bureau for Prices and Incomes should be created and transformed from a state organ to a social arbitrator. In that way the Bureau will become an instrument of social agreement. A description of the technical functioning of such social arbitration does not fall in the framework of this article.

co m es fo r in d iv id u a l q u a lif ic a tio n g ro u p s w o u ld se rv e as th e b asis fo r ta x a tio n . T h e t r a d e u n io n s o u g h t to c a rry ou t th e c a te g o riz a tio n a c c o rd in g to q u a lific a tio n s a n d d e te rm in e th e s ta n d a r d d isp e rsio n s o f c a lc u la te d p e rs o n a l in co m es, sin ce o n e o f th e ir basic task s is c o n c ern fo r j u s t d istrib u tio n .

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P e rso n a l incom es n o t o n ly in flu e n c e p ric e s, b u t d e p e n d o n p rices.

Price d isp a ritie s n e c e s s a rily le a d to d is p a r itie s in p e rs o n a l in com es, w h ich m ea n s th e n e g a tio n o f th e s e lf -m a n a g e d p o sitio n s o f w o rk col lectives. C o n s e q u e n tly th e F e d e ra l P rice B u re a u , as it h a s b e e n c o n c eiv ed u p to no w , re p re s e n ts a f o re ig n b o d y in o u r sy stem . A n d sin ce it h as b een o rie n te d to w a rd p rice c o n tro l, a n d n o t to w a rd th e causes w h ich m ove prices, it also re p re s e n ts a n in s titu tio n te c h n ic a lly m is ta k e n ly e s ta b lish e d . A B u re a u fo r P rice s a n d In co m e s s h o u ld b e c re a ted a n d tra n s fo r m e d fro m a s ta te o r g a n to a so cial a r b itra to r. I n t h a t w a y th e B u re a u w ill b ecom e a n in s tr u m e n t o f so c ia l a g re e m e n t. A d e sc rip tio n of th e tec h n ic a l fu n c tio n in g o f su ch so cial a r b itra a tio n d o es n o t fa ll in th e fra m e w o rk o f th is a rtic le .

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Effects

At least nine different effects of the use of the proposed tax instruments can be expected:

- 1. Taxation of high payments for personal incomes and too rapid increase of nominal incomes will eliminate to a major extent the impulses which move the inflationary spiral.
- 2. In distribution of revenues to personal incomes and business funds, collectives will decide much more often than now to supplement funds, for the latter are retained by them in entirely (i. e., untaxed), while increased personal incomes mean a definite loss of a large part of income. Accordingly, self-financing of investment is stimulated.
- 3. Enterprises of above average profitability will use a much greater part of income for investment than has been the case up to now. Accelerated investment means accelerated increasing of supply in relation to demand. Saturation of demand leads to relative reduction of prices and elimination of excess profits. In that way an automatic corrective mechanism is built into the system which will constantly correct differences in personal incomes. Monopolies are broken up and investments are automatically directed to where demand is greatest.
- 4. Determination by trade unions of standard differentials in calculated pay scales according to qualifications will lead to formation of social norms which will act in the direction of arranging the distribution of income without any kind of administrative interventions.
- 5. For understandable reasons attempts up to now to improve the structure of qualifications in already filled job positions have had poor results. However, with introduction of progressive taxation, people with inadequate qualifications will become so expensive for the collective that hastening of the adjustment of the qualifications structure to job positions will occur. Here is an example. Let us assume that in some enterprise secondary and higher education are paid in the proportion of 1:2. In so far as a worker with secondary schooling works at a job for which higher education was foressen, he will cost the enterprise two monetary units (in so far as deductions because of inadequate preparation are not made). If a progressive tax is now introduced, the basis for taxation is 1, for that is the qualification group in which the worker falls. To the extent that the progression of the process is sufficiently steep so that, for example, the average rate falls out to be 66%, the worker can continue to receive personal income of two units if the enterprise spends a total of 4 (of which 2 represents the tax which amounts to $66^{\circ}/_{\circ}$ of 4-1=3). However, if the collective brings to the respective job position a worker with higher eudcation, that worker will cost only two monetary units. From the point of view of the collective it is obvious that it pays to place a more qualified worker who is besides half as expensive. A massive search for as highly qualified labor as possible will occur. A rapid rise in the qualification structure must lead to revolutionary changes in regard to the efficiency of business activity.

m ents can be expected: 1. T a x a tio n of high p aym ents for perso n al incom es an d too rap id increase of n o m in al incom es w ill elim in ate to a m ajo r ex ten t th e im pulses w hich m ove the in fla tio n a ry sp iral.

- 2. In d istrib u tio n of revenues to p ersonal incom es a n d business funds, collectives will decide m uch m ore often th a n now to su p p lem ent funds, fo r the la tte r a re reta in e d by them in en tirely (i. e., u n tax ed), w hile in creased p ersonal incom es m ean a d efin ite loss of a larg e p a rt of incom e. A cco rd in g ly , s e lf-fin an c in g of investm ent is stim u lated .
- 3. En terp rises of above a verage profita bility will use a much greater part of income for in vestment than has been the case up to now.

A c celerated in v estm en t m eans accelerated increasin g of su p p ly in re latio n to d em an d . S a tu ra tio n o f d em an d leads to rela tiv e red u ctio n of prices a n d elim in a tio n of excess pro fits. In th a t w ay a n autom atic c o rrectiv e m echanism is b u ilt into th e system w hich will con stan tly c orrect differen ces in p erso n al incom es. M onopolies a re b roken up a n d investm ents a re a u to m a tic a lly d ire c te d to w here d em an d is greatest.

- 4. Determination by trade unions of standard differentials in calculated pay scales according to qualifications will lead to formation of social norms which will act in the direction of arranging the distribution of income without any kind of admin istrative interventions.
- 5. For understandable reasons attempts up to now to improve the structure of qualifications in a lready filled job positions have had poor results. However, with introduction of progressive tax ation, people with in adequatequalifications will become so expensive for the collective that hasten in gof the adjustment of the qualifications structure to job positions will occur. Here is an example. Let us a ssume that in some enterprise secondary and highered ucationare paid in the proportion of 1:2. In sofar as aworker with secondary schooling works at a job for which highered ucation was foressen, he will cost the enterprise twomonetary units (in sofar as deductions because of in adequate preparation are not made). If a progressive tax is now in troduced, the basis for tax a tion is 1, for that is the qualification group in which the worker falls. To the extent that the progression of the process is su

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rep resen ts th e tax w hich am o u n ts to 6 6 % of 4 — 1 = 3) . How ever, if the collective b rin g s to the respective jo b position a work er w ith h igh er eudcation, that work er will cost only two monetary units. From the point of view of the collective it is obvious that it pays to place a more qualified work er who is besides half as expensive. A massive search for as highly qualified labor as possible will occur. A rapid rise in the qualification structure must lead to revolution ary changes in regard to the efficiency of business activity .

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- 6. The efect from point 5. will powerfully stimulate employees to increase their qualifications. And constant learning is an imperative of a modern economy. It is worthwhile adding, however, that it is also necessary to create much more favorable conditions for already employed people to attain higher qualifications than those which exist today. It will pay collectives to devote much more attention than until now to the education of their members.
- 7. Economic control of incomes will make possible the elimination of administrative control of prices including as well the various agreements which are now proposed. In that way the market will be able to operate more freely, equalizing of the conditions of economic activity will occur and there will be greater stability in the business activity of work collectives.
- 8. The tax on above average pay funds will partially absorb monopolistic and technological rent and thus reduce non-labor incomes and contribute to approaching distribution according to the results of work. Now it should be had in mind that this socialist principle can be realized more fully only on the basis of a complex and scientifically founded eocnomic policy.
- 9. Every positive result has its price. The price in this case is that an equal rate of tax is applied to both labor and non-labor incomes, i. e., on incomes which represent the result of more efficient work as well as on those which originate in various market and institutional monopolies. Selectivity in this respect can be attained only by scientifically founded building of the economic system. Injured collectives can be partially compensated by imposing a milder tax rate on the fund for common consumption. (This can be done without anything further, for spending of these funds does not influence prices.) But it is necessary to have in mind that the same possibility can be used also by collectives which are in a privileged position.

In conclusion we can assert that progresive taxation of the surplus of personal income funds would represent a significant step in the direction of a more rational economic organization. But that is only one step, behind which the others must follow.

The cited proposed program represents in fact only one outline – obviously not the only one possible – adequate for the beginning of work, but not for immediate action. Although it is based on research of several years, such a program can become operative only after the necessary quantifications of measures and the expected behaviour of economic subjects are carried out. That can be accomplished only by the team work of scholars and functionaries of the state administration.

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- 8. Above average pay funds will partially absorb monopolistic and technological rents and thus reduce non labor incomes and contribute to approaching distr ib u tio according to the results of work. Now it should be had in mind that this socialist principle can be realized more fully only on the basis of a complex and scientifically found deeocnom ic policy
- 9. E v e ry p o sitiv e re s u lt h a s its p ric e . T h e p ric e in th is case is t h a t a n e q u a l r a te o f ta x is a p p lie d to b o th la b o r a n d n o n la b o r in co m es, i. e., on incom es w h ic h r e p r e s e n t th e re s u lt o f m o re e ffic ie n t w o rk as w ell as on th o se w h ic h o r ig in a te in v a rio u s m a r k e t a n d in s titu tio n a l m o n o p o lies. S e le c tiv ity in th is re s p e c t c a n b e a tta in e d o n ly b y s c ie n tif ica lly f o u n d e d b u ild in g o f th e e c o n o m ic sy stem . I n ju r e d co lle c tiv e s can be p a r tia lly c o m p e n s a te d b y im p o s in g a m ild e r ta x r a t e o n th e fu n d fo r com m on c o n su m p tio n . (T h is c a n b e d o n e w ith o u t a n y th in g f u rth e r, fo r s p e n d in g o f th ese f u n d s do es n o t in flu e n c e p ric e s.) B u t it is n e c essa ry to h a v e in m in d t h a t th e s a m e p o s s ib ility c a n b e u s e d also b y co llectiv es w h ic h a re in a p r iv ile g e d p o sitio n .

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o b v io u sly n o t th e o n ly o n e p o ssib le - a d e q u a te f o r th e b e g in n in g o f w o rk, b u t n o t fo r im m e d ia te a c tio n . A lth o u g h it is b a s e d o n re s e a rc h o f se v e ra l y e a rs, su ch a p ro

g ra m c a n b e c o m e o p e ra tiv e o n ly a f te r th e n e c essa ry q u a n tific a tio n s o f m e a s u re s a n d th e e x p e c te d b e h a v io u r o f eco n o m ic su b je c ts a re c a rr ie d ou t. T h a t c a n b e a c c o m p lis h e d o n ly b y th e te a m w o rk o f sc h o la rs a n d fu n c tio n a rie s o f th e s ta te a d m in is tra tio n.

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WARUM UND ZU WELCHEM ENDE DIE MEISTEN GROSSEN PHILOSOPHEN NICHT, NOCH NICHT MATERIALISTEN WAREN

Ernst Bloch

Tübingen

Besonders falsch hier, über einen Kamm zu scheren. Es geht bekanntlich nicht an, so allgemein und schlechthin zu sagen: der Russe säuft, der Schotte spart, der Deutsche trinkt Kaffee und liest dabei Bücher. Oder im hier behandelten Feld: der Stoff ist ein Klotz und alles besteht aus ihm, es gibt nichts anderes, wie aber, so wurde gefragt, wie kann bereits eine Raupe nur aus dem toten Stoff herkommen oder gar ein Gedanke? Der Stein läuft, gar denkt doch nicht und noch das Gehirn, es ist doch bestenfalls nur ein Instrument und eines, das sich nicht selber spielt, sondern der Geist in uns muß es erst anschlagen und das Seine darauf tönen lassen. All das scheint nicht ganz unverständig, nur eben: es setzt ein sozusagen dauernd niederes Klischee von Materie voraus, im ungeschieden allgemeinsten Sinn. Worin dann die Raupe und gar das sogenannt Höhere, indem es aus dem Begriff des Stoffs von vornherein ausgefallen ist, keinen Platz hat. Dergleichen aber ist Vergötzung eines vorgefaßt Allgemeinen nach unten, wonach dann wirklich alles mechanisch herzugehen scheint und darin beschlossen bleibt. Der vulgäre Materialist hat hierbei freilich nicht den Klugen auf seiner Seite: der Stoff ist pluralistischer als die Simpeleien aus einem Guß, aus egal gleichem Gußeisen. Weshalb gerade Engels, nur scheinbar unerwarteter Weise, dem billigen Generalnenner recht nominalistisch entgegnet: Es gebe ebensowenig eine allgemeine Materie wie es Obst gibt, es gebe aber Apfel, Birnen, Trauben und so fort.

Materie ist also nach ihren mehrfachen Daseinsformen gefächert, entwicklungsgeschichtlich differenziert. Den mechanischen Boden gibt es durchaus, doch dann zeichnet Engels in seiner »Dialektik der Natur« sehr gesondert unterbrechende, durchbrechende »starting points«

WARUMUNDZUWELCHEMENDESTENGROSSEN

P H IL O S O P H E N N IG H T , N O C H N I C H T M A T E R IA L IS T E N

WAREN

E rn st Bloch

T u b in g and

Particularly wrong here to lump together. As you know, it's not good to say in general and badly: the Russian drinks, the Scot saves, the German drinks coffee and reads Books. Or in the field treated here: the substance is a block and everything consists of it, there is nothing else, but how, that was asked , how can a caterpillar come out of the dead stuff?

m en o d e r g a r g a r a t h e g a n k e ? The stone runs, g a r d n o t t h e n t and still the secret, it is at best only an in stru m e n t and one that doesn t play itself, but the spirit inside it must first come to us -

hit and let it sound like it's there. All of that doesn't seem entirely unintelligible, just: it presupposes, so to speak, a permanently low cliché of matter, in the undivided, general sense. Wherein then the caterpillar and g a r the so-called high one, in that it has fallen out of the concept of matter from the outset, has no place.

The same but is the idolatry of a preconceived general downward, after which everything really seems to be mechanical and therein remains decided. Of course, the vulgar material list does not have the clever one on his side: the material is more plu ralistic than the simplistic things from a cast iron, made of the same cast iron. Why did Engels, in a mere unexpected way, reply to the cheap general rightly n o m in alistically: There is just as little a general one M a te ry like there is fruit, but there are apples, pears, grapes

b en u n d so forth.

M a te rie is also n a c h h e r e n m e h r e f a c t e d design sform en g efach ert, entw ick lung sg esch ich tlich d iffe re n z ie rt. The mech anischen Boden is given by the house, but then by Engels in his » Dialectics of Nature « sehr gessondert unterb rechende , durch brechende » starting points«

zu sehr sich differenzierenden Sonderungen und neuen Schichten materieller Art. Zu Pflanzen, Tieren, zu Menschwerdung durch Arbeit zu ökonomischem Unterbau, zu politisch-kulturellem Überbau; wobei letzterer den Unterbau keineswegs nur mehr oder minder trübe reflektiert, sondern gegebenenfalls, mit Kraft und Stoff per se, sogar aktiviert. Ja für Marx (in dem »Okonomisch-philosophischen Manuskripten«) ist der gesamte »Unterbau« Natur, als die von den Menschen bis jetzt noch unabhängige, welche nicht nur vorhistorisch unter uns liegt, sondern uns in kosmischer Ausbreitung umfaßt und überwölbt, ein posthistorisches und so eigenes, letztes Gebiet, in das »kultureller Überbau« höchst futurisch noch eingreifen könnte. Marx spricht von »Humanisierung der Natur«, sogar von »Resurrektion der Natur« zu einer ganz anders materiellen, mit »naturalisiertem Menschen« in sich. Dies führte im weiteren nicht zu irgendwelcher Aufgebung eines durchgängigen, gemeinsamen Diesseitsbegriffs Materie, gar zu transzendenten Hypostasen. Vielmehr bleibt als Einheit in allen Differenzierungen und Daseinsformen der Materie und so auch des Materialismus die Immanenz, obzwar mit Ultra-Violett darin. »Materialismus«, sagt Engels, »ist Erklärung der Welt aus sich selbst«. Und das gilt selbstverständlich zwischen allen recht unterschiedlichen materialistischen Lehren selber, mechanistischen, hylozoistischen, gar dialektischen. Durch diese Einheit ist ja vor allem die Dialektik, die Platons wie gar die Hegels, am wenigsten ein Mädchen aus der Fremde geblieben, ein nur menschenhaft-dialogisches Wesen, gar ein einzig logoshaftes. Die so scheinbar aus Multiversem stammende Verbindung Dialektik-Materie erwies sich statt dessen im dialektischen Materialismus gerade als höchst uni-versushaft, universal. Mit der bloßen Einheit des über den Kamm Geschorenen freilich wären genau die Sonderfälle und Variabilitäten auch im Dialektischen nicht entdeckbar gewesen. Wie wenig erst so scheinbar Entgegengesetztes wie der speziell und diesseitig entzaubernde Blick des Marxismus und dann wieder im echten Marxismus, das Umfassende der universalen Perspektiven. Der Blick aufs Einzelne läßt also überall aufhorchen. Indem er nämlich für dasjenige empfindlich macht, was aus dem meist allzu schön und allzu groß gemachten Rahmen herausfallen läßt. Ein mechanistischer Blick auf solches Nebenbei und seine Instanzen wird das treilich noch mehr auslassen müssen als die idealistischen, ohnehin hochschwebenden Geistaufnahmen; ist er doch auf den Klotz vereidigt. Wie sollte derart das Bunte, das qualitativ so Vielartige, diese so störende wie befördernde Finesse, ja gar das nach vorn Offenräumige der Welt bemerkt werden? Man hat den sonderbaren Fall, den ebenso verblüffenden, wie unausgewerteten, daß fast alle bisherigen großen Philosophen Idealisten waren. Und diese überwiegende Geistesbeziehung wird durch das Metier des Denkens, auch durch den oft erzwungenen, oft vornehm selbst erwählten Elfenbeinturm nicht allein erklärt. Ja nicht einmal mit dem sozialen Auftrag, den die jeweils herrschende Klasse an ihre Denker ergehen ließ, die mangels marxistischdetektivischer oder auch nur macchiavellistischer Schulung diesen Auftrag nicht durchschauten. Sondern die geringe Affinität zum Materialismus erklärt sich vorab auch aus der Gefahr, worin dieser in

newlayesraa-

te r ie ller A r t. F r o m P fla n z e n , Tieren , to M e n s h w e r d u n g d u r c h A r b e it to e c o n o m ischem Unterbau , to p o litis ch-cultural lle m Uberbau ; w obei le tz te re r d e n Unterb a u k ein esweg s n u r m e h r o d e r m i n d e r tribe re flek -

tie rt, s o n d e rn g e g e b e n e n fa lls , m it K r a f t u n d S to ff p e r se, s o g a r a k ti-v ie rt. J a fiir M a rx (in d e m » U k o n o m isc h - p h ilo s o p h is c h e n M a n u s k rip -

ten «) ist derge sam te» Un terbau«Natur, als dievonden Menschenbis jetztnoch unabhangige, welchenicht nurvorh is toris chunteruns liegt, sondern uns in kosmischer Ausbreitung umfafit undiiberwolbt, einposthistorisches undsoeigenes, letztes Gebiet, indas» kultureller Uberbau«hochst futurischnocheingreifenkonnte. Marxsprichtvon

» H u m a n is ie ru n g d e r N a tu r«, s o g a r v o n » R e s u rre k tio n d e r N a tu r « zu e in e r g a n z a n d e rs m a te rie lle n, m it » n a tu r a lis ie r te m M e n sc h e n « in sich.

D ies fiih rte im w e ite re n n ich t zu irge nd welch e r Aufgebungein es d u rc h g a n g i g e n , g e m e n a m e Dies se its be griffs M a te rie , g a r zu t r a n s -

z e n d e n te n H y p o s ta se n . V ie lm e h r b le ib t a ls E in h e it in a lie n D if fe r e n -

z ie ru n g e n u n d D a s e in s f o r m e n d e r M a t e r i e a n d so a u c h des M a t e r i a l s m u s i e m a n e n z , o b z w a r m i t U l t r a-Violet darin. " M a t e r i a l ism ," said Engels, " explains the Wealth itself. U n d d a s gilt s e lb s tvers tand lich z s h i c h e n a l e n r e c t u n t e r s c h i e d lichen m a t eria -

listisc h e n L e h r e n se lb e r, m e c h a n istisc h e n , h y lo zo istisc h en , g a r d ia le k -

tisch and D u rc h d i e i n h e i t ist j o r a l l m d i e d i a l e c t i c , the Plato n follows Hegels, and sometimes in Madchenaus der Fremdege -

b lieb en , e in n u r m e n s c h e n h a ft-d ia lo g is c h e s W e se n , g a r e in e in z ig lo -

g o sh a fte s. D ie so s c h e in b a r a u s M u l t i v e r s e m s t a m m e n d e Verb i n d u n g Dialectical - Material thus begins with the name of the dialectical Mate realism mus geradeals hoch stone-versus shaft, universal. M i t d e r b l o f t e n E in h e it de iiber d e n Kamm Geschorenen fre ilic w a r e n g e n a u d ie S o n -

d e r f a l l e u n d V a r i a b ilita te n a u chim Dia le ctis ch e n n i c h tent deck b a r gewesen W h e n i g e rst so s c h e in bar Entgegenge s e tz te s w i e d e r s p e -

ziell u n d d iesse itig e n tz a u b e rn d e B lick des M a rx is m u s u n d d a n n w ie d e r im e c h te n M a rx is m u s , d a s U m f a s s e n d e d e r u n iv e r s a le n P e rsp e k -

tiv e n D e r B lick aufs E in z e lne la fit a lso iib e ra l a u f h o r c h e n I n d e m e r n a m lich fiir da s je n i g e e m p f i n d l i ch m a ch t, w a s aus d e m meistallz u scho n d a llz u grolS gemachten R a h m e n h e r a u s fa llen lafit. E in m e-chan istischer B lick auf solches Ne b e n be i n d se in e in stanzen wird das freilich noch mehraus lassen miissen als die ide alist ch e n , o h n e h i n h o c h s h e b e n d en G e is ta u f n a h m e n ; i s e r d o c h a u f d e n Klotz v e r e i d i g t.

W ie so lite de r a r t of the B u n te , of the qualitative so V ie lartige , d iese so sto -

rendewiebeforderndeFisse, jagardasnachorn OffenraumigederWeltbemerktwerden? Manhatd ensounderbarenFall, it was such a verb liiffenden, whi chwewewared, thatfastalbisherigengrofenPhi losophen Idealistwaren. Unddiesservices Geistesbe zie-

h u n g w ird d u rc h d a s M e tie r des D e n k e n s, a u c h d u r c h d e n o ft e rz w u n -

g e n e n , oft vorne h m self s t e r w a lten Elfen be in turm nich talle iner-klar t. J a n ich t e in m a l m i t d e m so z ia le n Auftrag , d e n d e je w e ils h e r r s ch e n d e C l a s s e n h e r D e n k e r e r g e h e n liefi, the angels m a rx istisch -

de te c t i v i c h e r o d e r a u c h n u r m a c h i a v ellis tischer Sch u lung diese n Auf t r a g n i c h t d u r ch s ch a uten S o n d e r n d i e g e r i n g e Affinity from Materialism uses clarity in the hands of Gefahr, wrote in 564

Ansehung des Niveaus steht, aus seiner mechanistischen Gefahr, ins Decrescendo des Wurmisierens, des intellektuellen Verlustes, der All-Banalität abzugleiten. Bis hin zu Moleschotts Satz: »Wie das Bein seine Gehmuskeln hat das Gehirn seine Denkmuskeln, und wie der Urin eine Ausscheidung der Nieren so ist der Gedanke nichts anderes als eine Ausscheidung des Gehirns«. Oder bis zu dem Satz selbst Kautskys, dem mindestens an Zwischengliedern armen, an Horizont nicht reicheren: »So ist die Reformation nichts anderes als der ideologische Ausdruck tiefgehender Veränderungen auf dem damaligen europäischen Wollmarkt«. Derlei und Verwandtes ist gewiß nicht mehr Aufklärung, eher wie Lessing sagte, »Aufkläricht«, ja wie Engels ergänzte: »Abspülicht vom Aufkläricht«; vor Tische als man bei Demokrit gewiß anders. Doch die Gefahr dazu, mit und besser ohne die sogenannte »Dialektik der Aufklärung« ist etwas auch bei den Originalen des bisherigen Materialismus, sofern man dort sein Decrescendo nicht durch völlige Unverwechselbarkeit versiegelt hat. Wie sollten derart bedeutende idealistische Philosophen bei so mißverstandenen und so leicht entstellbarem Materialismus in die Schule gehen; und zwar unverstiegen, doch grenzte mehr an Plattitüde als an die Gärten des Epikur. Die verblüffend starke Idealismus-Vertretung in der bisherigen Philosophiegeschichte erklärt sich letzthin noch durch den kurzen Atem der Begriffe im gehabten Materialismus, durch dessen aussperrende Engräumigkeit der Inhalte. Jedoch weiter auch das anders Verblüffende, wenig Verblüffende darf nicht übersehen werden: gerade die großen Philosophen wie Aristoteles, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Schelling, Hegel finden sich im Einzelnen wie im Ganzen durchaus kryptomaterialistischeZüge; auch hätte sich speziell Hegel ohne diese nicht so mannigfach vom Kopf auf die marxistischen Füße stellen lassen. Und das nicht nur in der Dialektik sondern mit Maßen auch in der Asthetik, selbst in der Religionsphilosophie, woraus immerhin noch Feuerbach und der junge Marx seinen Brennpunkt materialistischer Geschichtsphilosophie ermittelt haben, nämlich den geschehenen und zurücknehmenden Akt der Selbstentfremdung. Ja nun die Hauptsachen, die besondere Rolle der großen Idealisten im materialistischen Erbe betreffend; ihnen war nicht wie den Materialisten die Materie eine ausgemachte Sache, sondern eine Verlegenheit, zum Denken auffordernd, ob auch oft eingekleidet in gebliebene Verlegenheit, zum Denken auffordernd, ob auch oft eingekleidet in gebliebene Verlegenheit oder nur durch Beschimpfung abgewehrt. So wie umgekehrt den Materialisten der Geist keine ausgemachte Sache war, sondern eine Verlegenheit, zum Denken auffordernd, wiederum oft eingekleidet in gebliebene Verlegenheit oder unbedeutend gemacht durch Reduktion auf Geschlechtstrieb, Profittrieb, also unidealistischen Treibstoff. Infolgedessen ließ sich bei Materialisten, bei Freud auf privatem, bei Marx aus sozial-objektiven Gebiet, entscheidend besser als bei Idealisten lernen, was Geist ist; umgekehrt läßt auch bei Aristoteles vor allem lernen, was Materie ist, gerade auch ohne physische Begrenzung, entwicklungsgeschichtlich. Überdies, wenn es viel weniger große Materialisten als große Idealisten in der Philosophiegeschichte gegeben hat, so steht doch immerhin Materialismus, hylozoistischer am Anfang

A n view of the level is about to slip out of its mechanistic danger, into the d ecrescendo of worming, of intellectual loss, of the all-banalita t. Right down to Moleschott's sentence: »Like the leg has its

musculature, the brain has its musculature, and like the urine is an excretion of the kidneys, so is the mind k e nothing but an excretion of the brain«. Or up to Kautsky's own sentence, which is at least poor in terms of intermediate links but not rich in terms of horizon: "So the Refo rm atio n is nothing else than the ideological expres sion o f th e d ee sting c h a n g e s o n the European w o ll m ark t of th e am alig cn« . Things and relatives are certainly no longer enlightened, rather like Lessing said, »Enlightened«, yes, as Engels added: »Replays of the Aufk larich t"; before table than man at D cm okrit witt differently. But the danger of this, with and better without the so-called »dialectic of the Enlightenment« is something even with the originals of previous materialism, so far man there his d ecrescendo has not been sealed by complete unmistakability. How should the rat mean the idealistic philo soph s at so m ifiv cn and so easily go to school in de velopable m aterialism; and we are -

extravagant, but bordered more on platitiide than on the gardens of Epicurus. The astonishingly strong representation of idealism in the history of philo sophy to date is explained by the short breath of the terms in the spoken word M aterialism, due to the locking out narrowness of the content. However, the other astounding, little leftovers must not be overlooked: especially the great philosophers such as A ristoteles, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Schelling, H egel can be found both in detail and as a whole in crypto-m aterialistic terms; Also, Hegel in particular would have allowed himself to be put on the m arxist feet without this not so man n ig faculty. And that not only in dialectics, but with M afien also in aesthetics, even in the philosophy of religion, from which still F e u e rbach and d e n d e n g M a rx his B ren n p u n k t m a te ria listic philosophy of history, namely the happened and taking back act of the self alienation. JANUARY THE MAJOR THINGS CONCERNING THE SPECIAL ROLE OF THE GREAT IDEA LISTS IN THE MATRIALISTIC HERITAGE; To them, m a tery w as not a settled thing like the m a te ria lists, but an embarrassment, provoking to think, albeit often a g e C h o d e s in remaining embarrassment, C h a y th o u n g, whether c lo d e d in remaining embarrassment or just by scolding n gave o f gun n ed. Just as, conversely, to the ma terialists, the mind w as not a thing settled, but an embarrassment, provoking thought, again erum oft c o d e d in remnant embarrassment o r i nsignificant m e d thru r eduction to sex , pro fit, i e n o n idealistic fuel. As a result, eating with ma te rialists , with F re u d on p riv atem, with M arx from a so c ia l-o b je c tiv e area, you can learn decisively better than with idealists, what G ice is; Conversely, with Aristotle, too, one can above all learn what matter is, precisely without physical limitations, in terms of developmental

history. Moreover, if there have been far fewer great materialists than great idealists in the history of philosophy, there is always more in materialism, more hylozoistic arn beginning 565

ihrer vom befruchtenden Wasser des Thales bis zum Nus, der als Denkstoff gedacht wurde bei Anaxagoras. So sind die sogenannten vorsokratischen Philosophen doch fast schon immer materialistisch lehrreich gewesen und wie ist es erst Aristoteles als »idealistischer« Stoffdenker, wenn er wie zu sehen sein wird, eine »objektiv-reale Möglichkeit«, ein »dynamai on« und die alle Formen gebärende offene Materie zum ersten Mal zusammenbringt. Darum nach der Durchlaufung des ersten Kursus das materialistisch so wichtige Universalienproblem betreffend, wird genau das folgende zweite Kursus die bekannten wie vor allem die unbekannteren Materiebegriffe der Philosophen behandeln; sporadisch, mindestens wie Wetterleuchten geht darin eine nicht in den Klotz oder selbst auch in ein bloßes elektromagnetisches Feld geschlossene Materie auf. Selbst die mythische mater ist in der materia zuweilen noch nicht vergessen, so wenig wie andererseits Spinoza hernach, gegen alle mechanische Begrenzung, die Cogitatio neben der Extensio als einer der unendlichen Attribute seiner natura sive deus, substantia sive deus ausgelassen hat. Vorbereitet wurde bei all diesen jedenfalls ein nicht mechanistischer Materieblick und ein neuer Topos Materie; - er wird nun - offen für das viele Überscheue unterwegs, für das Chiffrenhafte an den Gestalten als Auszugsgestalten fürs Utopikum in der Welt, ja schließlich fürs Realproblem des Überhaupt, für die fast schlechthin ausstehende Materie der »letzten Dinge«. Diese wäre das noch überall ausstehende Substrat eines Gehaltes, den nicht Rost noch Motten fressen: Sie wäre also weder gedanklicher Dunst noch bestünde sie objekthaft aus bloßem sogenannten Urnebel, wie gehabt, sie war stets gemeint als Sein wie Utopie. Einer, die weder gedanklicher Dunst noch objekthaft aus bloßem sogenannten Urnebel, wie gehabt, zu bestehen hätte.

ih re r v o m b e fru c h ten d e n W a s s e r des Thales bis zu m N u s, d e r a l s D e n k s t o f g e d a c h t w e r e bei Anaxagoras. So sin d die s o g e n a n n t e n v o rso k r a t i s h e n P h i l o so p h e n d o ch fa s t s c h o n i m e m e r m a t e r i a l s t i s c h e r e r i c h ge w e sen u n d w ie ist es e r st Aristo te le sa ls » idealis tis c h e r«

S to ffden k e r, w h e n he went to see his wird, his » objective-real M o g lich k e it « , his » dynamic « u n d d ie alle F o r m e n g e b a r e n d e offene M ate rie zum e rs te n Maize brings together. F u r t h e r D u r c h -

la u f u n g des e rs te n K u rsu s d a s m a te ria lis tis c h so w ic h tig e U n iv e rs a -

lie n p ro b l e m b e tre ffe n d, w i r d g e n a u d a s f o l g e n d e s w e i t e K u r s u s d i e b e c a n n t e n t i n v i e v o r a l l e m d i u n b e c a n n t e r n M a t e r i e b e griffe d e r P h i l o so p h e n b e h a n d e l n; s p o r a d is c h, m e n d e s t e n s w i e W etterle u ch t e n g e h t within e n i c h t i n d Klotz oder self staunching in blofies electro-

m ag n e tisc h e s F e ld g e sch lo ssen e M a te r ie a u f. S e lb st d ie m y th isc h e m a te r ist in d e r m a te ria z u w e ile n n o c h n ic h t v e rg e sse n , so w e n ig w ie a n d e re rs e its S p in o z a h e rn a c h , g e g e n a lle m e c h a n isc h e B e g re n zu n g , d ie C o g ita tio n e b e n d e r E x te n sio a ls e in e r d e r u n e n d lic h e n A ttr ib u te s e in e r n a tu r a siv e deu s, s u b s ta n tia s iv e d e u s a u s g e la s se n h a t. V o rb e re ite t w u rd e bei a ll d iese n je d e n f a lls e in n ic h t m e c h a n istisc h e r M a te rie b lic k u n d e in n e u e r T o p o s M a te r ie ; - e r w ir d n u n - o f fe n fiir d a s v ie le O b e rsc h eu e u n te rw e g s , fiir d a s C h if f r e n h a f te a n d e n G e s ta lte n als A u s z u g s g e s ta lte n fiirs U to p ik u m in d e r W e lt, j a s c h lie fllic h fiirs R e a l-p ro b le m des O b e r h a u p t, fiir d ie fa s t s c h le c h th in a u s ste h e n d e M a te r ie d e r » letz te n D in g e « . D ie se w a r e d a s n o c h iib e ra ll a u s ste h e n d e S u b

s tratein es Gehaltes , Denmark Rostnoch Motten Fressen ; S ie w a r e also w e d e r g e d a n c l i c h e r D u n s t n o c h b e s t i n d e sie o b j e k th a f a u s b l o -

fiem s o g e n a n n te n U r n e b e l, w ie g e h a b t, sie w a r ste ts g e m e in t a ls S e in w ie U to p ie . E in e r, d ie w e d e r g e d a n k lic h e r D u n s t n o c h o b je k th a ft au s blofiem s o g e n a n n te n U rn e b e l, w ie g e h a b t, zu b e s te h e n h a tte .

PORTRAITS ET SITUATIONS

GOLDMANN VIVANT

Jean-Michel Palmier

Paris

Goldmann vivant, cette étude n'aurait eu aucun sens. Il n'aurait pas aimé que l'on résume en quelques pages sa démarche si rigoureuse, que l'on simplifie en quelques lignes des questions qu'il avait posées toute sa vie, que l'on présente comme certitudes des hypothèses de travail qu'il n'avait pas eu le temps de vérifier. Ecrite après sa mort, cette étude n'est sans doute pas plus justifiée. Pour ses élèves et pour ses camarades, pour tous ceux qui étaient familiers de ces longues discussions dans les cafés du Quartier Latin où dans les rues étroites de l'île de Korçula, en Yougoslavie, où se tenait ce Congrès des marxistes des pays socialistes et des pays occidentaux, auquel il participait chaque année avec le même enthousiasme, c'est un homme toujours vivant qui s'adressera à nous à travers ses écrits. L'œuvre d'un penseur marxiste ne s'achève jamais avec sa mort et Goldmann qui, prolongeant ses travaux, que nous pouvons encore insuffler à ses de recherches collectif ne cessera de vivre parmi nous. Aussi est-ce en prolongeant ses travaux, que nous pouvons encore insuffler à ces écrits une nouvelle vie. Le but de ce court essai ne saurait donc être de proposer une vue exhaustive de l'œuvre de Goldmann, mais d'en souligner la complexité, la diversité parfois même les contradictions et les apories. Il s'agit en quelque sorte de lui poser de nouvelles questions, en sachant bien toutefois qu'il n'y répondra jamais plus.

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Une approche synthétique de l'œuvre de Goldmann présente de nombreuses difficultés théoriques. Si la sociologie de la littérature fut son souci constant, elle ne fut pas sa seule préoccupation et son œuvre frappe d'abord par son étonnante diversité. On ne saurait limiter son apport théorique à une discipline quelconque, aussi vaste soit elle – philosophie-sociologie de l'art et de la littérature-esthétique-épistémologie des sciences humaines-critique littéraire – même s'il est

PORTRAITS AND SITUATIONS

GOLDMANNVIVANT

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G o ld m an n alive, this study would have had no meaning. He would not have liked us to summarize his rigorous approach in a few pages, to simplify in a few lines the questions he had asked all his life, Your present as certain working hypotheses that he did not have time to verify. W ritten after his death, this study is no doubt no longer justified. For his pupils and for his comrades, for all those who were familiar with these long discussions in the cafes of the Latin Quarter or in the narrow streets of the island from K o rču la, in Y ugoslavia, where the Congress of M a rxists from Socialist and Western Countries was held, in which he took part every year with the same enthusiasm, he is a still living man who will address us through his merits. The work of a M arxist thinker never ends with his death and G o ld m an n who, prolonging his work, that we can still breathe life into his ideas collective research will never cease to live among us. Also, it is by extending his work that we can still breathe new life into these writings. The aim of this short essay cannot therefore be to offer an ex h au stiv e view of the work of G o ld m an n, but to highlight its com plexity, d iv ersity sometimes even con trad iction s and aporias. In a way, it is a question of asking him new questions, knowing well, however, that it will never be answered again.

A sy n th £ tiq u e approach to Goldman's work, which includes many theoretical works. If the sociology of literature was his constant concern, it was not his only preoccupation and his work stands out for its amazing diversity. One should not limit its theoretical contribution to any discipline, however vast it may be - philosophy, sociology of art and literature - e sth 6 tiq u e-ćpistem ologie des sciences h u m main e s-c ritiq u littê ra ire - m em e s il est 567

impossible aujourd'hui de s'attacher à ces recherches, sans tenir compte de ses travaux et des résultats décisifs qu'ils ont apportés. Comme son maître Lukàcs, Goldmann brisait tous les genres avec une facilité déconcertante. Par ailleurs, le genre même que pratiquait Goldmann: l'essai, la communication, le résumé de recherches, souvent brefs et condensés, ne cesse de poser des problèmes d'interprétation. Privés de leur contexte précis, il est souvent difficile de savoir exactement à quelle question particulière ces textes se rattachent.2 Enfin, sa mort nous a privé de l'indispensable ouvrage théorique qui aurait donné un sens véritable à tous ces essais. Dès lors, où découvrir cette insaisissable unité? Comment réunir dans une même problématique des essais sur la vision tragique de Pascal, les romans de Malraux, le théâtre de Genet, la peinture de Chagall, l'Ecole de Francfort et le socialisme yougoslave? Certains ont voulu découvrir l'unité de cette œuvre au niveau de sa cohérence conceptuelle et de sa méthode. Et il est vrai, que nul plus que Goldmann n'a tenté de donner à la critique marxiste un statut rigoureux et scientifique. D'autres ont cherché l'unité de cette œuvre dans l'une de ses préoccupations essentielles: l'esthétique, la sociologie de la littérature, la critique littéraire. De telles tentatives sont sans doute justifiées mais elles dédaignent malheureusement une grande partie des derniers textes – politiques – de Goldmann qui échappent à ces recherches esthétiques pour tenter d'embrasser l'ensemble des phénomènes sociaux culturels, qu'il s'agisse de l'intégration profonde de la classe ouvrière au système capitaliste, du rôle de l'autogestion dans la transformation des structures sociales, ou encore du socialisme yougoslave. A ne voir en Goldmann que le sociologue de la littérature on risque de méconnaître les questions politiques qui, à notre avis,3 lui semblaient ces dernières années les plus essentielles.

Aussi, cette unité de l'œuvre de Goldmann la rechercherons-nous au niveau de l'interprétation marxiste elle-même. Goldmann était marxiste et c'est à partir du marxisme qu'il s'est compris et qu'il faut comprendre son œuvre: c'est là une vérité banale, qui mérite souvent d'être rappelée. Farouchement anti-dogmatique, formé par le Lukàcs d'Histoire et Conscience des classes, Goldmann fut sans doute l'un de ceux qui firent le plus pour ouvrir aux recherches marxistes de nouveaux horizons. Aussi, ne saurait-on aborder son œuvre avec sérieux

¹ Dans son étude sur: "L'esthétique du jeune Lukàcs" Goldmann remarque à juste titre au sujet du genre même de l'essai: "l'essai, en revanche, est précisément unc forme d'expression qui pose plutôt des questions qu'elle n'apporte des réponses et qui, surtout, lorsqu'il s'agit de ses dernières, les esquisse plutôt qu'elle ne les affirme« (M. S. page 230).

² Il faut regretter aussi l'absence d'indications chronologiques dans son dernier recueil d'essais, paru peu de temps après sa mort: »Marxisme et Sciences humaines« (Idées 1970). Dans la plupart de ces textes – Essais et Conférences – Goldmann précise sa pensée en fonction d'une question particulière (Sujet du colloque ou du congrès) aussi est-il particulièrement difficile de comprendre l'importance de ses prises d'oppositions lorsqu'on en ignore l'objet.

³ Ce jugement s'appuie non seulement sur les derniers textes politiques de Goldmann (M. S.) mais aussi sur une série de discussions personnelles lors du dernier colloque sur Hegel organisé par l'Ecole de Korçula.

C o m m e son M a itre Lukacs, Goldman brings it to us that genres have a unique concert facility. P a r a i l u r s , legends that practice Gold m a n n : the essay,1 the communication, the summary of research, often briefs and condenses , it is necessary to pose the problems $\hat{}$ 'interpretation. Deprived of their precise context, it is often difficult to know exactly which partic ular questions are attached to these texts.2 E n -

fin , sa m ort nous a deprive d e l 'in d is p e n s a b l e o u v r a g e t h e o r i c u e w h i c h a u r it gives a veritable sense to these essays. T h e r e f o r e , o u d e c o u v e this in sa isissa b le u n ite? C o m m e n t r e u n e d in the same problem as Pascal's essays on tragic vision, the romances of Malraux, the theater of Genet, the painting of C h a g a ll, The Frankfort School and Your Slavic Socialism? C e r t a i n s o n t v o u l u d e co u v i r P u n i t e d e c e tte oeuvre a u n i v e a u de sa coherence c o n c e p t u e l e t h e same method. It is true, however, that Goldmann did not attempt to give Marxist criticism a scientifically valid status. D ' o t h e r s o n t c h e rc h e P u n i t e d this work in one of these sentimental preoccupations: aesthetics, the sociology of literature, criticism litte r a r e T h e s u c h te n t a t i v e s undoubtedly justifi e s m a y s t h e d a i g n e n t m a l h e u r e u -

seems to be a large part of Goldman's recent texts - politics - which chapters research s p o r t e n t s o f e m b r a s -

be a semblance of socio-cultural phenomena. it is the result of the profound integration of class ou vrie re into the capitalist system, through self-management and trans format ion social s tructures, or even reducing Ugoslav socia lism. A n o t h e r G o l d m a n n that the sociologist of literature risks addressing political questions that, on the other hand,3 seem to be the latter lu s essence tielles.

A ussi, c e tte u n ite d e l'ceuvre d e G o ld m a n n la r e c h e rc h e ro n s -n o u s au n iv e a u d e I n t e r p r e t a t i o n m a r x is te e lle -m e m e . G o ld m a n n e ta it m a rx iste e t c'est a p a r t i r d u m a rx ism e q u 'il s'est c o m p ris e t q u 'il f a u t c o m p re n d re son oeuvre: c'est la u n e v e rite b a n a le , q u i m e rite so u v e n t d 'e tre ra p p e le e . F a ro u c h e m e n t a n ti- d o g m a tiq u e , fo rm e p a r le L u k a c s d 'H is to ir e et C o n scien ce d e s cla sses, G o ld m a n n f u t sa n s d o u te l 'u n d e ceux qui f ir e n t le p lu s p o u r o u v r ir a u x re c h e rc h e s m a rx iste s d e n o u -

v e a u x h o rizon s. A u ssi, n e s a u r a it- o n a b o rd e r so n oeuvre a v e c s e rie u x 1 D a n s son e tu d e

su r: » V e s th e tiq u e d u j e u n e L u k a c s « Goldman noticed just the title of the subject of the essay: » the essay, in reverse, it is a form of expression that poses rather than questions to which it provides answers and which, above all, when it s'a g it de ses d e rn ie re s , the sketches rather than the ones they affirm « (M . S. p a g e 230;.

2 II f au t re g r e tte r a ussi l 'a b sen ce d 'in d ic a tio n s ch ro n o lo g iq u e s d a n s so n d e rn ie r recu eil d essais, p a r u p eu d e tem p s a p rè s sa m o rt: » M a r x is m e e t S c ien ces h u m a in e s «

(Ideas 1970). In most of these texts - Essays and Conferences - Goldman explains his thought and function of a particular question (Subject of the discussion ou d u congr ess) a s i s p a r t i c u l i& rcm en t d iff ic ile of c o m p r a n d e r i n g t h e i m p o r t a n c e o f t h e s p r i s e s d o p p o s i t i o n s w h e n i n ign o r l 'o b je t.

* C e judgments are based not only on the recent texts of Goldmann's (M . S.) politics but also on a series of personal discussions lle s lo rs d u d e r n i e r colloqu e s u r H e g e l o r g a n i s p a r l 'E c o l e d e K o ^ u la

sans lui appliquer la méthode même qu'il n'a cessée d'enrichir et de développer: l'interprétation génétique et dialectique. Dans cette étude, je me limiterai volontairement à trois grands axes de sa pensée:

- la recherche concrète de structures significatives dans les œuvres littéraires,
- les fondements théoriques d'une approche dialectique et génétique en sociologie de la littérature,
- l'analyse marxiste des phénomènes politiques contemporains et la redéfinition de la transition vers le socialisme.

I

LA CONSTRUCTION D'UNE SOCIOLOGIE MARXISTE DE L'ART

L'esthétique du jeune Lukàcs: du kantisme tragique au marxisme

A l'origine de la réflexion de Goldmann sur l'art et la littérature et tout au long de son œuvre se retrouve une inspiration constante: celle de Georg Lukàcs. Il y aurait beaucoup à dire sur cette étonnante rencontre, cette fascination que Lukàcs ne cessa d'exercer sur Goldmann tout au long de sa vie. Si Le Dieu Caché est une illustration géniale des idées esthétiques du jeune Lukàcs, on trouve peu de textes, même parmi les plus tardifs, qui ne contiennent un discret mais sincère hommage au penseur hongrois. Les critiques de Goldmann à l'égard du Lukàcs de la maturité étaient nombreuses (et parfois injustes) mais son admiration pour ses écrits de jeunesse était sans borne. D'ailleurs, si Lukàcs a donné à Goldmann l'impulsion décisive de toute son œuvre – à travers des concepts fondamentaux comme ceux de »totalité«, »réification«, »conscience possible« – il faut reconnaître que ce sont les travaux de Goldmann qui, dans une très large mesure, ont révélé en France l'importance de Georg Lukàcs.

Mais, si dans tous ses écrits Goldmann est resté fidèle aux intuitions fondamentales de Lukàcs, on ne saurait pour autant le considérer comme son disciple. Paradoxalement, il s'est assez peu intéressé à l'esthétique réelle de Lukàcs: celle qui ne cessera de jouer un rôle décisif dans sa pensée correspond à une synthèse brillante et originale, mais fictive de ses trois écrits de jeunesse: L'Ame et les Formes, La Théorie du Roman, et Histoire et Conscience de classes; œuvres que Lukàcs considérait précisément comme dépassées par son évolution politique et philosophique ultérieure. Goldmann a surtout tenté de briser le cercle souvent étroit de l'esthétique lukàcsienne:

- il n'a jamais maintenu le privilège exhorbitant accordé par Lukàcs au réalisme socialiste ou au réalisme critique. De nombreuses œuvres étudiées par Goldmann (Genêt, Saint John Perse, Chagall) sont aux antipodes des affinités lukàcsiennes.

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without applying to it the same method that it has never ceased to enrich and develop: genetic and dialectical interpretation. In this study, I will voluntarily limit myself to three main axes of his thought:

⁴ Ainsi le dernier ouvrage (postume) de Lucien Goldmann: »Structures mentales et création culturelle« (Anthropos 1970) est-il encore dédié à Georg Lukács.

- the concrete search for significant structures in literary works,
- the theoretical foundations of a dialectical and genetic approach to the sociology of literature,
- the M arxist analysis of contemporary political phenomena and the redefin itio n of the tra n sitio n to socialism.

Ι

L A C O N S T R U C T IO N D 'U N E S O C IO L O G IE M A R X IS T E D E L 'A R T

The a sthetic of the young Lukacs: from tragic k an tism to marxism At the origin of G old mann's reflection on art and literature and throughout his work there is a constant inspiration: that of G eorg Lukacs. There would be a lot to say about this astonishing encounter, this fascination that Lukacs never ceased to exert on G oldman throughout his life. If The Hidden God is a genial estration illustration of the aesthetic ideas of the young Lukacs, one finds few texts, even among the later ones, which do not contain a discreet but sincere homage to the H unger thinker. 4 G old mann's criticisms of the Lukacs of maturite were many (and sometimes unfair) but his admiration for his childhood writings and was boundless. Moreover, if Lukacs gave G oldman the decisive impetus for all his work

- through fundamental concepts such as those of "totality", "reification", "possible consciousness" - it must be recognized that these are the works of G o ld m an n who, to a very large extent, have revealed in F ra n ce the im p o rta n c e of G e o rg Lukacs.

But, if in all his writings G o ld m an n remained faithful to the funda m e n ta l intuitions of Lukacs, we do not know how to consider him as his disciple. P a rad o x a l m e n t, he was not very interested in the real aesthetics of L u kacs: the one that will never cease to play a decisive role in his thought corresponds to a brilliant synthesis and o riginal, but fic tiv e of his three early writings: L 'A m e et les Formes, La T h e o rie du R o m a n , et H isto ire et C onscience d e classes; works that Lukacs would precisely c o n sid e as outdated by his later political and philo so p hical evolution. G o ld m an n has above all tried to break the often narrow circle of Lukacsian aesthetics:

- he has never maintained the $ex\ h$ o rb itan t privilege accorded by L u kacs to socialist realism or critical realism. M a n y works studied by G o ld m an n (G enet, S aint Jo h n P e rse, C h ag all) are at the x a n

tip o d of Lukacsian affinities.

4 L ucien Goldmann's posthumous review: "Mental Structures and Cultural Creation" (Anthropo s 1970) is still of ćdić & George Lukics.

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- il a dépassé l'opposition stérile réalisme / formalisme qui a paralysé et paralyse encore les recherches esthétiques dans les

pays socialistes.

de la tenté de comprendre l'évolution contemporaine de l'art et de la littérature en renonçant à cette fascination pour le classissisme qui caractérise l'esthétique de Lukàcs (et ce classissisme de la forme caractérise des œuvres aussi différentes par le contenu que celles de Thomas Mann et de Soljénitsyne).

Avant de tenter d'élucider la génèse des travaux de Goldmann, il est nécessaire de s'interroger sur les intuitions fondamentales et les concepts que lui a fournis le »jeune Lukàcs«.

* *

»L'importance que gardera selon nous l'œuvre du jeune Lukàcs dans l'histoire de la pensée occidentale reste en premier lieu attachée au fait d'avoir établi la jonction entre le structuralisme dont il était parti et la pensée marxiste qu'il rejoignit par la suite«.

M. S. p. 227–228.

Goldmann a toujours maintenu une division profonde dans l'œuvre de Georg Lukàcs, accordant une place particulière à ses trois premiers écrits: L'Ame et les Formes, La Théorie du Roman, Histoire et Conscience de Classe. Il est impossible de discuter ici de la justesse mais aussi des inconvénients d'une telle division dans l'itinéraire de Georg Lukàcs. Si l'importance et l'originalité de ce trois premières œuvres sont incontestables, Goldmann a peut être eu tort de négliger d'autres textes aussi essentiels, écrits par Lukàcs dans sa maturité.

Ce qui caractérise ces écrits de Lukàcs, rédigés entre 1908 et 1926, c'est qu'ils témoignent d'une évolution étonnante et sans doute unique du kantisme au marxisme le plus orthodoxe. Une œuvre jouera dans la génèse de la pensée de Goldmann un rôle prépondérant, en particulier dans l'approche qu'il tentera dans Le Dieu Caché, de la vision tragique de Pascal et de Racine: L'Ame et les Formes (Die Scele und die Formen, Berlin 1911). Ce premier écrit important du jeune Lukàcs se présente comme une "synthèse entre un structuralisme plus ou moins phénoménologique et un kantisme tragique. Pour comprendre l'importance de cette esthétique du jeune Lukàcs il est nécessaire d'en suivre brièvement la formation: "Ami de Lask, venant de l'Ecole Néokantienne de Heidelberg, laquelle s'orientait déjà vers les sciences humaines (par opposition au neo-kantisme de Marburg contré sur les sciences physiques et mathématiques), Lukàcs se trouvait dans un milicu intellectuel et universitaire en contact très étroit avec le groupe

Tragique qui culmine sans doute dans l'essai de Kant: La Religion dans les

limites de la simple raison où il développe cette idée de »mal radical«.

⁵ Rappelons seulement l'étonnement de Max Weber lorsqu'il apprit que son jeune ami Georg Lukàcs était devenu Commissaire de la Culture dans le Gouvernement Communiste de Bela Kun, en Hongrie.

- it attempts to understand the c o n t e m p o r a n e r e v o l u t i o n of the 1 art of literature in re n o n $\hat{}$ anta c h this fascination for the classissism that characterizes the e s th e tiq u e of L u k a c s (and this classissism of the form characteristic of works differs in content from those of T h o m a s M a n n e t de S o lje n its y n e).

Before attempting to elucidate the genesis of Goldman's work, it is necessary to question the fundamental insights and concepts ts that he fo u rn is le "je u n e Luk a c s" .

» The importance of keeping in mind Lukacs' creation in the history of Western thought remains primarily attached to the au f ait of seeing t a b l e t h e j o n c t i o n b e t w e e n t h e s t r u c t u -

ra lism e d o n t il e ta it p a r ti e t la p e n see m a rx is te q u 'il re jo ig n it p a r la su ite«.

M.S.p. 227-228.

Gold mannatoujours maintenuuned iv is ionprofonded ansl'oeuvre de Georg Lukacs, accordantuneplace particuliere ases tro is premiers ecrits: LAme et les Formes, La Theorie du Roman, Histoire et

Conscience de Classe. II est im possible de d iscu ter ici d e la justesse m ais aussi des in c o n v e n ie n ts d 'u n e te lle d iv is io n d a n s l 'itin e ra ire d e G e o rg L u k a c s. Si l'im p o rta n c e e t l 'o r ig in a lite d e ce tro is p re m ie re s oeuvres so n t in c o n te sta b le s, G o ld m a n n a p e u t e tr e eu to rt d e n e g lig e r d 'a u tre s tex te s au ssi e sse n tie ls, e c rits p a r L u k a c s d a n s sa m a tu r ite.

What characterizes these writings of Lukacs, edited between 1908 and 1926, is that they witness an unequivocal evolution m e a u m a rx ism e le p lu s o r t h o d o x e .5 A masterpiece in this genesis of Goldmann's thought plays a preponderant role, particularly in the app procheque il te n te r a ns The Hidden God, of the tragic vision of Pascalet de Racine: L A M e et les Formes (The Scele und

the Form, Berlin 1911). C h e p r e m i e r e c r i t i o n i n Lukacs appears to be common » synthesized between structuralism more or less phenomenological and tragic Kantianism .6 In order to comprehend the importance of this to Lukacs it is necessary to follow briefly the following format: » A m i d e Lask , v e n ant de 1 $^{\rm L}$ E co le N e o -

k a n tie n n e d e H e id e lb e rg, la q u e lle s 'o r ie n ta it d e ja v e

rs les sciences h u m ain e s (p a r o p p o s itio n a u n e o -k a n tis m e d e M a rb u r g c o n tre s u r les sciences p h y siq u e s e t m a th e m a tiq u e s), L u k a c s se tro u v a it d a n s u n m ilieu in te lle c tu e l e t u n iv e r s ita ir e e n c o n ta c t tre s e tr o it a v e c le g ro u p e

- * Let us recall only the astonishment of M ax W eber when he learned that his young friend Georg Lukacs had become Commissioner of Culture in the Communist Government of Bela Kun, in H ungary.
- ® T ragic which no doubt culminates in Kant's essay: L a R e lig io n d a n s les

li m i t e s of the s i m p l e r is o n where he develops this idea of »radical evil«.

de Fribourg-en-Brisgau. On désignait d'ailleurs communément les penseurs de ces deux universités sous le vocable: Ecole philosophique

du Sud Ouest allemand (Südwestdeutsche Schule)«.7

Les contacts entre l'Ecole neo-kantienne de Heidelberg et l'Ecole phénoménologique de Fribourg étaient importants: le célèbre article Husserl La Philosophie comme science rigoureuse fut publié pour la première fois dans la revue des Néo-kantiens de Heidelberg, et les premiers travaux de Heidegger antérieurs à Sein und Zeit, son livre sur Duns Scott par exemple, étaient profondément marqués par l'influence de Lask.

Selon Goldmann c'est la phénoménologie qui a permis de thématiser l'idée de »structure significative«, même si ce n'est pas là son thème fondamental, et si aucun marxiste ne saurait accepter la phénoménologie comme position philosophique. Lorsque Lukacs écrivit l'Ame et les Formes, il n'était pas encore marxiste. Il s'efforçait seulement de comprendre en kantien les problèmes esthétiques et il n'est pas étonnant qu'il ait percu l'importance de cette idée de structure significative même si la phénoménologie est résolument antidialectique.8 Et c'est pourtant à partir de cette position antidialectique – kantisme tragique et phénoménologie - que Lukàcs va élaborer l'idée d'une structure significative fondamentalement dialectique. Il est impossible de retracer ici cette évolution de Lukàcs, son passage du kantisme à l'hégélianisme puis au marxisme. Aussi, nous limiterons-nous à rappeler la vision du monde qui domine ces écrits de jeunesse.

L'Ame et les Formes est, à travers une série de brillants essais, le déploiement d'une surprenante vision tragique. Si les deux derniers chapitres exposent le refus radical et authentique impliqué par cette vision, Lukàcs fait précéder ceux-ci de l'analyse des différentes formes de refus qui lui paraissent inauthentiques et insuffisament radicaux, quelle que soit la justification esthétique que l'on puisse en donner. Il s'agit en effet de formes cohérentes d'expressions de l'âme humaine qui mettaient en question cela même qu'elles affirmaient, ouvrant par là le chemin à la dialectique d'Histoire et Conscience de classe. Goldmann présente ainsi la thèse centrale de l'Ame et les For-

»L'idée essentielle de l'Ame et les Formes, résumée d'ailleurs dans son titre, est que les valeurs spirituelles en général et littéraires et philosophiques en particuliers sont fondées dans l'existence d'un certain nombre de formes, de structures cohérentes qui permettent à l'âme humaine d'exprimer ses différentes possibilités«.9

Mais, ajoute-t-il, rien dans cet ouvrage ne nous laissait encore percevoir l'importance et la signification particulière des formes cohérentes. Ce qui fonde la vision tragique ce n'est pas sa cohérence c'est son

⁷ Cf. Goldmann: l'Esthétique du jeune Lukàcs (Marxisme et Sciences Humaines) et Recherches dialectiques: Georg Lukàcs l'essayiste.

⁸ Sur le rapport de la phénoménologie au marxisme Cf. les remarquables travaux du philosophe tchèque Karel Kosik, en particulier sa Dialectique du concret (Maspero 1969). M. S. page 324.

Contacts betw een the neo-K an tien n e school of H eid elb erg and the phenom enological school of F rib o u rg were im p o rtan t: the famous H usserl article Philosophy as a rigorous science was published for the first time in the review of the N e o -k an tien s of Heidelberg, and the first works of H e id e g g er prior to S ein u n d Z e it, his book on D uns Scott, for example, was deeply marked by the influence of Lask.

According to G o ld m an n, it is phenom enology that has made it possible to thematicize the idea of "significant stru ctu re", even if it is not its basic theme. n d a m e n tal, and if no m arxist can accept phenom enology as a philosophical position. When L ukacs wrote X A m e et les Formes, he was not yet a Marxist. He only tries to understand aesthetic problems and it is not surprising that he has perceived the importance of this idea of stru ctu re sig n ificative even if p h eno m enology is resolutely anti tid ial c tic al. - that Lukacs will develop the idea of a fundamentally dialectical significant stru ctu re. It is impossible to retrace here this evolution of Lukacs, his passage from Kantianism to Hegelianism and then to Marxism. Also, we will limit ourselves to reminding us of the vision of the world which dominates these early writings.

The Soul and the Forms is, through a series of brilliant essays, the dep lo iem en t of a su rp re n a n ting tragic vision. While the last two chapters expose the rad ic a l and authentic refusal implied by this vision, L ukacs precedes these with an analysis of the d iffe re n t forms of refusals that appear to him to be inau th e n tic and not radical enough, whatever the aesthetic justification one may give. They are indeed coherent forms of expressions of Fam e hu -

m ain e who questioned the very thing that they asserted, thus paving the way to the dialectic of H istory and C onscience of >: class. G o ld m an n thus presents the central thesis of X A m e and the Forms:

"The essential idea of the Soul and the Forms, summed up moreover in its title, is that sp iritu al values in general and literary and p h ilosophical values in particular ties are founded in the existence of a certa in n u m b er of forms, of coherent stru ctu res which allow h u m a n f a m e n e to ex p rim e its d iffe re n your possibili ties".0

But, he adds, nothing in this work still lets us perceive the imp o rta n c e and the particular signi can tio n of co h erent forms. W h a t is based on the tra g ic vision is not its coherence but its 7 Cf. Social science)

and Recherches dialecticues: Georg Luk&cs the essayist.

8 On the relation of phenomenon to Marxism Cf. the remarkable works of the high philosopher Karel Kosik, in par ticular in D ia le c ti q u e d u c o n c r e t

(M aspero 1969).

* M. S. p age 324.

authenticité. Il faudra attendre Histoire et Conscience de classe pour que Lukàcs montre que la philosophie de l'histoire est fondée sur le fait que »l'homme est l'être qui tend à créér en permanence des structures cohérentes de plus en plus vastes«. Les principes fondamentaux qui surgissent de la confrontation des deux courants philosophiques, le kantisme de l'Ame et les Formes et l'hégélianisme d'Histoire et Conscience de classe se ramènent à trois fondamentaux:

- 1 L'homme est un être historique qui tend à donner une signification à sa vie.
- 2 L'histoire, création humaine, est significative et suppose la validité de la catégorie de progrès.
- 3 Les formes cohérentes de la création spirituelle constituent des formes privilégiées d'une activité à l'intérieur desquelles la cohérence est l'un des principaux critères de valeur.

A partir de ces textes, se dessine une première esthétique de la forme, non seulement en tant que celle-ci est la structure cohérente qui constitue la signification essentielle de l'œuvre littéraire, mais aussi en tant que chaque forme est une rupture insupportable entre l'homme et le monde, une sorte de dépaysement total qui pose le problème proprement technique »de la manière qui a permis au poète et à l'écrivain de construire une œuvre unitaire à partir d'une signification essentiellement dysharmonique.¹⁰

Lukàcs tentait de penser le rapport de l'homme et de l'art vivant, et déjà se dessine chez lui ce concept de réification qui constitue l'un des thèmes centraux d'Histoire et Conscience de classe. Comme l'écrit excellement Goldmann:

»Il y a une relation étroite entre le fait que notre société est devenue, sur le plan de la conscience, la société du musée imaginaire qui comprend et collectionne dans ses musées ou ses anthologies, toutes les formes d'expressions depuis les plus primitives jusqu'aux plus récentes, y compris la littérature et la peinture des enfants et des aliénés, le fait qu'elle est, en même temps, la société des plus grandes audaces expérimentales sur les différenst plans de la création esthétique et le fait qu'elle est, probablement, la société dans laquelle la véritable créativité est la plus faible et, en tous cas, la plus difficilement décelable faute d'un critère universellement admis.«¹¹

En 1908, alors qu'il était encore étranger à la pensée marxiste, Lukàcs en découvrait déjà certaines intuitions fondamentales.

La Théorie du Roman (ouvrage également renié) remplacera ce kantisme tragique par une vision inspirée – parfois jusqu'à la paraphrase et jusque dans ses élévations romantiques – de l'esthétique de Hegel, mais le lien qui unit les deux œuvres reste important. Il faudra attendre Histoire et Conscience de classe (1923) pour assister à une rupture radicale. Ce livre, aussi renié par Lukàcs, fortement in-

¹⁰ M. S. p. 235.

¹¹ M. S. p. 236.

a c re e r en p e rm a n e n c e of s t r u c t u res co h e re n tes d p l u s en p l u s vaste«. T h e p r i n c i p e s f o u n d a m e n t a s t h a t arisen from the c o n f r o n t i o n of t h e philosophic c o u r a n ts, the can t i m e of YAme et les Formes and the Hegelianism of History and Class consciousness rests on three foundations: 1 - Man is a historical figure who gives meaning to his life.

2 - L'h isto ire, c re a tio n h u m a in e, est s ig n ific a tiv e e t su p p o se la v a -

lid ite d e la c a te g o rie d e p ro g re s.

3 - The coherent forms of spiritual creation constitute the privileged forms of an interior activity of the squ elles coherence is one of the principles of value criteria.

Apart from these texts, a first measure of the form is drawn, not only as much as it is the coherent structure that exists stitu e la s ign ific a tio n e s s e n t i e s o f t h e literature, but also as each form is an insupportable rupture between man and man of, a sort of total cement payment that poses the problem of pro -

prement technique » of lamaniere qui apermissaup o et al 'ecri-va in de construire aunitare oeuvre apart from une significations-sentiel ment dysharonique

Lukacstentatdepensertherapportofhomeetdart vivant, andexasedsine with him i theconceptofdere ification which constitutes one of the central themes of History and Conscience of class. As ex cellement Goldman writes:

"There is a close relationship between the facts that our society has to become, on the plane of consciousness, the society of the museum -

g in a ire qui c o m p re n d e t c o lle c tio n n e d a n s ses m u sees o u ses a n th olo g ies, to u te s les fo rm e s d 'e x p re ssio n s d e p u is les p lu s p r im itives j u s q u 'a u x p lu s rec e n tes, y co m p ris la l itte r a tu r e e t la p e in -

tu re these children of aliens, the fact that they are, at the same time, the society of the greater experimental audacious s u r le diffe -

re n st p la n s d e la c re a tio n e s th e tiq u e et le f a it q u 'e lle est, p ro b a -

b lem e n t, la so ciete d a n s la q u e lle la v e rita b le c re a tiv ite

est la p lu s fa ib le et, en to u s cas, la p lu s d iffic ile m e n t d e c e la b le fa u te d 'u n c rite re u n iv e rs e lle m e n t a d m is .« 11

In 1908, while alien to Marxist thought, Lukacs already discovered certain fundamental intuitions.

The Theorie du Roman (ou v rag e egalem en t renie) replaces Kantian tragic vision in spire - parfo is ju sq u 'a la paraphrase et ju squ e d an s these elevations are r o m a n t i c - of Hegel's, but the link that unites the two works remains important. II must wait for History and Class Consciousness (1923) to witness a radical rupture. C e livre, outside of Lukacs, was forte in 10 M. S. p. 235.

11 M. S. p. 236.

fluencé par Hegel et Rosa Luxemburg apportait un souffle nouveau à la pensée marxiste. Abandonnant la problématique esthétique, Lukàcs s'efforçait de redéfinir les concepts fondamentaux du marxisme, à travers des chapitres consacrés à la conscience de classe, à la conscience prolétarienne, à la pensée dialectique, à la vérité, avec une hardiesse qui lui valu bien vite l'hostilité du marxisme soviétique et sa condamnation par Zinoviev. En introduisant la catégorie de totalité, Lukàcs reprenait certaines de ses intuitions les plus fondamentales en leur donnant un sens nouveau. Comme l'écrit Goldmann:

»Dans l'histoire de la philosophie et des sciences sociales, ce livre marque une étape dans la mesure où l'introduction de la catégorie de totalité, l'affirmation de l'impossibilité de séparer les jugements de fait des jugements de valeur et surtout l'introduction dans les sciences sociales du principal concept opératoire de la pensée dialectique, celui de conscience possible (Zugerechnetes Bewußtsein) créent la possibilité d'une sociologie dialectique positive«.12

On peut dire que c'est de la confrontation et de la réunion de ces trois essais qu'est née l'esthétique de Goldmann, et sa méthode génétique. Deux concepts lukàcsiens prendront dans ses premières recherches une place centrale:

- celui de forme, totalité en devenir, vision du monde, structure qui reprend la double inspiration de l'Ame et les Formes et d'Histoire et Conscience de classe.
- celui de conscience possible qui désigne: »le maximum d'adéquation à la réalité que saurait atteindre (tout en étant entendu qu'elle ne l'atteindra peut être jamais) la conscience d'un groupe, sans que pour cela celui-ci soit amené à abandonner sa structure, se révèle en effet étroitement apparenté à l'ancien concept de forme de l'âme individuelle«.13

A partir d'Histoire et Conscience de classe, Lukàcs reconnaitra la cohérence comme exigence fondamentale. Son intérêt pour les »formes« qui n'était alors qu'esthétique prend désormais tout son sens à partir du moment où l'art, la philosophie, toutes les grandes créations spirituelles »se ralient aux processus sociaux d'ensemble«. 14 Cette vision transformait profondément toute la conception marxiste de l'art: si pour Plekhanov l'art n'était que le »miroir de la vie sociale«, une superstructure parmi les autres, Lukàcs montrait au contraire que toute grande œuvre, loin de refléter simplement les infrastructures, était un niveua, un modèle de cohérence unique vers lequel tendaient toutes les consciences. Comme l'écrit Goldmann:

¹² M. S. page 238.

¹⁸ Ibidem page 239.

¹⁴ Ibidem page 239.

through chapters devoted to class consciousness, to a proletarian conscience, to dialectical thought, to the truth, with a boldness that quickly earned him the hostility of Soviet Marxism and his condemnation by Z inoviev. By introducing the category of totality, Lukacs takes up some of his most fundamental in tu itio n s by giving them a new meaning. As G oldmann writes:

"In the history of p h ilosophic and social sciences, this book marks a milestone insofar as the intro d u ctio n of the category of totality, affirms tio n of the impossibility of separating j u g m e n ts of fact from j u g m e n ts of v alu e and above all the intro du ctio n into the social sciences of the prin c ip al concept of dialectical thought, that of possible consciousness (Zugerech-netes Bew ufitsein) creates the possibility of a positive dialectical sociology.

We can say that it is from the c o n frontation and the reunion of these three essays that the aesthetics of G o ld m an n and his genetic method were born. Two Lukacsian concepts will take center stage in his early research:

- that of form, to ta lity in becoming, vision of the w orld, stru c tu re which takes up the double in sp iratio n of X A m e and the Forms and of H isto ry and C class consciousness.
- that of possible awareness which designates: "the m axim um of adeq u a tio n to the reality that she would be able to reach (while being understood that she will not reach it soon t be never) the consciousness of a g ro u p, without for that reason the latter being led to abandon its stru c tu re, is revealed in effect and closely to the old concept of the form of the in d iv id u a l soul".13

From H isto ry and Class Consciousness, L ukacs will recognize coherence as a fundamental requirement. His in te re t for »forms« which was n o w th a n e a sthetic s h o re n now took on all its meaning from the m o m ent when art, philosophic, all the great he sp iritu al creations "will be re alien d to the whole social processes". k h a n o v art was only the »m irror of social life«, a su p e rstru c tu re among the others, L u kacs showed on the con trary that any great work, far from simply reflecting the in frastru ctu res, was a level, a un ic m odule of coherence toward which all minds were tending. As G o ld m an n writes:

M . S. p a g e 238.

[&]quot; Ib id e m p ag e 239.

»Loin de traduire ce qu'ils disent et pensent réellement, l'œuvre révèle ainsi aux membres du groupe ce »qu'ils pensaient sans le savoir«; elle est le point le plus avancé d'une cohérence vers laquelle tendent les consciences réelles des individus et comme telle, naturellement, unique et irremplaçable«.¹⁵

Ainsi se trouvait réalisée, au niveau de l'esthétique, la première grande synthèse du kantisme et de l'hégélianisme. Comme Kant, Lu-kàcs affirme que l'art est une création qui atteint un niveau aussi élevé que la science et la philosophie, sans pour autant lui subordonner les autres activités créatrices, comme le font les Romantiques. Mais il refuse la vision statique du kantisme pour voir dans l'art non pas un élément essentiellement formel et abstrait, la triste réconciliation de la nature et de la moralité mais une structure dynamique, flux de significations plus ou moins distinctes, liées à l'évolution historique. Le concept qui permet cette union et se renversement, celui de totalité, allait prendre chez Goldmann une place capitale.

TOTALITE, STRUCTURE SIGNIFICATIVE ET VISION DU MONDE: L'ARCHITECTURE DU DIEU CACHE

Le concept de totalité ne cessera jamais chez Goldmann d'être fondamental. Ce qui se métamorphose, ce n'est jamais l'exigence de cohérence qu'implique cette catégorie mais les médiations qui rattachent la conscience collective à l'œuvre étudiée. Il n'en demeure pas moins vrai que la catégorie de totalité ou de vision du monde chez Goldmann ne prend tout son sens que rapportée à sa »préhistoire« lukàcsienne. L'architecture et les hypothèses du Dieu Caché en constituent l'illustration la plus brillante.

- La Forme comme exigence de cohérence.

Dans l'Ame et les Formes Lukàcs montre qu'il existe un certain nombre de formes qui expriment les valeurs spirituelles, littéraires et philosophiques et que certaines d'entre elles sont authentiques. Par la suite il montrera ce que signifie cette cohérence: elle exprime le besoin profond qu'a l'homme de se situer par rapport à son monde, et de donner un sens à sa vie. Dans son acceptation la plus vaste, la forme est une manière de surmonter le dépaysement qui oppose l'homme et le monde, en son sens restreint c'est la cohérence d'une signification.

- Dans la Théorie du Roman il est question de »formes« littéraires épiques. Cette théorie de la forme ne peut être comprise que rapportée au classissisme. La catégorie de totalité se rencontre dans »l'Histoire de l'Art Antique« de Winkelman (1764), et surtout chez Hölderlin et Schiller. C'est en référence au classissisme que Lukàcs a d'abord pensé cette catégorie de totalité, lorsqu'il écrit dans la Théorie du Roman:

¹⁵ Ibidem page 240.

» In translating what they really think, the ceuvre reveals to the members of the group » what they think without knowing it « ; it is the most advanced point of a coherence which tends to the real consciousnesses of ind ivid u s e t com m e telle, n a t u r e l e m e n t , u n i q u e t i r r e m p l a $\hat{}$ a b and « .15

I in sise trou v a it rea lise e, although ignorant of the sthetic, the first great synthesis of seducantism meets hegelianism. C o m m e K a n t, L u k a c s affirms that art is a creation that is internal and external that science and philosophic, sans spora and yet subordinate to each other s activites creatures, resembling Romantic fonts. M a is il refuses the vision of static education because art does not pass through sentimental formal elements, the sad conciliation of nature and of it m o ra lite m a i s u n e s t r u c t u r e d y n a m iq u e , flux designations plus or minus distinctives , liees a revolution history. T h e c o n c e p t that allows this union to be reversed, that of totality, only reaches Goldman in place of capital.

T O T A L I T Y, SIGNIFICATIVE STRUCTURE AND WORLD VISION: THE ARCHITECTURE OF UCACHE

The concept of totality needs to be raised at Goldman and his tree phone -

d a m e n ta l. C e q u i se m e ta m o rp h o s e , ce n 'est ja m a is l 'e x ig e n c e d e c o h e ren c e q u 'im p liq u e c e tte c a te g o rie m ais les mediations qui r a tta c h e n t la

collective consciousness to the brain etu d iee. II n 'en they are no less true than the category of totality or devision at Goldman n e p r e n d t o u t s o n sen s q u e r a p p o r t e a sa » pre h is to ire « lu in -

c sien n e A r c h ite c t u re a n d the h i p o t h e s of God Cache e n c o n s t i v e t h e most brilliant illustration.

- La Forme comme e x ig en cedecoh e rence.

D a n s XAme et les Formes L u k acs show that there exist a certain number of forms that express spiritual values, literature and philosophy in the middle of them are t a u t h e n t i c k s P a r l a s u s e he shows what signifies this coherence: he ex p rime le b e-so in pro fond q u 'al 'hom m e d e s i t u e r p a r r a p p o r t a s o n m o n d e , et d e d o n e r u n sense a sa v ie. D a n s so v a s t a c c e p t a t i o n , t h e f o r m e is no m o n e r e d e s u r m o n t e r t h e payment opposed to 'hom -

m e et le m o n d e, en so n sen s re s tre in t c'est la c o h e re n c e d 'u n e s ig n ific a tio n .

- In the 7 heorie of the Novel there is a question of the »forms« of rare literature. Thi is theory of pewter form is understood to lead to classissism. The category of to talite will be encountered in »XHistory

de VArt Antique« de W in k e lm a n (1764), et su rto u t chez H o ld e rlin et S c h ille r. C 'est e n re fe re n c e a u classissism e q u e L u k a c s a d 'a b o rd p e n se c e tte c a te g o rie d e to ta lite , lo rs q u 'il e c rit d a n s la Theorie du

Roman:

IS Ibidem p age 240.

»Notre monde est devenu immensément grand, et, en chacun de ses recoins, plus riche en dons et en périls que celui des Grecs; mais cette richesse même fait disparaître le sens positif sur lequel reposait leur vie: la totalité. Car la totalité, en tant que réalité première, formatrice de tout phénomène, implique qu'une œuvre fermée sur elle-même puisse être accomplie; acccomplie parce que tout advient en elle sans que rien en soit exclu ou v renvoie à une réalité supérieure, accomplie parce que tout mûrit en elle vers sa propre perfection et, s'atteignant soi-même, s'insère dans l'édifice entier. Il n'est totalité possible de l'être que là où tout, déjà, est homogène avant d'être investi par les formes, où les formes ne sont pas des contraintes, mais la simple prise de conscience, la venue à jour de tout ce qui, au sein de tout ce qui doit recevoir forme, sommeillait comme obscure aspiration. Là où le savoir est vertu et la vertu bonheur, là où la beauté manifeste le sens du monde«.

La totalité apparaît comme quelque chose d'originel et de perdu, comme une forme éternelle qui éveille la nostalgie mais que l'on ne retrouvera jamais plus.

- Dans Histoire et Conscience de classe, la totalité devient un principe infiniment plus riche qui dépasse le kantisme et l'hégélianisme pour devenir une catégorie marxiste fondamentale. Il est impossible de résumer ici la richesse de cette œuvre - parfois qualifiée de »maudite« - qui est à l'origine d'un fantastique renouveau de la pensée marxiste. Remarquons simplement qu'il ne s'agit plus seulement de la forme comme exigence de cohérence pour l'âme humaine ou de la totalité comme idéal romantique brisé par le monde bourgeois mais de la totalité du processus de l'expérience sociale et historique telle qu'elle se constitue dans la praxis sociale et la lutte de classes. Cette notion de totalité dialectique s'oppose à la théorie du reflet¹⁶ et du marxisme simpliste de Boukharine, Goldmann donnera deux illustrations philosophique et littéraire de cette catégorie de totalité: dans son premier ouvrage La Communauté Humaine et l'Univers chez Kant (1948),17 où il tentait d'éclairer la philosophie kantienne, en particulier les trois Critiques mais aussi les œuvres qui précèdent, à la lumière de l'œuvre de Lukàcs et dans sa thèse le Dieu Caché à propos de la vision tragique janséniste chez Pascal et Racine. Comme la place nous manque dans le cadre de cette étude pour discuter longuement l'interprétation que Goldmann propose de Kant, nous nous limiterons à rappeler les thèses fondamentales et la méthode du Dieu Caché, œuvre trop riche et trop connue, pour que l'on se risque à la résumer.

¹⁰ Aussi est-il stupéfiant qu'un critique soviétique ait pu reprocher à Goldmann d'être »partisan de la théorie du reflex«, et d'établir des dépendances directes entre la structure sociale et économique d'une société et la structure de la création littéraire. (Cf. S. M. p. 445).

¹⁷ L'ouvrage à été réédité en 1967 dans la collection Idées sous le titre Introduction à la philosophie de Kant.

Because the totality, as a primary reality, formative of any phenomenon, implies that a work closed on itself can be accomplished; accomplished because everything happens in it without anything being excluded or returns to a higher reality, accomplished because everything dies in it towards its own perfection and, self-igniting, fits into the whole edifice. It is not entirely possible to be that where everything, already, is homogeneous before being invested by the forms, where the forms are not constraints, but the simple taking of consciousness, the coming to light of all that, within all that must receive form, slumbered like an obscure aspiration.

Where knowledge is virtue and virtue is happiness, where beauty manifests the meaning of the world.

The whole thing appears as something original and lost, as an eternal form that awakens nostalgia but that we will never find again .

- In Class H istory and C onsciousness, the whole becomes an infinitely richer principle that goes beyond Kantism and Hegelianism to become a categ o rie m arx ist f un d am e n ta le . It is impossible to sum up here the richness of this work - sometimes qualified as "cursed" - which is at the origin of a fantastic revival of Marx thought. ist. W e s impl y n o t in g that it is no longer just a matter of form as a requirement of coherence for the h u m a n am e or of the totality as a romantic ideal broken by the bourgeois world but by the whole process of social and historical experience as it is ■

it consists of social practice and class struggle. This notion of dialectical totality is opposed to the theory of d u r e f l e t 16 and the simplistic Marxism of e B o u k h a r e n , Goldman n d o n n e ra two philosophical and literary illustrations of this category orie d e ta lite: in his first work L a C o m m u n a u te H u m a in e et V U n ivers chez Kant (194S),1'

in which he was trying to elucidate ancient philo so p h ic k, in particular the three C ritiques but also the works which precede, in the light of the tcuvrc by L u kacs and in his thesis le D ieu Cache on the tragic vision of Ja n s en iste in P ascal and R acine. A s w e lack the space in the frame r of th is study to d iscuss at length I n te r p r e t a t i o n that G o ld m an n proposes of K an t, we will limit ourselves to peel the fundamental theses and the m eth o d of the G od Hidden, a work too rich and too well known for anyone to risk summarizing it.

*• Also it is astonishing that a Soviet critic could reproach G oldm ann for being "a p artisan of the reflex theory", and of and establish direct dependencies between the social and economic stru c tu re of a society and the stru c tu re of literary creation. (Cf. S.M. p. 445).

17 The work was republished in 1967 in the collection Idees under the title In tro d u ctio n a la p h i l o so p h y of K ant.

SIS

Le Dieu Caché

Deux phrases placées en exergue méritent d'être rappelées car elles sont les limites de déploiement de la vision tragique qu'analyse Goldmann:

»La tragédie est un jeu ... un jeu dont Dieu est le spectateur. Il n'est que spectateur et jamais sa parole ou ses actes ne ce mêlent aux paroles et aux gestes des acteurs«.

Georg Lukàcs: Métaphysique de la tragédie, 1908.

»Le bon Monseigneur de Nantes m'a appris une sentence de Saint Augustin qui me console fort: Que celui-là est trop ambitieux auquel les yeux de Dieu spectateur ne suffisent pas«.

Mère Angélique: Lettre à Arnauld d'Andilly du 9 Janvier 1623.

Presque vingt ans après sa parution l'ouvrage fait encore l'objet de polémiques aussi vives: il s'agit non seulement de l'une des contributions les plus importantes à la critique littéraire (on peut même affirmer que c'est Goldmann qui a ouvert la voie à la nouvelle critique), mais de l'une des illustrations les plus brillantes de la méthode marxiste à une époque où elle était réduite à l'infantilisme stéril du stalinisme. Le projet de Goldmann était double: il s'agissait à la fois de dégager une méthode positive dans l'étude des ouvrages philosophiques et littéraires et de »contribuer à la compréhension d'un ensemble limité et précis d'écrit qui malgré de notables différences, nous paraissent étroitement apparentés «. L'idée centrale de l'analyse – héritée de l'esthétique du jeune Lukàcs – était que:

»les faits humains constituent toujours des structures significatives globales, à caractère à la fois pratique, théorique et affectif, et que ces structures ne peuvent être étudiées de manière positive, c'est-à-dire à la fois expliquées et comprises, que dans une perspective pratique fondée sur l'acceptation d'un certain ensemble de valeurs«.¹⁹

Ainsi Goldmann se proposait-il de montrer l'existence d'une telle structure – la vision tragique –, de la découvrir et de l'explorer à travers les *Pensées* de Pascal et le théâtre de Racine. L'originalité profonde de l'ouvrage était de tenter d'unir en même temps une réflexion sur la méthode de recherche adoptée et une étude concrète d'une œuvre littéraire.

La vision tragique: Dieu, le monde, l'homme

»Pour tracer le schème conceptuel de la vision tragique il faudrait dégager l'élément commun à un ensemble d'œuvres philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques qui embrasserait en tous cas

10 D. C. p. 1.

¹⁸ Comme en témoignent les comptes-rendus navrants publiées à l'époque dans les revues d'obédience strictement communistes.

p e le e s c a r elles s o n t les lim ite s d e d e p lo ie m e n t d e la v isio n tra g iq u e q u 'a n a n a ly s e G o ld m a n n :

» Tragedy is a game. . . a game in which G od is the spectator.

It is only the spectator who never hears his words or his actions in this way between the words and the gestures of the actors.

GeorgLukacs: Metaphysiquedelatragedie, 1908.

»Lebon Monseigneurde Nantes m'a appris unes en tencede Saint Augustinquimecole forts uffisent p as«

M e re A n g e liq u e : L e ttr e a A r n a u ld d 'A n d illy d u 9 J a n v ie r 1623.

Presquevingtansapressaparutionl'ouvrage faite ncorel'objectofpolemics also lives: it is nonetheless the u lement of the contributions the most important to critical literature (on peut meaffir-

but it is G old man who opened the way to a new critique), but of one of the most brilliant illustrations of the Marxist method the oil epoch w as r e d u i t a l 'in fan tilism m e s t e r i l d u s t a l i n s m e .18 G o l d m a n n e t h e p r o j e c t is double: it appears to be the fo is de gager u n e m e t h o d positi ve d a n s t h e study of philosophical and literary overviews «and de» contributes to the understanding of a limited and precise c rit q ui m although notable differences, n o u s p a -

ra is s e n t e tro ite m e n t a p p a re n te s « . L 'id ee c e n tr a le d e l 'a n a ly s e - h e ritee d e l 'e s th e tiq u e d u je u n e L u k a c s - e ta it q u e:

»les fa its h u m a in s c o n s titu e n t to u jo u rs des s tru c tu re s s ig n ific a -

tiv es globales, a caractere at once praticulated, the oriquetaffec-

tif, etc. structures do not allow us to treat both of them in a positive way, c'est-a-dire a la fo is ex pliqu ee set com prise s, which is also a practical perspective n d e e s u r l 'acceptance of uncertainty as a group of valuers « .19

A in si G o ld m a n n se proposes it- he demonstrates the existence of a unique structure - the tragic vision - , of which the explorer covers it across Pascal's Pen sees and the Racine theatre. The rig in a lite profound of the ou v rage e tait d e te n t e r d 'u n i r e n m e m e t e m p s u n e r e f l e x i o n s u r l a m e t h o d e d e r e c h e r c h e a d o p t e e t u n e to de concrete a work litte r a r e

Tragical vision: God, man, man

» P o u r tra c e r le s h em e con c e p tu e l d e la v isio n tra g iq u e il fa u -

draitdegagerlecommunatelementresembles philosophical works

So p h i ide u es, litte r a ir e s et a rtistiQ u e s q u i e m b ra s not it en to u s 18 c om m e en tć m o ig n t e n t les c o m p te s-re n d u s n a v r a n ts p u b x i l strict communist obedience.

18 D. C. p. 1.

les tragédies antiques, les écrits de Shakespeare, les tragédies de Racine, les écrits de Kant et de Pascal, un certain nombre de sculptures de Michel-Ange et probablement certaines autres œuvres de diverse importance«.20

écrit Goldmann. En fait, la théorie de la vision tragique qui lui servira à explorer les œuvres qu'il étudie est essentiellement héritée de Kant, Pascal et Racine. Reprenant les thèmes développés par Lukàcs dans le chapitre de l'Ame et les Formes intitulé Métaphysique de la tragédie, Goldmann prolongeait l'inspiration fondamentale de cette œuvre de jeunesse mais en la lisant à la lumière de ses écrits ultérieurs, c'est à dire en tentant de la rattacher à des situations historiques:

»Le problème central de la pensée tragique, problème que seule la pensée dialectique pourra résoudre sur le plan en même temps scientifique et moral, est celui de savoir si dans cet espace rationnel qui a, définitivement et sans possibilité de retour en arrière, remplacé l'univers aristotélicien et thomiste, il y a encore un moyen, un espoir quelconque de réintégrer les valeurs morales supra individuelles, si l'homme pourra encore retrouver Dieu ou ce qui pour nous est synonyme et moins idéologique: la communauté et l'univers.«²¹

La voix de Dieu ne parle plus d'une manière immédiate à l'homme, c'est l'un des points fondamentaux de la pensée tragique: *Uere tu es Deus absconditus*« écrit Pascal – le Dieu Caché –. Goldmann nous dit qu'il ne faut pas chercher à atténuer le sens fort de cette pensée de Pascal en la ramenant au »bon sens«:

»Le Dieu caché est pour Pascal un Dieu présent et absent et non pas présent quelquefois et absent quelquefois; mais toujours présent et toujours absent.«²²

C'est ce Dieu toujours présent et toujours absent qui est au cœur de la tragédie. Lukàcs l'avait remarquablement compris lorsqu'il écrivait déjà en 1910:

»La tragédie est un jeu, un jeu de l'homme et de sa destinée, un jeu dont Dieu est le spectateur. Mais il n'est que spectateur, et jamais ni ses paroles ni ses gestes ne se mêlent aux paroles et aux gestes des acteurs. Seuls ses yeux reposent sur eux.«²³

Mais quel monde historique peut correspondre à cette forme particulière de la conscience tragique. La tragédie est toujours liée à un monde – social ou cosmique –, et si le problème central de la tragédie est de savoir si l'homme sur lequel est tombé le regard de Dieu peut encore vivre, le monde de la tragédie se définit ainsi:

²⁰ D. C. p. 32. ²¹ D. C. p. 45.

<sup>Ibidem p. 46.
Ibidem (cité par Goldmann) p. 47.</sup>

various im p o rtan ce".20

writes G o ld m an n . In fact, the theory of the tragic vision which will serve him to explore the works he studies is essentially inherited from Kant, P ascal and R acine. Re p re n in g th e themes developed by Lukacs in the c h a p ter of the S a m e and Form s entitled M etaphysics of tragedy, G o ld m an n extended the in sp fundamental iratio n of this work of youth but by reading it in the light of his later writings, that is to say by trying to relate it to historical situations risks:

"The cen tral problem of tragic thought, a problem that only dialectical thought can solve on the plane at the same time scien tific and moral, is that of knowing whether in this space ratio n el w h a t has, defin itely and without the possibility of going back, replaced the Aristotelian and Thomistic univ erse, there is still a means, some hope of reintegrating the values su p ra ind iv id ual morals, if m a n will still be able to find G od or what for us is synonymous and less ideological: the com m u nity and the u n iv e rs."21

The voice of G od no longer speaks im m ediately to man, this is one of the fundamen tal p o ints of tragic thought: Vcre tu vs D eus a b sco n d itu is written Pascal - the Hidden God -. G o ld m an n tells us that we should not seek to attenuate the strong meaning of this thought of Pascal by bringing it back to "common sense":

»The hidden G od is for P ascal a G od present and absent and not sometimes present and sometimes absent: but always present and always absent.«22

C'est ce Dieu to u jo u rs present et to u jo u rs abs sent qui est au coeur de la tragedie . L u kacs l'a v a it rem a rqu a b le ment compris lo rsqu'il ec riv a it de ja in 1910:

"Tragedy is a game, a game of man and his destiny.

a game in which G od is the spectator. But he is only a spectator, and neither his words nor his gestures ever mingle with the words and gestures of the actors. Only his eyes rest on them."23

But what historical world can correspond to this particular form of tragic consciousness? Tragedy is always linked to a world - social or cosm ic - , and if the c e n tral problem of tragedy is to know if man is safe which has fallen the gaze of G od can still live, the world of tragedy is defined as follows:

*• D . C. p. 32.

*1 D. C. p. 45.

** An id em p. 46.

*• Ib id em (citć p a r G o ld m an n) p. 47.

»tout ce qui est nécessaire selon Dieu est impossible selon le monde et inversement, tout ce qui est possible suivant le monde n'existe plus pour le regard de Dieu«.²⁴

Le monde est rien et tout en même temps: »Le Dieu de la tragédie est un Dieu toujours présent et toujours absent. Or, sa présence dévalorise sans doute le monde et lui enlève toute réalité, mais son absence non moins radicale et non moins permanente fait au contraire du monde la seule réalité en face de laquelle se trouve l'homme et à laquelle il peut et doit opposer son exigence de réalisation des valeurs substantielles et absolues.«25 La tragédie ne connaît qu'une forme de pensée et d'attitude valables: le oui et non, c'est-à-dire le paradoxe: vivre – dans le monde – mais sans y prendre part. Il serait aussi peu cohérent de refuser le monde que de l'accepter dans son ambiguïté et son absurdité: »C'est là l'extrême rigueur et l'extrême cohérence de la conscience tragique telle qu'elle s'exprime dans Phèdre de Racine, dans les écrits philosophiques de Pascal, de Kant, et dans le texte déjà cité de Lukàcs, attitude paradoxale et sans doute difficile à décrire et à rendre compréhensible, mais qui, seule, semble-t-il, nous permettra la compréhension des écrits que nous nous proposons d'étu-

A partir de là se développent deux attitudes face au monde:

- le refus unilatéral du monde et l'appel à Dieu.
- le resus ultramondain du monde et le pari sur l'existence de Dieu. C'est cette différence qui sépare Junie de Phèdre, Barcos ou la Mère Angélique de Pascal. Le héros tragique vit sous le regard permanent du Dieu spectateur et pour lui »le monde seul est réel«. La présence divine l'empêche de refuser le monde et l'absence divine l'empêche de l'accepter entièrement. L'homme tragique vit pour la réalisation de valeurs rigoureusement irréalisables. Il réunit en lui l'Ange et la Bête, la grandeur et la misère, l'impératif catégorique et le mal radical. Dans le clair et l'ambigü, la proximité du Dieu absent, la seule forme d'expression que connaît l'homme tragique est le monologue, le dialogue solitaire selon une expression de Lukàcs. Goldmann remarque que: »Les Pensées sont un exemple suprême de ces »dialogues solitaires« avec le Dieu caché des jansénistes et de la tragédie, dialogues où tout compte, où chaque mot pèse autant que les autres, où l'exégète ne saurait rien laisser de côté sous prétexte d'exagération ou d'outrance de langage, dialogues où tout est essentiel, parce que l'homme parle au seul être qui pourrait l'entendre mais dont il ne saura jamais s'il l'entend réellement.«27

Conscient de la vanité du monde, de l'abîme infranchissable qui le sépare de lui, l'homme, sait qu'il ne pourra atteindre la valeur exclusive de Dieu par ses propres forces. Le message que l'âme croit entendre en permanence est cette voix du Dieu caché, invisible, qui lui

²⁴ Ibidem p. 59.

²⁵ Ibidem p. 60.

²⁸ Ibidem p. 62.

²⁷ Ibidem p. 77.

Le m o n d e s t a r t e d t o u t e n m e m e t e m p s : » The God of tragedy is the God you are present and the God you are absent. O r, the presence of -

lo rise without doubt of the world and then live to u te re a lite , but so n a b sen ce no less radical and no less permanent fight against the opposite world of the settle re a lite in face of which the 'hom m e is located although it may oppose the realization of substantial values.«. 25 T r a g e d i e n e c o n n a i t t h a t forms a p e n see and an attitude of devalables: o u i e t n o n , it is a direct paradox: v i v e - dance le m o n d e - m ais san s y p r e n d r e p a r t. II would also be slightly coherent in refusing the world of acceptance in its absurdity and ambiguity: » C 'est la l 'extre merigu e u r e t l 'extre m e coherence de the tragic consciousness as expressed in Peter de Racine, in the philosophical writings of Pascal, Kant, and in these texts and cites L u k a c s, a paradoxical attitude without doubt of the diffic ile

c laughter et a r e n d r e c o m p r e h a n sib l e , b u t w h i c h , alone , seems -t-it, allows us t o c o m p r e h a n c e d t h e c o m p r e h a n c e d t h e secrets that we propose to you -

d yes r.« 26

A p a r tir d e la se d e v e lo p p e n t d e u x a ttitu d e s fa c e a u m o n d e:

- and the refusal of the lateral world and the appeal of God.
- le refu s u ltr a m o n d a in d u m o n d e e t le p a ri s u r l 'e x iste n ce d e D ie u .

In the clarity of the ambiguity, the proximity of an absent God, it forms an expression that is tragic to man the m o n o l o g u e , the solitary dialogue according to Lukacs' unique expression. G o ld m a n n remarks that: » The P en sees are a supreme example of » ordinary dialogues « with the G o n d a n is t e s t of tragedy , d ia lo g u e s ou t o u t c o m p t e , or w h a t m o t weigh as much as others , oil l 'e x

e g e t e ne s a u r ait rie n la is s e r d e cote under the pretext of 'e x a g e r a t i o n ou d o u tra n -

ce d e la n g a g e , d ia lo g u e s oil to u t est e sse n tie l, p a rc e q u e l'h o m m e p a rle a u seul e tre qui p o u r ra it l 'e n te n d r e m ais d o n t il n e s a u ra ja m a is s' il l 'e n te n d re e lle m e n t.« 27

Conscious of the vanity of the world, of the abime in French able to be separated from him, the man, said that he could not afford to be in an exclusive value e d e D i e u p a r s e s p r o p e r s f o rces. T h e m e s s a g e 'a m e c r o i t e n d e r e n p e r m a n e n c e is this hidden, invisible voice of God, which 24 Ibid e mp. 59.

25 An id e m p. 60.

29 An id e m p. 62.

27 An id e m p. 77.

apporte la certitude dans le doute, l'optimisme dans la crainte, la grandeur dans la misère. Telle est schématiquement l'interprétation globale que défend Goldmann dans son approche de la vision tragique de Pascal et de Racine. La seconde partie de sa thèse tente de montrer qu'il existe un fondement social et intellectuel à cette vision.

Jansénisme et Noblesse de robe

Il s'agit de montrer en quoi cette vision correspond à l'expression d'une classe sociale. L'hypothèse centrale de Goldmann permet de rendre compte d'un certains nombre de faits politiques, sociaux, idéologiques, qui ont profondément marqué la société française entre 1637 et 1677, dates qui séparent la retraite du premier Solitaire Antoine le Maître (et l'aristocrate Saint Cyran en 1638) de la première représentation de Phèdre, dernière tragédie de Racine. Tous ces faits semblent se rattacher à l'apparition et au développement d'une même idéologie: l'impossibilité radicale de réaliser une vie valable dans le monde. Un tel choix historique mérite d'être justifié. S'il y a eu avant 1637 des »abandons du monde« et des retraites dans la solitude, aucune n'a pris le caractère idéologique de la retraite d'Antoine le Maître. Si on écrira après Phèdre, des pièces sérieuses, graves et tristes, aucune œuvre ne nous montrera vraiment le Dieu spectateur de la tragédie. Aussi Goldmann tente-t-il de découvrir dans quel milieu social s'est développée cette vision tragique et ce qu'a pu orienter les hommes vers une telle vision. En d'autres termes, quelle a été l'infrastructure sociale économique et politique du premier janséniste, celui de Barcos, de la Mère Angélique, de Pascal et des tragédies de Racine?

Le Jansénisme est en premier lieu issu des milieux de robe. Si l'on fait abstraction de quelques figures isolées originaires de la petite bourgeoisie, figures qui se rangent à l'aile extrémiste du mouvement. la pensée janséniste s'est répandue dans deux groupes sociaux parfaitement circonscrits:

- Quelques figures de la grande aristocratie qui s'accordent assez mal de la domestication qu'implique la monarchie absolue et qui ne peuvent constituer une opposition propre.
- Les milieux d'Officiers, surtout membres des cours souveraines et les avocats.

Comment expliquer cette étrange affinité entre le Jansénisme, la vision tragique qu'il développe, et la petite noblesse de robe? Goldmann montre que la politique du pouvoir central a progressivement réduit l'importance de ce groupe social, le rejettant pratiquement de la vie économique et politique. C'est cette éviction qui aurait conduit progressivement ce groupe à une position de retraite face au monde et à la vie sociale. Exclue du processus économique, privée de tout avenir social, cette petite noblesse de robe sera la plus sensible à cette idéologie qui prône le refus du monde et son acceptation avec l'ambiguïté qu'une telle position comporte, comme un idéal de vie.

brings certainty in doubt, optimism in fear, greatness in misery. This is schematically the overall I n te r p re ta tio n that G o ldmann defends in his approach to the tragic vision of Pascal and Racine. The second

part of his thesis attempts to show that there is a social and intellectual foundation for this vision.

Ja n sen ism and N o wounds of dress

It is a question of showing how this vision corresponds to the expression of a social class. G o ld m an n's cen tral h y pothesis allows us to account for a certain num ber of political, social and ideological facts which have profoundly marked French society. box in tre 1637

and 1677, dates which are akin to the retirement of the first Solitaire A ntoine le M a itre (and the a ristocrat S ain t C y ra n in 1638) from the first P h edre's first performance, R acine's last retra g e d ie . All these facts seem to be related to the appearance and dev elo p m en t of the same ideologic: the radical impossibility of realizing a valid life in the world.

Such a historic choice deserves to be justified. If there were before 1637

»abandonment of the world« and retreats in solitude, none of them took on the ideological character of the retreat of Antoine le M aitre. If we write after Phaedrus, serious, serious and sad pieces, no work really shows us the G od sn ectator of tragedy.

Also G o ldman n tries to cover in what social environment this tragic vision developed and what could have steered men towards such a vision . In other words, what was the social, economic and po litical in fra stru ctu re of the first Jansenist, that of Barcos, of the M ere A n g elique, of P ascal and of the tragic Root ies?

J a n se n ism arose primarily from dress circles. If we disregard a few isolated figures from the petty bourgeoisie, figures who belong to the extremist wing of the movement.

Jansenist thought was spread in two social groups by circumscribed item:

- S ome figures of the high a risto c ra cy who agree rather badly with the d om estication that im p licates absolute mon archic and who can not constitute create a clean opposition.
- O fficiaries, especially m em bers of sovereign courts and lawyers.

How to explain this strange affinity between Jansenism, the tragic vision it develops, and the petty nobility of dress? Goldman shows

that the politics of power centered on progress has reduced the importance of this social group, rejecting the practice of the economic and political life. It is this eviction that would have progressively led this group to a position of retreat in the face of the world and social life. Excluded from the economic process, deprived of any social future, this small nobility of dress will be the most sensitive to this ideology that advocates the rejection of the world and its acceptance with the am -

bigu ite that such a position entails, like an ideal of life.

La vision tragique dans le théâtre de Racine

Goldmann considère qu'un lien profond unit les *Pensées* de Pascal, les tragédies de Racine et la vision janséniste du Dieu caché. Ce qui caractérise la tragédie racinienne d'*Andromaque* à *Phèdre*, c'est qu'elle se joue en un seul instant:

»celui où l'homme devient réellement tragique par le refus du monde et de la vie. Un vers revient au moment décisif dans la bouche de tous les héros tragiques de Racine, un vers qui indique le »temps« de la tragédie, l'instant où la relation du héros avec ce qu'il aime encore dans le monde s'établit »pour la dernière fois«.

Andromaque – Céphise, allons le voir pour la dernière fois (IV,1). Junie – Et si je vous parlais pour la dernière fois (V, 1). Titus – Et je vais lui parler pour la dernière fois (II, 2). Bérénice – Pour la dernière fois, adieu, Seigneur (V, 7). Phèdre – Soleil, je viens te voir pour la dernière fois (I, 3).

Tout le reste, d'Andromaque à Bérénice tout au moins, n'est qu'exposition de la situation, exposition qui n'a pas d'importance essentielle pour la pièce. Comme le dit Lukàcs, lorsque le rideau se lève sur une tragédie, l'avenir est déjà présent depuis l'éternité. Les jeux sont faits, aucune conciliation n'est possible entre l'homme et le monde«.²⁸

Dans toutes les tragédies raciniennes les éléments constitutifs du tragique sont Dieu, le monde et l'homme. Le monde c'est aussi bien Oreste, Hermione, Pyrrhus, Hippolyte, Thése et Oenone. Ce qui les réunit c'est un même manque d'authenticité, de caractère et de valeur humaine. Le Dieu, c'est toujours le Dieu caché – Deus Absconditus – et c'est en ce sens que Goldmann montre combien des pièces comme Andromaque et Phèdre sont profondément jansénistes, bien que Racine soit en conflit avec Port-Royal »qui n'aimait pas la comédie, même (et peut être surtout) lorsqu'elle exprimait sa propre vision«²⁹ L'intuition géniale de Goldmann c'est d'avoir montré l'identité fondamentale du Dieu caché de Pascal et du Soleil absent des pièces de Racine.

»Le Soleil de Phèdre est, en réalité, le même Dieu tragique que le Dieu caché de Pascal, de même qu'Andromaque, Junie, Bérénice et Phèdre sont les incarnations concrètes de ces »appelés« dont la reconnaissance constitue dans l'Ecrit sur la Grâce un des critères pour différencier les jansénistes des calvinistes, ou de ces justes à qui la grâce a manqué, dont parle la première des cinq propositions condamnées par l'Eglise«.80

²⁸ D. C. p. 351.

²⁹ D. C. p. 352.

⁸⁰ D. C. p. 352.

a c i n e and the vision of God's cache cannot be profoundly linked. W h a t characterizes the tragedy of A ndrom aque a Phedre is that it plays out in a single instant:

»that or Vhomme becomes tragic by the refusal of the world and of life. The opposite comes at a decisive moment in the mouth of the tragic heroes of Racine, an opposite that indicates the »temp s« of tragedy, l 'in s ta n t ou la r e la tio n d u h e ro s a v e c ce q u 'i a im e n c o r e d a n s l e m o n d e s 'e ta b lit » for the last time«.

Andromaque-Cephise.allows us to leave for the last time (IV, 1).

June-Etsije vo usparlas e for later refo is (V, 1).

Titus - Etjevais lui parler for the last time (II, 2).

B e re n ice - For the last time, adieu, S eigneur (V, 7).

Phedre-Soleil, je vien ste voir pour la dernie refois (I, 3).

To ut the rest, from AndromaqueaBerenice to umoins, is not an exposure of the situation, an exposure that does not have any importance for it the piece. Commeled it Lukacs, when the ride arises upon tragedy, the future is already present after the last night. Lesjeux sont faits, noconcilation'espossible entrel'hommet lemonde «.28

D a n s t o u t e s t h e tragedies are the roots of the constitutive elements of God, the world and h o m m e. Lemons are also Oreste, Hermione, Pyrrhus, Hippolyte, Theseet Oenone. T h e s e c u i l e r e u n t c e s are m e m e m a n q u e d 'authentic ite, de character of human value. Le God , it is to you the God of yours - God Absconditus

et c'est ence sens que Goldmann m o n tre c o m b ie n des p ieces com m e

Andromaque and Phedre are p ro f o n d e m e n t Jan sen ists, although R a c ine so it e n c o n f l i t e s with P o r t- R o y a l »who doesn't even imagine it passes the comedy, m e m e (et p e u t e tre s u rto u t) w h e n 'e lle e x p r o p r e v i s i o n «

L'in tu itio n g e n ia le d e G o ld m a n n c'est d'a v o ir m o n tre l'id e n tite f o n d a -

m e n t a l of the G o d of the P a s c a l e t of the Sun is absent pieces of R acin e.

» L e S o leil de P h e d r e est, in reality, the same tragic God as the hidden God of Easter, as well as 'Andromaque, Jr, B e re n i c e et P h e d r e s o n t les concrete incarnations » a p p e -

les« d o n t the r e c o n n a issance con s titu e d a n s VEcrit on the Grace

u n d e s c r i t e r e s p o u r d i f f e r e n c i e r t h e j a n s e n i s t s from the calv inists, o u d e s just w h i c h grace a man , w h o does not speak of the first of the five proper c o n d a m n e e s p a r l 'Church sites \ll .30

tB D. C. P. 351.

*• D. C. p. 352.

J# D. C. p. 352.

L'opposition radicale est encore celle de la vision tragique du monde et d'un univers d'êtres sans conscience authentique et sans grandeur humaine. Le personnage tragique trouve au contraire sa grandeur dans le refus du monde et de la vie. Ainsi apparaît la possibilité de deux sortes de tragédies: la tragédie sans et la tragédie avec péripétie. Goldmann les définit ainsi:

»La tragédie »sans péripétie ni reconnaissance« est celle dans laquelle le héros sait clairement, dès le début, qu'aucune conciliation n'est possible avec un monde dépourvu de conscience auquel il oppose, sans la moindre défaillance ou illusion, la grandeur de son refus. Ce type de tragédie, Andromaque s'en approchera de très près, Britannicus et Bérénice le réaliseront respectivement dans l'une et dans l'autre de ses formes.

L'autre type de tragédie est celui où il y a péripétie parce que le personnage tragique croit encore pouvoir vivre sans compromis en imposant au monde ses exigences, et reconnaissance parce qu'il finit par prendre conscience de l'illusion à laquelle il s'était laissé aller.«³¹

Ces quelques indications suffisent, je l'espère, à montrer l'extrême cohérence de l'interprétation marxiste – la première du genre – que Goldmann a consacrée à Pascal et à Racine. Aujourd'hui encore, aucune autre interprétaion ne l'a dépassé en richesse et en cohérence. Mais une telle approche pouvait-elle être appliquée à d'autres œuvres, plus modernes et dont le rattachement à un groupe social déterminé était des plus problématiques. C'est à cette question que se heurtera Goldmann lorsqu'il abordera l'étude de plusieurs œuvres caractéristiques du Roman moderne. Une telle approche nécessitait une transformation profonde de la méthode, une recherche de nouvelles médiations entre l'œuvre et la conscience collective. Mais où les découvrir? C'est l'ensemble de ces problèmes que Goldmann tentera d'élucider dans son recueil d'essais: Pour une sociologie du roman.³²

LA SOCIOLOGIE DU ROMAN: MALRAUX, SARTRE, GENET ET ROBBE-GRILLET

L'étude du roman contemporain constitue la seconde étape théorique capitale de la réflexion de Goldmann sur la sociologie de la littérature. Nous ne pouvons, dans le cadre d'une étude aussi brêve, discuter dans le détail les interprétations qu'il a donnés des œuvres de Malraux, Sartre, Genet et Robbe-Grillet. Néanmoins, nous tenterons à travers le rappel de quelques schèmes fondamentaux de ces interprétations d'en montrer la richesse et l'extrême cohérence. On a beaucoup reproché à Goldmann un certain dogmatisme dans ses interprétations, une série de présupposés théoriques jamais clairement explicités. Or,

⁸¹ Ibidem p. 352.

³² Collection Idées. Gallimard. 1965.

greatness in the refusal of the world and of life. Thus appears the possibility of two kinds of tragedies: the tragedy without and the tragedy with peri-pety. G o ld m an n defines them thus:

"The tragedy" without incident or recognition "is one in which the hero knows clearly, from the beginning, that no reconciliation is possible with a world devoid of consciousness to which he opposes, without the slightest failing or illusion, the greatness of his refusal. This ty p e of tragedy, A n d rom aq u e ap p ro -

c h era of three pres, Britan nicu s et Berenice le realisero n t respec -

tively in one and the other of its forms.

The other type of tragedy is one in which there is perip ety because the tragic character still believes that they can live without compromise by imposing their demands on the world, and recognition because he ends up becoming aware of the illusion to which he had let himself go.

These few indications are enough, I hope, to show the extreme coherence of the Marxist I n te r p r e t a t i o n - the first of its kind - that G o ld m an n devoted to P ascal and Racine. To this day, no other interpretation has surpassed it in richness and coherence.

But could such an approach be applied to other works, more modern and whose attachment to a determ ined social group was most prob lem atic. This is the question that G o ld m an n will come up against when he tackles the study of several characteristic works of the modern Romanesque. Such an approach necessitated a profound transformation of the method, a search for new media between the work and the collective consciousness. But where to find them*

It is all of these problems that G o ld m an n tries to elucidate in his collection of essays: P o t u n e s o c io lo g ie d u r o m a n? 2

L A S O C IO L O G IE D U R O M A N : M A L R A U X , S A R T R E , G E N E T

ETROBBE-GRILLET

The study of the contemporan novel constitutes the second major theoretic stage in Goldmanns reflection on the sociology of literature. We cannot, within the framework of such a brief study, discuss in detail the interpretations that he gave of the works of Malraux, Sartre, Genetand Robbe-Grillet. Neve theless, we

w ill try to recall a few basic patterns of these in te rp re tatio n s to show their richness and extreme consistency. G o ld m a n n a n c e rta in dogmatism has been widely reproached in his in terp retatio n s, a series of theoretical presuppositions that have never been clearly explicit. However, 11 Ibidem p. 352.

« C o llectio n Idês. G allim a rd 1965

rien est plus faux. Peu d'approches sont aussi souples et aussi prudentes que la sienne. Il s'agit toujours de laisser parler le texte, de le lire intégralement, sans rien y retrancher et sans rien y ajouter. Si le Dieu caché était fortement influencé par La Métaphysique de la tragédie du jeune Lukàcs, c'est à partir de sa Théorie du Roman que Goldmann abordera l'étude du roman moderne.

L'un des concepts centraux du Dieu caché avec ceux de Totalité et de vision du monde était celui de conscience collective. C'est là le leitmotiv de la sociologie de Goldmann: il n'y a de sujet créateur que collectif. Aucun individu ne peut créer une »vision du monde«, il ne peut s'agir que d'une lente évolution des structures mentales et affectives au sein d'un groupe plus ou moins vaste. En abordant le roman moderne, Goldmann se heurtait à ce paradoxe: comprendre et interpréter une œuvre individuelle – par opposition aux œuvres non romanesques du 17ème siècle – qui reflète et exprime une structure globale significative mais sans la médiation nécessaire de la conscience collective. Si el roman est l'expression d'une vision du monde, il est impossible de le rattacher à un groupe social déterminé dont il manifesterait les valeurs, même dans sa définition générale d'»épopée bourgeoise«. A partir de la Théorie du roman de Lukàcs, Goldmann a été amené à formuler plusieurs hypothèses, en particulier celles-ci:

- il existe une homologie entre la structure romanesque, classique et la structure de l'échange dans l'économie libérale, et certains parallèlismes entre leurs évolutions ultérieures.
- selon Lukàcs ce qui caractérise le héros romanesque c'est qu'il est problématique.³³

Comme l'écrit Goldmann:

»Le roman est l'histoire d'une recherche dégradée (que Lukàcs appelle »démoniaque«), recherche de valeurs authentiques dans un monde dégradé lui aussi mais à un niveau autrement avancé et sur un mode différent«.34

En tant que genre épique, le roman est caractérisé – contrairement à l'épopée ou au conte – par la rupture insurmontable entre le héros et le monde. La rupture radicale seule aurait abouti à la tragédie ou à la poésie lyrique, l'absence de rupture symbolise le monde de l'épopée et du conte, le roman au contraire est, par sa nature, dialectique dans la mesure où il part de la communauté fondamentale du héros et du monde que suppose toute forme épique, mais aussi de leur rupture insurmontable:

»Le héros démoniaque du roman est un fou ou un criminel, en tout cas, comme nous l'avons dit, un personnage problématique dont la recherche dégradée, et par là même inauthentique, de valeurs authentiques dans un monde de conformisme et de

³³ Cf. en particulier les essais de Lukàcs sur Goethe, et notamment l'étude consacrée à Wilhelm Meister (Goethe et son époque. Nagel 1949).

³⁴ Pour une sociologie du roman, p. 23.

tes q ue the sienn e. II s'a g it to you jo u r
s of text s e r p a r l e r , of reading

integrally, without withdrawing anything from it and without adding anything to it. If God hides and is strongly influenced by The Metaphysics of Tragedy

d u je u n e L u k a c s, c'est a p a r t i r d e sa Theorie du Roman que G o ld m a n n a b o rd e r a l 'e tu d e d u ro m a n m o d e rn e .

The unity of God's central concepts with Totality

of worldview and ta it that of collective consciousness. This is the le itmotiv of Goldmann's sociology: there is no longer a collective creative subject. No individual can create a » vision of the world«, he cannot undergo a lent evolution of mental structures and affective states outside himself 'ungrouplus oupplus oumoins vaste Abordant lemoderroman, Goldmann se heurtait ace paradox: comprendet an interpreter of an individual work - aparoposition on to non-roman works sques du 17 erne siecle - quireflet he teetexprime unestructureglobal significant but without themediation ecessary of a modern vision, it is impossible to attach it to a social group determined by money-fest rait les valeurs, memedans and 'we popeebour geoise«. Apart from Lukacs' Theorie du roman, Goldman also formulates several urshy potheses, in particular cells:

- il ex iste u n e h o m o lo g ie e n tr e la s tru c tu r e ro m a n e s q u e , c la ssiq u e et la s tru c tu re d e l 'e c h a n g e d a n s l 'e c o n o m ie lib e ra le , e t c e rta in s p a r a lle -

lism es e n tre leu rs e v o lu tio n s u lte rie u re s.

- selo n L u k a c s ce q u i c a ra c te ris e le h e ro s ro m a n e s q u e c'est q u 'il est

problem at that time, 33

Commel'e crit Goldmann:

»Theromanis the history of a degraded research (which Lukacs calls » demonic «), a research that devalues authentic ancients in a world of his own degradation aunnive au utrementavan ceeturnmoded ifferent«.34

When it is epic, the novel is characterized by a contrairemental epoch or a conterportal arupture insurmountable in the middle roset the world. Laruptureradicationsauraitaboutialtragedieoualpoesielyrique, the absence of the rupturesymbolizes the world of epoch and duconte, the Roman in the opposite, parsanature, dialectuedanslames ure oil part of the communaute fondamentalduheroset du mondecoposet oute formeepique, but beyond the summarized leurrupture:

in Pa r t *c u l*e r the essays of Luke&cs u r G o e th e , e t not o ta m m e n t l 'ć tu d e con-sa c re e a W ilh e lm M e iste r (G o e th e et so n ip o q u e . N a g e l 1949).

34 For Roman sociology, p. 23.

convention, constitue le contenu de ce nouveau genre littéraire que les écrivans ont créé dans la société individualiste et qu'on a appelé »roman«.35

A partir de cette analyse, Lukàcs élabore une typologie du roman. Partant de la relation de l'homme et du monde, il distingue trois formes fondamentales du roman occidental au 19ème siècle auxquelles s'ajoute une quatrième possibilité qui s'exprime à partir de 1920 avant tout dans les romans de Tolstoï -

a) Le roman de l'idéalisme abstrait caractérisé par l'activité du héros est par sa conscience toujours étroite par rapport à la complexité du monde (Don Quichotte, Le Rouge et le Noir).

b) Le roman psychologique caractérisé par la passivité du héros et sa conscience trop large pour se satisfaire de ce monde (Oblomov. L'Education sentimentale).

c) Le roman éducatif s'achevant par une auto-limitation du héros (Wilhelm Meister).

Dans la perspective lukacsienne le roman sera toujours l'histoire d'une recherche dégradée de valeurs authentiques dans un monde inauthentique, le conflit que Hegel reconnaissait comme celui de la poésie du cœur et de la prose du monde. Aussi le problème central du roman sera-t-il d'exprimer sous une forme éthique ce qui dans la conscience du romancier est abstrait, d'en faire l'élément essentiel d'une œuvre où cette réalité ne peut exister que sur le mode d'une absence non thématisée. Mais il reste à comprendre le rapport qui unit le contenu du roman, sa forme et le milieu social qui l'exprime. Comme il n'est plus possible de voir en lui la simple expression d'une catégorie sociale déterminée, Goldmann propose une autre hypothèse:

»La forme romanesque nous parait être en effet la transposition sur le plan littéraire de la vie quotidienne dans la société individualiste née de la production pour le marché. Il existe une homologie rigoureuse entre la forme littéraire du roman, telle que nous venons de la définir à la suite de Lukàcs (...), et la relation quotidienne des hommes avec les biens en général, et par extension, des hommes avec les autres hommes, dans une société productrice pour le marché.«36

La forme extrêmement complexe que représente le roman et celle du monde dans lequel vivent les hommes aujourd'hui lorsqu'ils doivent »rechercher toute qualité«, toute valeur d'usage sur un mode dégradé par la médiation de la quantité, de la valeur d'échange, et cela dans une société où tout effort pour s'orienter directement vers la valeur d'usage ne saurait engendrer que des individus eux aussi dégradés, mais sur un mode différent, celui de l'individu problématique.«87

La sociologie du roman s'écartera de toute autre sociologie de la littérature - marxiste ou non - par une série d'affirmations fondamentales:

<sup>Ibidem p. 24, 25.
Ibidem p. 36.
Ibidem p. 39.</sup>

Based on this analysis, L ukacs elaborates a typology of the novel.

Starting from the rela tio n between man and the world, he distinguishes three fundamental forms of the Western novel in the 19th century, to which is added a fourth possibility which is expressed from 1920 above all in the novels of T o lsto i -

- a) The novel of abstract idealism characterized by the activity of the hero is, because of his consciousness, always narrowed down to the complexity of the world (Don Quixote, Le Rouge et the Black).
- b) The psychological novel is characterized by the passivity of the hero and his consciousness too wide to be part of this world (Oblomov.

L'Education sentimentale).

c) The Roman educational accomplished through the self -limitation of heroes

(W ilhelm Meister).

From the Lukacsian persp ectiv e, the novel will always be the story of a quest for auth en tic v alues in an in-au th en tic w o rld , the conflict that Heg el recognized as that between the poetry of the heart and the prose of the world. Also the central problem of the novel will be to express in an ethical form what in the consciousness of the novelist is abstract, to make its element essential to a work in which this reality can only exist in the mode of a non-thematized absence. But it remains to be understood the relationship that unites the content of the novel, its form and the social environment that expresses it. As it is no longer possible to see in him the simple expression of a determ ined social category, G o ld m an n proposes another hypothesis:

» The Romanesque form whe seems to us to be in effect the transposition on the literary plane of daily life in the born in dividualist society of production for market. There is a strict homology between the literary form of the novel, as we have just defined it following Lukacs (. . .), and the daily relation men with goods in general, and by extension, men with other men, in a producing society for the market."39

The extremement complex form that the novel represents and that of the world in which men live today when they have to" to seek all quality«, all use value in a dé-grad mode by med ia tion of

the q u a n tity, of the exchange v a lu e r, and that in an s a society where any e ffo rt to move directly towards use v a lu e would only beget individu als who are also of rank, but on a m ode of iffe re n t, that of iin d ivid u problematic. $*^*1$

The sociology of the novel is distinguished from all other sociology of literature - Marxist or not - by a series of fundamental affirmations:

*® Ibidem p. 24, 25.

"Ibid em p. 36.

"Id em p. 39.

- a) L'œuvre littéraire n'est pas le simple reflet d'une conscience collective, réelle et donnée mais l'aboutissement à un niveau de cohérence très poussée des tendances propres à la conscience de tel ou tel groupe, conscience que Goldmann conçoit comme »une réalité dynamique orientée vers un certain état d'équilibre«.
- b) La relation entre la pensée collective et les grandes créations individuelles littéraires, philosophiques, théologiques, ... réside non pas dans une identité de contenu, mais dans une cohérence plus poussée et dans une homologie des structures, laquelle peut s'exprimer par des contenus imaginaires extrêmement différents de la conscience collective.
- c) L'œuvre correspondant à la structure mentale de tel ou tel groupe social peut être élaborée dans certains cas bien rares, il est vrai, par un individu ayant peu de relation avec ce groupe. Pour le roman aussi, Goldmann maintient que le caractère social de l'œuvre réside surtout en ce qu'un individu ne saurait jamais établir par lui même une structure mentale cohérente correspondant à ce qu'on appelle une vision du monde.
- d) La conscience collective n'est ni une réalité première, ni une réalité autonome: elle s'élabore implicitement par le comportement global des individus participant à la vie économique, sociale et politique.

Romans de Malraux: de la crise des valeurs à la perspective communiste.

Goldmann s'est surtout attaché à rechercher les structures significatives immanentes aux romans de Malraux. Si ses premiers écrits -Royaume farfelu, Lunes en papier, La tentation de l'occident - affirment la mort des dieux et la décomposition universelle des valeurs, sous forme d'essais, les écrits suivants - Les conquérents, La voie royale, La condition humaine - crééent »un univers à intention constitué d'êtres, imaginaires mais individuels et vivants«. Ce qui domine les premiers écrits de Malraux, c'est une conscience très vive, comme en témoigne le Royaume farfelu - (1920-1927) - de l'effondrement des valeurs, et l'aspiration romantique à une valeur inconnue et inconnaisable.³⁸ Ce qui domine c'est le sentiment de la mort universelle des valeurs, la conscience de leur destruction future - dans la ville où arrivent les voyageurs, un marchand qui vendait des phœnix, en brûle sous leurs yeux - et la fuite de la vie. Les dieux sont devenus de simples jouets mécaniques. Goldmann remarque à juste titre qu'»un critique qui n'aurait entre les mains que ce seul texte y verrait sans doute le désenchantement superficiel et peut être purement verbal d'un adolescent à la fois très doué et trop préoccupé de sa propre personne«.39 En fait, Malraux ressentait à travers sa sensibilité aigüe et maladive la crise intellectuelle et morale du monde occidental.

³⁸ Goldmann rapproche à juste titre le symbole de la »Princesse de Chine« de la Fleur Bleue des Romantiques Allemands.

⁸⁹ S. R. p. 70.

consciousness of what G old m a n n co ngoit com m e » u n e re a lite d y n a -

m iq u e o rie n te e v e rs u n c e rta in e ta t d 'e q u ilib re «.

- b) The relationship between collective thought and the great creations of individual writers, philosophers, theologians es, it resides not in an identity of content, but in a coherence plus pous see and in a homology of structures that can be expressed in terms of content s im a g in a ire sex tremendously dif ferent from the collective consciousness.
- c) The work corresponds to the mental structure of such a social group, perhaps it is labored in certain cases, but it is true in d i v i d u a y s can have a r elationship with the group. F o r the novel itself, G old m a n n m ain tie n t t h a t the social character of the work resides above all in the fact that an individual w i t h a r e can never be tabled equally lu i m e a coherent s t r u c t u r e corresponding to what appeals to a w o r l d vision.
- d) The collective consciousness 'is neither real premier, nor autonomous: it labors implicitly through the global behavior of individuals id usp a rticipation in economic, social and political life.

Romans de M alranx: from the crisis of values to perspective

Communist.

G o ld m a n n s 'est s u rto u t a tta c h e a r e c h e rc h e r les s tru c tu re s s ig n ificativ es im m a n e n te s a u x ro m a n s d e M a lr a u x . Si ses p re m ie rs e c rits -

Wacky Kingdom, Paper Files, The Temptation of the West - affirming the death of the gods and the un iv e rs al d e c o m p o s itio n o f v a lu es , in the form of essays, e c following rits - The Conquerors, The Way

royale, The human condition - cre e ent » a universal in te n tio n c o n stitue d 'e three, imaginary m ais in individuals and living things « . W h a t dominates M a lr a u x ' s p r e m i e r s e c r i t e s , it s t u n e s t h e consciousness of the living, as m e n t h i s t h e Kingdom farfelu - (1 9 2 0 -1 9 2 7) - of the ffond re m e n t of v a l u e s , and r o m a n t i c a p p i r a t i o n a une v a l u e r inco n u e t in -

c o n n a is a b le .38 W h a t it dominates is the sentiment of the universal mortality of values, the consciousness of the future truction

the town ou a r r i v e n t t h e v o y a g e u r s , a m a r ch a n d w h i c h sells it from the phoenix, en b ru le under their eyes - it is the fu ite of life. L e s d i e u x s o n t de v e n u s of simple jewelery mechanics. G old m a n n r e m a r k e d just this title that 'wa critic who does not write among the main s q u e c e s alone text w i t h without doubting the sensations on the surface let it be pure m e n t v e r b a l d 'u n a d o l e s s e n t a l fo i s t r i s d o u e t r o p p e r o c k u p e d e s p r o p e r p e r - s o n e « .39 In fact, M a l r a u x res s s e n t a i t a t r a v e l s sa sen siblite aig iie et m a la d i v e the intellectual and moral crisis of the W estern world.

48 Goldm ann rightly compares the symbol of the * P r in c e s s e of C h in e with

the Fleur Bleue des Romantiques Allem ands.

88 S. R. p. 70.

La même vision se retrouve dans Lunes en papier paru en 1920. L'influence de la littérature d'avant-garde – sans doute Dada et les premiers surréalistes groupés autour de Tzara - y est sensible -. La victoire sur la mort, victoire ultime, apparait inutile et sans signification. Tous ces thèmes sont repris sous une forme plus complète dans La tention de l'occident. La plus grande partie de l'ouvrage concerne la crise de la culture occidentale mais aussi la crise complémentaire que subit la culture chinoise. Pour Malraux cette crise se manifeste par une crise des valeurs individuelles et des espoirs qui les étayaient, une crise de l'action et de l'amour, dans laquelle ne survit qu'une seule attitude: la connaissance.

Les Conquérants marquent un saut qualitatif essentiel par rapport à ces premiers écrits. Goldmann résume très bien cette évolution:

»le romancier Malraux, entre Les Conquérants et la Condition humaine, est un homme qui croit à des valeurs universelles bien que problématiques. L'écrivain Malraux du Temps du mépris et de l'Espoir est un homme qui croit à des valeurs humaines universelles et transparentes, bien que hautement menacées. L'auteur des Noyers de l'Altenburg, ouvrage qui se situe entre la création littéraire et la réflexion conceptuelle, est un homme qui raconte sa désillusion et cherche encore un fondement à sa foi en l'homme«.40

Une même structure unit les Conquérants et La Voie royale. Ces deux romans classent Malraux parmi les grands écrivains du 20ème siècle car »ils apportent une solution neuve et originale aux problemes les plus importants qui, sous des formes différentes et complémentaires, se posait aussi bien a la puilosophie qu'à la littérature occidentale de l'époque: celui de donner une signification à la vie à l'in-térieur de la crise générale des valeurs.«41 Remarquons toutefois que Malraux présente, jusqu'à la Condition humaine une solution sur le plan individuel: ce n'est qu'à partir de ce roman qu'apparaitra le »personnage collectif«. Ce qui constitue l'originalité des Conquérants. c'est que »dans le monde passif et en décomposition que Malraux avait décrit dans ses ouvrages précédents, quelque chose apparait qui ramène la vie et constitue une nouvelle valeur: l'action est plus précisément l'action révolutionnaire et historique«.42 Sans doute. ne s'identifie-t-il pas à ce monde - Garine n'est ni chinois ni révolutionnaire professionnel - mais il est le héros du roman car il donne à sa vie une signification et une valeur, et c'est la rencontre avec le communisme qui constitue cette possibilité de redonner un sens à la vie. Sur ce point on peut comme le fait Goldmann rapprocher Malraux de Victor Serge (mais avec beaucoup de prudence, par respect pour la mémoire de Victor Serge), car ils sont les seuls grands romanciers à avoir fait de la révolution prolétarienne une structure de création littéraire. Le communisme est apparu d'abord à Malraux com-

⁴⁰ Ibidem p. 84.

⁴¹ Ibidem p. 85. 42 Ibidem p. 97.

¹⁷ PRAXIS

first surrealist groups around T z a ra - is sensitive to this.

victory over death, ultimate victory, appears useless and meaningless. All of these themes are taken up in fuller form in A ten tio n to the West. M ost of the book concerns the crisis of Western culture, but also the complementary crisis that Chinese culture is undergoing. F o r M a lra ux, this crisis manifests itself as a crisis of in d iv id u al values and the hopes that underpinned them, a crisis of action and love, in which only one attitude survives: knowledge.

Les C onquerants marks an essential qualitative leap compared to these first writings. G o ld m an n sums up this development very well:

when novelist M a lrau x , between The Conquerors and the H u m a n Condition, is a m a n who belie v es in universal v alues albeit p ro blem atic. The writer M a lrau x du T e m p s du m e prize; de I 'Espoir is a man who believes in universal and transparent human values, although highly threatened. The author of Les No y e rs de l'A U en b u rg , a work that lies between literary creation and conceptual reflection, is a man who recounts his disillusionment and seeks another funda m en t of his faith in man«.40

A sa m e stru c tu re unites Les C onquerants and La Voie royale. These two novels rank M a lrau x among the great w riters of the 20th century because "they bring a n e w and o rig in al solution to the p ro b k -

m ost im p o rta n ts which, in d iffe re n t and comple-m entary forms, apply both to p n tlosophy and to western literature of the time: that of giving meaning to life within the g e n e ra l crisis of values. to the H u m a n C o n d itio n a solution on the in d iv id u al level: it is only from this novel that w ill appear

»collective character«. What toonstitutes the originality of Les Conquerants is that "in the passive and decomposing world that Malraux had described in his previous works, something appears it that brings life back and constitutes a new value: Action is more precisely revolution ary and his toric action".42 Undoubtedly. does he not identify with this world - Garine is neither Chinese nor a profession al revolution ary - but he is the hero of the novel because he gives his life a signification and avalue, and it is the encounter with communism that constitutes this possibility of giving meaning back to life. On this point, we can, as Goldmanndoes, bring Malraux closer to Victor Serge (but with great caution, Dar respect for Victor Serge s memory ictor Serge), because they are the only great

novelists to have made the p ro le tarian rev o lu tio n a stru ctu re of literary creation. C om m unism f irst appeared in M alrau x com-40 Ibidem p. 84.

41 Ibidem p. 85.

41 Ibidem p. 97.

17 PRAXIS

me l'unique réalité authentique dans un monde en décomposition. Pourtant Malraux n'adhèrera jamais au communisme ni dans ces trois premières œuvres romansques – Les Conquérants, La Uoie Royale et la Condition Humaine – ni dans son dernier ouvrage proprement littéraire – Les Noyers de l'Altenburg –, les œuvres les plus proches de la perspective communiste étant l'Espoir et Le Temps du Mépris.

La révolution chinoise a pris aux yeux de Malraux une importance

particulière mais, comme l'écrit Goldmann:

»En parlant de la Chine, Malraux ne veut ni se réfugier dans l'exotisme ne décrire une situation particulière, mais parler de l'homme universel et, implicitement, de l'homme occidental de lui-même et de tous ses camarades«.48

La Chine, Canton, les grèves et la lutte contre l'Angleterre représentent l'action historique et révolutionnaire universelle, l'action libératrice qui apporte à l'homme une nouvelle conscience de son existence et de sa dignité. Si les masses chinoises et indochinoises constituent l'horizon de l'action, trois figures incarnent l'idéal communiste comme autant d'éléments distincts ayant chacun une valeur humaine différente: Klein, Borodine, Nicolaïev. Klein est un militant dévoué, sans réserve, étroitement lié au peuple. Borodine est le chef révolutionnaire, l'homme d'action, pour qui l'action n'existe cependant que comme lutte contre l'oppression. Borodine est un révolutionnaire professionnel qu'on ne saurait transformer en homme d'état. Nicolaïev, limité et robuste, policier éternel, ne peut que remplir des fonction utiles et n'a guère de valeur humaine. Hong et Tcheng-daï, dans les principes de l'action comme de la morale, incarnent le même idéalisme abstrait.

C'est l'action qui permet pour Malraux d'échapper à l'effondrement des valeurs, à la fascination de la mort et du néant, c'est la perspective du communisme qui donne la possibilité de justifier sa vie sans pourtant adhérer à la perspective réelle pour laquelle il se bat. Mais l'imminence de la mort séparera définitivement Garine du mouve-

ment révolutionnaire en le rendant à sa solitude originelle.

Dans la *Uoie Royale* le cadre général du récit est la lutte permanente entre le néant informe incarné par la végétation de la forêt tropicale et l'effort des hommes pour établir des formes significatives. On voit se préciser la distinction entre l'Aventurier et le Conquérant. Tous deux sont unis par leur mépris des conventions et de la société bourgeoise mais alors que l'Aventurier ne pense qu'à lui-même, au style du personnage qu'il incarne, le Conquérant au contraire s'engage dans la lutte effective et subordonne sa vie à l'idéal. Le sens de la vie tel qu'il apparait dans *La Uoie Royale* réside toujours dans l'action, seul moyen de dépasser la menace du néant. Mais lorsque l'on meurt, ou que l'on va mourir, on retrouve le même monde de l'absurde.

La Condition Humaine a aussi la révolution chinoise pour thème et plus précisément le conflit qui oppose les révolutionnaires de Shan-

⁴³ S. R. p. 103.

However, M a l r a u x has never adhered to communism in these three first Roman works - Les Conquerants, La Voie Royale et la Condition Humane - in his recent works rag e p ro p r e m e n t literary - Les Noyers de VAltenburg -, the works closest to the c o m m u n i t e p r e s p e c t i v e VEspoir and Le 7 emps du Mepris.

Larevolutionchinoise apris auxyeuxde Malrauxune importanceparticulierem ais, commel'ecrit Goldman n:

» Enparlant de la Chine, Malrauxneveut ni serefugier dans l'exotismenedecrire unes ituation particuliere, mais parler de l'hommeunivers elet, implicitement, de l'hommeoccidental de lui-memeet de tous ses camara de s«.43

L a Ch in e , C a n to n , the struggle against England represents historical action and a universal revolution, p 'a c tio n lib e -

r a t r i c e w h i c h brings home a new consciousness of nex istence and dignity. If the Chinese masses are set within the Chinese horizon of action, three figures incarnate the communist ideal as distinct elements a y a n t c h a c u n u n e v a l u r h u m a i n e d i f i e r e n t : K lein , B o ro d i n e , Nico la'iev K le is not a militant devotee, without reserve, etroite m e n t lying to the people. B o ro d i n e is t h e chief of revolution, the man of action, because action does not exist as long as he fights oppression. B o r o d i n e s t u n r e v o l u t i o n a s e r e p r o f e s s i o n n e l q u ' o n e s a u r i t s t r a n s f o r m e r h o m m e d 'e tat. N ic o -

la'iev, lim ite e t r o b u s t e , p o l i c e r e t e r n e l , n e p e u t t o fulfill these functions do not a g u e r human value. H o n g e t T ch e n g-dai, in the principles of action as well as morality, embodies the idea of -

lism e a b s tra it.

This is the action that allows for Malraux d'echapperal's fondness of values, a la fascination with the amortet duneant, a laper's perspective on the common ism e q u i d o n n e la p o s s i b ility of justifying life without s p o u r t h e r e r e a l p e r s e c t i v e r e for which he wrote. M a is l'im m i n e n c e d e l o r t se p a r e r a d e f i n t i v e m e n t G a r i n e d u m o u v e m e n t r e v o l u t i o n a r e n l e r n a t e s a solitary orig ine l.

D a n s la Voie Royale le c a d re g e n e ra l d u rec it est la lu tte p e

rm a -

n e n t e n t r e l e n t i n f o r m e in c a r n e p a r l a v e g a t i o n of the tropical forest and the effort of the households to retain these significant forms.

O n v o it is to specify the distinction between the 'Av en turie r and the Conqueror.

Tousdeux sontunis par leur mepris des conventions et de la societe bourg eo ise mais a lors quel'Aventurier nepense qu'a lui-meme, austy le dupers onnage qu'il in carne, le Conquerant aucontraires 'en-

g a g e d a n s la lu tte effectiveness is subordinate to an ideal. T h e sense of life that appears in La Voie Royale resides to you in Tactione , the only way to get past the menace. M a is lo rsq u e T o die, where T o die, we find the meme of the b -

sur rd e.

The Human Condition also has the Chinese rev o lu tio n as its theme and more specifically the c o n fl ict w h e n th e r e v o lu tio n aries of S h a n -

48 S. R. p. 103.

gaï et la direction du Parti et de l'Internationale qui leur demandent de ne pas résister à Tchang Kaï Tchek. C'est l'opposition de la communauté révolutionnaire et de sa valeur à la discipline. Peut être influencé par sa discussion avec Trostky, comme le suggère Goldmann, Malraux semble parfois s'approcher d'une perspective trotskyste. Mais ce qui est radicalement nouveau dans la Condition Humaine c'est que l'accent se trouve mis non plus sur la valeur individuelle mais sur la valeur de la communauté révolutionnaire symbolisée par Kyo, Katow et May, et les militants anonymes que les entourent. Les révolutionnaires de Shangaï sont attachés à deux expériences fondamentales et contradictoires: le développement de la révolution et leur fidélité à la discipline de l'Internationale. Ecrite dans la perspective de Kyo, May et Katow la Condition Humaine met l'accent sur le sabotage de leur combat par la direction du Parti et la responsabilité de cette direction dans la défaite, la torture, le masacre des militants.

L'amour et la mort ont toujours une place essentielle dans les romans de Malraux mais dans la Condition Humaine ils ont une fonction totalement différente que dans Les Conquérants: il s'agit de relations authentiques – le combat et la fraternité – et non plus d'une fuite de l'angoisse et de la mort. Aussi Goldmann considère-t-il que l'histoire de Kyo et de May est l'une des plus belles et des plus pures his-

toires d'amour qui aient été écrites au 20è siècle.

* *

Si les Conquérants et la Condition Humaine symbolisent l'apparition de la révolution prolétarienne dans l'horizon de la littérature française, Malraux ne s'identifiait aucunement au Parti Communiste qui dirigeait cette révolution. Le passage du roman de Garine à la communauté des révolutionnaires de Shangaï constitue comme le remarque Goldmann un pas important vers une perspective révolutionnaire. Dans Le Temps du Mépris et l'Espoir il s'agit de l'acceptation intégrale du Parti Communiste. Le Temps du Mépris est le récit d'un épisode de la lutte révolutionnaire dans laquelle la dignité humaine, la communauté immédiate et la réconciliation de l'homme et de l'univers le réalise. Dans l'Espoir au contraire on trouve une valorisation consciente du Parti qui organise et dirige la lutte. On ne saurait méconnaître les raisons de cette évolution: l'ouragan fasciste qui ravage l'Europe a beaucoup contribué à rapprocher les intellectuels du communisme. Aussi, cette évolution du héros problématique vers la perspective révolutionnaire explique-t-elle aussi l'évolution de la forme littéraire: le Temps du Mépris et l'Espoir ne sont plus vraiment des romans, ils sont comme le dit Goldmann: »des formes intermédiaires entre l'épique et le lyrique«. Le sens de la vie se trouve désormais identifié au lien de l'individu et de la communauté révolutionnaire. L'Espoir constitue dans l'œuvre de Malraux une étape nouvelle et fondamentale: celle de l'identification explicite avec les perspectives du Parti Communiste, en tant que parti qui s'oppose aux aspirations spontanées de la communauté révolutionnaire. À l'inverse de la Condition Humaine c'est à travers des yeux des dirigeants et non plus des

gai and the leadership of the P a rti and the ln te rn a tio n asked them not to resist T c h a n g Ka'i Tchek. It is the opposition of re v o lu tio n ary com m u n ity and of value to discipline. Perhaps influenced by

his discussion with T ro stky , as G o ldm ann suggests, M a lra ux seems at times to approach a Trotskyist perspective. But what is radically n ew in H u m a n C o n d itio n is that the emphasis is no longer on in d iv id u a l v a lu e m ais on the value of the rev o lu tio n ary com m unity s ymbolized by Kyo, K atow and M ay, and the anonym e m ilita n ts around them. The rev o lu tio naries of S h an gai are attached to two fundamental and con trad icto ry experiences: the dev elopm ent of rev o lu tio n and their fidelity to the discipline of the ln te rn a tio n a le . W ritten from the perspective of Kyo, M ay and K atow the H u m a n C o n d itio n and emphasis on the sabotage of their fight b y the P a rti leadership and the resp o n sab ility of this direction in the defeat, the to rtu re , the m asacre of the m ilitan ts.

L o ve and d e a t h a ve an essential place in M a lra u x's novels b u t in H u m a n C o n d itio n th ey have a function to iffe re n t only in Les C o n q u eran ts: it is about au th en tic re la tions - the fight and the fra te rn it anguish and death. G o ld m an n also con siders that the story of Kyo and M ay is one of the finest and purest love stories ever written. in the 20th century.

If the Conquerors and the Human Condition symbolize the appearance of the proletarian revolution in the horizon of French literature, M a lra u x did not identify himself with the C o m m unist Party which led this revolution. The passage of Garin e's novel to the rev olutionary community of Shanghai constitutes, as Goldman re-marked, an important step towards a p erspective rev o lu tio n aire. In L e t m e p s of the M e p r i s t e VEspoir it is about the integral acceptance of the C o m m u nist Party. The Times of Mepris is the story of an episode of the revolutionary struggle in which human dignity, the immediate community and recognition ciliation of man and the universe realizes it. In V Espoir, on the contrary, we find a conscious appreciation of the Party that organizes and directs the struggle. We do not know the reasons for this evolution: the fascist hurricane that is ravaging Europe has brought many people closer to the intellectuals of the com m unism e. Also, this evolution of the problematic hero towards the revolutionary perspective also explains the revolution of the literary form: the Temps of the Mep ris and VEspoir are no longer really novels, they are, as Goldman said: »intermediate forms between the epic and the lyric«. The meaning of life is now identified with the link between the individual and the revolutionary community.

Hope con stitutes a new and fundamental stage in M a lrau x s work: that of ex p licit id en tific atio n with the perspectives of the P a rti C om m unist, as a p a rti e who opposes the spo n tan e aspiratio n s of the re v o lu tio n a ry co m m u n ity. Unlike the H u m a n C ond itio

militants que l'action est considérée. L'Espoir est fondé tout entier sur l'opposition des deux partis fondamentaux qui s'affrontent: la barbarie du fascisme et l'humanisme du communisme qui seul peut créer la fraternité universelle, redonnant à chacun sa dignité. Il n'en demeure pas moins que l'Espoir est écrit dans une perspective stalinienne. L'encomble des croquis qui composent le livre s'articule autour de deux issages fondamentaux:

- 1 celui de la révolution espagnole, de l'anarchie à l'organisation, de l'apocalypse à la discipline, de la guërrilla à l'armée;
- 2 du personnage de Manuel, de révolutionnaire sentimental. plein d'amour et d'enthousiasme, au communisme conscient qui maîtrise ses sentiments et au chef militant.

Ainsi comme l'écrit Goldmann:

"L'Espoir apparait, inversement, comme un univers qu'on pourrait qualifier de post-épique dans la mesure où l'individu au lieu de se réaliser dans la communauté et de constituer avec elle une unité organique, se trouve nié dans sa spontanéité et sa plénitude par la discipline et l'organisation. Au fond, Malraux est passé, avec ces deux récits dont l'univers est centré sur la réconciliation entre l'individu et la collectivité, du stade antérieur à cette réconciliation à celui où il a fait de la technocratie politique et militaire le véritable sujet de l'histoire«.44

LE THEATRE DE SARTRE: L'AMBIGUITE DE TOUTE ACTION POLITIQUE

Goldmann a consacré à Sartre au moins deux études fondamentales, la première est une discussion des thèses de la Critique de la Raison Dialectique, 45 la seconde est une approche structurale de son théâtre. 46 C'est cette seconde approche que nous évoquerons ici. A travers tous les développements de la pensée de Sartre, Goldmann s'efforce de dégager tout d'abord plusieurs étapes fondamentales. Ainsi distingue-t-il au moins quatre périodes successives:

- la première comprend ses deux essais sur l'Imagination, et l'Ima-

ginaire, ainsi que les quatre nouvelles réunies dans Le Mur.

- la seconde comprend la Nausée et l'Etre et le Néant. Elle correspond à la naissance de l'Existentialisme que Goldmann qualifie de »philosopie de la limite et de l'échec«.

 la troisième correspond au projet de Sartre de concilier la liberté d'action de l'individu et la liberté d'autrui. Ce sont ces problèmes que

tente de résoudre la critique de la raison dialectique.

L'ensemble de ces problèmes se retrouveront dans son théâtre que

l'on peut sommairement diviser en deux cycles de pièces:

a) Les Mouches, Morts sans sépultures, Huit Clos, qui mettent l'accent sur le problème de la relation entre le choix libre et son résultat effectif, entre les individus au sein de la communauté.

<sup>Ibidem p. 238-239.
M. S. 242-258
S. M. p. 209-264.</sup>

u t e n tie r sur T o p p o sitio n des d e u x p a rtis f o n d a m e n ta u x q ui s'a ff r o n te n t: la b a rb a -

rie du fascism e et H u m a n ism e d u c o m m u n ism m e w h i c h alone can create universal fraternity , r e d o n a n t a c h a c u n s d i g n i t e II doesn't d e m e u r e at least that VEspoir is written in a Stalinist perspective. L 'en-r mble of the sketches that comprise the book is a rtic u le to the author of two fo n d a m e n ta u x essays:

1 - that of the Spanish revolution, of T anarchy and Organization, of T apocalypse and discipline, of war a l 'a rm ć e; 2 - d u p e r s o n nage de Manuel, there is a sentimental revolution, plein d 'a m o u r e d 'enthousiasm e, au c o m m u n ism e c o n s i e n t qu i m ai-trise ses sentiments et a u ch e f militant.

According to Tecrit Goldman:

»L'Espoir a p p a r a i s e s , i n v e r s e m e n t , as a uni versus that for righteousness can be post-epique d an s the measure or T in d iv i d u au lieu de se re a l s e r d a n c o m m u n a u t e t d e c o n s t i t u e d with it an organic unit, it is found in its spontaneity and uniqueness in terms of discipline and Organization tio n A u fond , Malraux is passing, with some recitations where T universe is at the center of the reconciliation between individuality and collectivity, however ta d e an t e r i e u r a c e tte r e c o n c i l a t i o n a celu i ou il a f ait de la technocratic p o litiq u e et m ilitary the real subject of history « .44

THE THEATER OF SAR T R E : THE AMBIGUITY OF ALL POLITICAL ACTION

Goldmannacon sacre a Sartre a u moins de u x e tu de s fondamenta-

les, the first stud y discusses these s of the Critique of Dialectical Reason,45 the second stud y a p p ro ches tructural of its thea tre .40 C 'is this second e a p p ro cheque no u sevokes this. Across all the developments of Sartre's view, Goldmans'e fforced to degage both several fundamental stages. I distinguish - t- at least three successive periods:

- the first comp re n s e of u x essays on VImagination, and Yltna-
- ginaire, as well as the four short stories brought together in Le Mur.
- the secon de comprend la Nausee et VEtre et le Neant. E lle correspond a la n a iss ance de T Existen tialisme que e Goldman n

qua life de

- » philosophy of limitation and failure«.
- the third is in line with S a r tre's p o je c t to reconcile the freedom of a c tio n of the in d iv id u and the freedom of o th ers. These are the problems that the critique of dialectical reason tries to solve.

Similar p ro b l e m e s will be encountered in the following case where Ton can further divide into cycles of pieces: a)

Les Mouches, Morts sans sepultures, Huit Clos, which put Tac-cent on the problem of the relationship between free choice and its effective result, among individuals in the community.

** Ibidem p. 238-239.

« M. S. 2 42-258

« S. M. p. 209-264.

b) Les Mains Sales, Le Diable et le Bon Dieu, Les sequestrés d'Altona, Les Troyennes, qui mettent au premier plan la necessité pour le héros de choisir entre le moral et l'efficacité.

Si la période existentialiste était liée à la diffusion des idées de la Phénoménologie allemands (Husserl, Heidegger), et de Hegel, ⁴⁷ il est incontestable que le fondement historique de la troisième période des écrits de Sartre demeure l'expérience de la guerre et de la résistance. comme en témoignent par exemple l'Existentialisme est un Humanisme, les Chemins de la Liberté et Les Mouches. Comme l'écrit Goldmann:

»Les événements historiques ont ramené Sartre à renoncer à l'amoralisme cartésien de l'Etre et le Néant, et à introduire les problèmes de la cité ainsi que la distinction entre le Bien et le Mal – philosophiquement la problématique de Kant, Hegel et Marx – dans le cadre général de sa philosophie«.48

. .

Les Mouches, dernier épisode de l'Orestie, est une transposition à peine voilée de la France Pétainiste. Oreste – dans sa version moderne – s'est libéré des croyances traditionnelles et ne désire plus obéir à des principes auxquels il ne trouve aucune justification. Revenu à Argos il découvre son véritable chemin. Comme dans la légende grecque, il tuera Egisthe et Clytemnestre, mais pour des raisons bien différentes. Il ne s'agit plus pour lui de venger son père, mais d'affirmer sa liberté en tuant le tyran et en assurant la libération de sa sœur et de ses frères, d'Electre et des habitants d'Argos. C'est à partir de l'acte trois qu'apparait vraiment la problématique existentialiste: Oreste a enfin trouvé le sens de sa vie, il est devenu un homme libre en s'engageant pour la lutte pour la libération d'Argos mais son acte ne li bère lui-même.

Huit Clos, et Mort sans Sépulture sont également centrés autour de ce problème. Huit Clos c'est l'univers où il n'est plus possible de donner un sens à sa vie. L'enfer selon Sartre: n'est pas un lieu de tortures, physiques ou morales, des damnés, c'est la situation dans laquelle l'homme n'est pas capable de choisir sa liberté et par cela même – nous le savons depuis Les Mouches – de ce dresser solitaire face aux autres qui ne peuvent participer ni à son engagement ni à son acte«.¹⁹

C'est encore le problème des rapports entre l'individu et la communauté qui se trouve au centre de Morts sans sépulture (pièce que Goldmann qualifie de »la plus faible de Sartre«). La raison de cet échec semble liée au contraste entre la complexité des problèmes posés et le schématisme de la réalisation. Le seul intérêt de cette pièce littérairement faible, c'est de faire apparaître l'idée d'un sujet trans-individuel au niveau d'un petit groupe de gens engagés dans une même action.

⁴⁷ En particulier le livre de Jean Wahl: Le Malheur de la Conscience dans la philosophie de Hegel.

S. M. p. 219.
 S. M. p. 228.

The Trojans, which put in the foreground the need for the hero to choose betw een morale and effectiveness.

If the existentialist period was linked to the dissemination of the ideas of German Phenom enology (H usserl, H eid eg g er), and of Hegel,47 it is t h isto ric o f the third period of S a rtre's writings d e m eure T h e experience of w ar and resistance, as testi n ed for example V E xisten tia lism is a H u m a -

nisme, les Chemins de la Liberte et Les Mouches. Com m e Tecrit G o ld m an n :

»Historical events brought S a rtre to renounce the Cartesian Tam oralism of Being and Nothingness, and to introduce the problems of the city as well as the distinction between the Good and the May-philo sophically the problem atic of K ant, H egel and M a rx - in the general framework of his philosophic«.48

L es M ouches, the last episode of TO restie, is a thinly veiled tran sp o sitio n of F ra n ce P etain ist. O rest - in its m odern version

- he is freed from traditional beliefs and no longer wishes to obey the principles he finds in them and the cone of justification. Arriving in Argos he discovers his true path. As in the Greek legend, he killed Egypt and Clytem n estre, but for very different reasons. It is no longer for him to avenge his father, but to assert his freedom by killing the tyrant and ensuring the free ration of his sister and his brothers , of E lectre and of the inhabitants of Argos. It is from act three that the existentialist problem really appears: O reste has finally found the meaning of his life, he has become a man free to commit himself to the struggle for the freedom of Argos but his act does not free himself.

H u it Clos, and M o rt sans S p u ltu re are also centered around this problem. H u it Clos is the universe where it is no longer possible to give meaning to your life. H ell according to S a rtre: is not a place of to rtu res, physical or moral, of the w a m s, it is the situ atio n in which m a n is not capable ab le to choose his freedom and by that very fact - we have known it since L es M ou ch es - of this solitary training in front of others who cannot take part nor in his comm itment nor has his act«.48

This is still the problem of the re p o rts between the in d iv id u and the com m unity that finds itself at the center of the unburied dead (exhibit that G o ld m an n qu a lifies as »the weakest in S artre«). The reason for this failure seems to be linked to the contrast between the

com p lexity of the problems posed and the diagram of the realization. The only interest of this literary piece -

weakly, it is to make the idea of an individual subject appear at the level of a small group of people engaged in a m em and action.

47 In particular Jean W ahl's book: L e M a lh e u r d e la C o n scien ce d a n s la

philosophicdeHegel.

« S. M. p. 219.

4» S. M. p. 228.

Ainsi se trouve exprimé concrètement le thème de »l'équipe« que Satre, dans l'Etre et le Néant atribue à tort à Heidegger. Goldmann remarque que: »dans sa négation de toute possibilité de communauté authentique, Heidegger avait développé sa démonstration dans une polémique permanente et continuelle contre la philosophie du sujet collectif, contre la philosophie de Lukàcs qu'il ne nommait pas. Il me semble vraiment remarquable que, sans en avoir aucune information explicite, Sartre ait senti en filigrane dans le texte heideggérien la possibilité de la philosophie de ce partenaire et adversaire non nommé, même s'il en a ttribué la paternité à Heidegger«.50

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Le second cycle de pièces à thèmes philosophico-politiques est constitué par Les Mains Sales, Le Diable et le Bon Dieu, Les Sequestrés d'Altona. Le problème fondamental n'est plus celui du rapport de la communauté et du sujet trans-individuel, mais celui de l'impossibilité de concilier les exigences également inexorables de l'efficacité de la morale. Pourtant Sartre n'aboutit pas à une vision tragique du type de celle de Pascal, Racine ou même Kant, mais propose un double choix:

- celui de Hugo et Goetz qui se fonde sur les valeurs auxquelles il renonce.
- celui des Sequestrés d'Altona où le suicide apparaît lié au caractère illusoire et insuffisant de l'alternative proposée.

Si l'horizon historique des Mouches était celui de l'occupation allemande, c'est le meurtre de Trotsky qui a donné à Sartre le thème des Mains Sales. L'axe central de la pièce est le conflit entre l'exigence morale et l'exigence politique et l'impossibilité de les concilier. La fausse morale, qui confond l'éthique et la politique, se limitant à une admiration aveugle de l'autorité, est incarné par Hugo. La politique fausse, étrangère à toute réflexion authentique est incarnée par Louis et Olga. Chargé de tuer Hoederer dont la politique »gauchiste« va contre la ligne du Parti, Hugo hésite et, fasciné par sa future victime,

I found myself experiencing concretely the theme of » the equipment « that Satre , in YEtre and the Neanta tribe wrote to Heidegger. G old m a n n remarks: » in the denial of all possibilities of communication and

⁵⁰ S. M. p. 285. Cette affirmation de Goldmann me semble assez peu vraisemblable. On sait pourtant que c'est là l'une des thèses fondamentales qu'il n'a cessé de désendre à propos de l'Existentialisme. Selon lui l'Etre et le Temps de Heidegger serait une polémique constante contre Lukàcs et Histoire et Conscience de classe, bien que celui-ci ne soit jamais nommé. Goldmann s'appuie sur la présence du mot réification (Verdinglichung) comme preuve de l'influence de Lukàcs sur Heidegger. Il avait presque réussi à en convaincre Lukàcs. Mais une telle influence nous semble des plus problématiques. Il n'y a aucun rapport entre la problématique de l'Etre et le Temps et celle d'Histoire et Conscience de classe et Heidegger nous a confirmé lui-même qu'il n'avait jamais lu Lukacs à cette époque. On peut même dire que Heidegger ne connaît de Lukacs que les attaques violentes qu'il a lancées contre lui au moment de la seconde guerre mondiale (La destruction de la Raison), et il nous semble à peu près certain que Heidegger n'a jamais réellement lu Histoire et Conscience de classe. On sait que l'un des derniers cours de Goldmann portait précisément sur Lukàcs et Heidegger. Il nous est impossible de reprendre cette polémique tragiquement interrompue par la mort soudaine de Goldmann et qui mérite d'être elucidée.

authenticity, Heidegger had developed a demonstration in a small pole rm a n e n t is continuous three philosophies of collective subjects, as opposed to the philosophers of Lukacs, whose name I pass. II seems to be very remarkable that, without any explicit information, S a r t r e a t feels confused by the text's idea of possibility of the p h i l o s o p h i c d e ce p a r t e n a i r e t a d v e r s a i n n o m m e , even if it attributes paternity to H e i d e g g e r « .50

The second cycle of pieces with philosophico-political themes is constituted by The Dirty Hands, The Devil and the Good God, The Sequestres

d'Altona. The fundamental problem is no longer that of the comm unity's report on the subject of the trans-individual, but rather that of the 'impossibility of conciliation the exigencies of morale fficati es are inexorable. PourtantSartren's about to pass a vision of tragic duty to the cell of Pascal, Racine or even Kant, but proposes a double choice:

- celu i d e H u g o e t G o e tz q u i se fo n d e s u r les v a le u rs a u x q u e lle s il ren o n c e .
- celu i of the Sequestres d'A lton a or his suicide a p p a ra it lie to the face c -

te re illu so ire e t in s u f f is a n t d e l 'a lte r n a tiv e p ro p o se e .

If the historical horizon of Les Mouches was that of occupation -

however, it is the murder of Trotsky that gives Sartre these themes

Mains Sales. The central axis of the piece is the con fl ict between moral exigency and political exigencies and the impossibility of councils. L a fau sse m o ra le , w h i c o n fo n d l 'e th iq u e t la p o litiq u e , limits the admiration for authority, is incarnate in Hugh. False, foreign politics is a re f l e x i o n a u t h e n t is embodied by L o u is and Olga. Charge d'etuer Hoederer refused to let "gauche" politics go against the Party, see Hugh Hesites, Fascination with Future Victims, 60 S. M. p. 235. T his affirm ation of G oldm ann seems quite untrue to me -

bable. We know, however, that this is one of the fundamental theses that he never ceased to defend with regard to Existentialism. According to him, Heidegger's Being and Time would be a constant polemic against Luk&cs and H istory and Class Consciousness, although the latter is never named. G oldman relies on the presence of

the word reific a tio n (V erdinglichung) as proof of the influence of L ukics on H eidegger. He had almost succeeded in convincing Lukacs of this. But such an influence seems most problematic to us. There is no relation between the problem of Being and Time and that of H istory and Class Consciousness and H eidegger has confirmed to us himself that he had no never read Luk&cs k at that time. We can even say that H eidegger only knows of Lukacs the violent attacks he launched against him at the time of the Second World War (L a destru c tio n de la R aison),

and it seems to us almost certain that H eidegger never really read H istory and Class Consciousness. We know that one of Goldmann's last lectures dealt specifically with Lukacs and Heidegger. It is impossible for us to resume this polemical tragically interrupted by the sudden death of Goldman and which deserves to be elucidated.

est prêt à collaborer avec elle. Il tuera Hoederer, non par passion politique, mais par jalousie, parce qu'il pense que celui-ci l'a joué. Quelques années plus tard, lorsque le Parti appliquera la politique préconisée jadis par Hoederer, Hugo deviendra un témoin génant. On tente de le tuer mais Olga obtient un sursis pour le »récupérer« et lui faire reconnaître que son crime fut commis par jalousie. Hugo n'en sait rien. Le sens de ce meurtre, c'est celui qu'il lui donnera. Entre la politique et la morale, Hugo choisit la morale tout en sachant que ce choix signifie sa mort.

Ainsi Sartre choisit-il la morale contre la politique. Mais il s'approche profondément de la politique, si bien qu'on pu voir dans cette pièce une apologie du communisme. Si Sartre ne rejoindra jamais les rangs du Parti il écrira peu de temps après un essai célèbre Les Communistes et la Paix qui marque sans doute l'apogée des relations de Sartre avec le communisme.

Le Diable et le Bon Dieu est centré autour du même problème que les Mains Sales, mais le choix est celui de la politique contre la morale. Il se présente brièvement à la fin de la pièce: contrairement à Hugo, Goetz a trouvé sa voie en renonçant à la morale pour se conduire en politique. Il accepte l'engagement réel, les compromis et les meurtres que se choix implique.

Il faudra attendre les Sequestrés d'Altona pour que le problème de l'engagement soit à nouveau posé par Sartre à travers le problème de la torture. La pièce se comprend à trois niveaux différents: la barbarie hitlérienne, la torture en Algérie, la torture dans les prisons et les camps staliniens. Ce n'est plus seulement l'individu, c'est l'histoire qui se trouve maintenant mise en question. Individualisme, engagement, morale, politique, tout l'édifice se trouve ébranlé. Ce qui semble demeurer chez Sartre, c'est l'écrivain; l'écrivain qui s'interroge sur le sens de son projet d'écrire, de dévoiler. Etait-ce un retour en deça de la sphère politique? Beaucoup l'ont cru et s'en sont félicités. Ils ont eu tort. Après la dénonciation de la cruauté de la barbarie dans son adaptation des Troyennes, Sartre s'engagera dans la lutte contre la répression - non seulement la violence universellement condamnée par le tribunal Russel, celle de l'Amérique au Vietnam mais aussi la violence plus sournoise de notre société démocratico-policière. Aussi ne peut-on que souscrire au jugement final de Goldmann:

*Faut-il encore ajouter que, malgré les cris et les protestations des conservateurs et des défenseurs de l'ordre, Sartre reste là aussi – comme dans toute son œuvre – une des grandes figures du XXe siècle, un de ceux qui ont aidé le plus leurs contemporains à prendre conscience des valeurs fondamentales, à ne pas oublier, dans le train de la vie quotidienne et de leurs rapports avec les institutions et le pratico-inerte, la défense de ce qu'il appelle »le dialectique«, la défense de la liberté?«⁵¹

⁵¹ S. M. p. 264.

formerly advocated by H o ederer, H u g o would become a witness. We are trying to kill him but O lg a obtains a reprieve to »recover him« and make him recognize that his crime was committed out of jealousy. Hugo doesn't know. The meaning of this murder is that which he will give to it. B e tween politics and morality, H u g o chooses morality knowing that this choice means his death.

Thus S a rtre chose morality over politics. But he comes very close to politics, so much so that we can see in this piece an apology for com m unism. If S a rtre never joins the ranks of the P a rti il, he will write shortly after a famous essay on Les C om m u nistes et la P a ix which will no doubt mark the apogee of S a rtre's relations with com m unism.

Le Diable et le Bon Dieu est centre autour dume probleme que les Mains Sales, mais le choix est celui de la politique contre la morale. Il is briefly introduced at the end of the piece: con trairem enta Hugo, G oetz a trouve sa voie en ren on \pounds ant a la morale pour se cond uire en politiq u and. Il accepte l'e n g agem en t reel, les com prom is et les m eurtres que se choix im plique.

It is necessary to wait for the Sequestres d'Alton because the problem of commitment is a new question for Sartre through the problem of torture. The piece is comprised of three different levels: Hitler's barbarism, torture in Algeria, torture in prisons and cells ps stalin ien s. It is no longer only the individual, it is history that finds itself in question. Individualism, commitment, morality, politics, all the buildings are found in Hebrew. What seems to be dying in Sartre is writing; the writer in which he questions himself about the meaning of his project to write, to reveal. Is it a return to the political sphere? Many believed it and were happy about it. They got you to rt. After the announcement of the cr a u te of barbarism and his adaptation of the I r o y e n n e s, Sartre engaged in the fight against the repression - n o nly t h e violence universally condemned by the Russel tribunal, that of A m e r i c u e in Vietnam but also the more so m o s e violence of our democratic society -p o licière. Also what I wrote in Goldman's final judgment:

Is it necessary to add that, despite the cries and the protests of the curators and the defenders of order, S a rtre also remains there - as in all his work - one of the great figures of the 20th century, one of those who helped their contemporaries the most to become aware of the fundamental values, not to forgetting, in the course of daily life and their re p o rts with in stitu tio n s and p ra tic o -in e rte , the defense of what it calls "the dialectic", the defense of freedom?" 51

LE NOUVEAU ROMAN: FAUSSE AVANT-GARDE MAIS VRAI MIROIR D'UNE SOCIETE REIFIEE

»On a beaucoup parlé de problèmes techniques à propos des romans de Robbe-Grillet. Peut-être est-il temps de parler de leur signification«.

Structures Mentales et Création Culturelle - p. 187

»On n'y trouve même pas ébauchée (dans Les Gommes) la possibilité, que cet univers refuse et nie. d'un autre monde dans lequel des forces tout aussi puisantes pouvaient s'attacher à conduire les Dupont non pas à la mort mais à la vie, et même à une vie plus authentique et plus riche«.

Marxisme et Sciences Humaines - p. 52-53

Pour comprendre l'apparition du »Nouveau Roman«, selon Goldmann il faudrait pouvoir suivre l'évolution de la littérature européenne depuis Kafka. A partir de Kafka en effet le contenu essentiel de la littérature – dénominateur commun de toutes les œuvres les plus importantes – est constitué par l'absence:

»Absence de quoi? De l'essentiel, absence de tout ce qui pourrait être important pour la vie et l'existence des hommes. Ce thème, sous des formes différentes et sans qu'il soit au centre même des œuvres, est d'ailleurs ancien, et toute l'histoire de la culture occidentale du XXe siècle, ne saurait être écrite d'un point de vue scientifique tant qu'on n'aura pas entrepris une étude génétique des différentes modalités prises par le thème de l'absence et de son conditionnement psycho-sociologique«.52

Dans son contexte le plus général, l'apparition du Nouveau Roman pose le problème de la structure même de l'histoire: sommes-nous parvenus à une étape transitoire ou bien à une sorte de fin de l'histoire? En fait, Goldmann pose à propos du Nouveau Roman les mêmes questions que Marcuse dans l'Homme unidimensionel: Il s'agit de savoir si la société moderne parvient à créer »un cadre social à tendance universelle à l'intérieur duquel un progrès technique rapide doublé d'un progrès matériel plus ou moins généralisé pourrait être réalisé qui réduirait à néant les relations qualitatives entre les hommes autant qu'entre les hommes et la nature, relations qui étaient le facteur principal de la transformation sociale dans les sociétés antérieures «.53 C'est dans ce contexte que l'apparition du Nouveau Roman constitue un phénomène, non seulement littéraire mais social, important: il reflète l'incapacité de formuler ou même d'apercevoir des valeurs acceptables au nom desquelles une critique de la société soit possible. Aussi, l'angoisse devant l'absurdité du monde devient-elle une catégorie fondamentale de la littérature moderne, de Kierkegaard à Kafka, en passant

⁵² S. M. p. 180.

⁵³ S. M. p. 184.

THE NEW NOVEL: FALSE AVANT-GARDE BUT TRUE MIRROR

OF A REIFIED SOCIETY

»We have talked about a lot of technical problems k

predictions of Robbe-Grillet's novels. Maybe he is

time to talk about their meaning".

S tru c tu re s M en ta ls a n d C r ia tio n

C u ltu re lle - p. 187

»We do not even find ébauchée (in Les G om -

m es) the possibility, which this universe refuses and denies. of another world in which equally harmful forces were again endeavoring to lead the Duponts

not 'death but 'life, and even 'a more authentic and richer life'.

M a rx ism e e t Scien ces H um aines

- p. 52-53

To understand the appearance of the » New Novel «, according to Goldman he should be able to follow the revolution of European literature from Kafka. A p a r t i r d e K a fka e n e f e t e s t h e c o n t e n u e s s e n c e n t o f l i t t e r a t u r e - denominates the common denominator of all his works plus -

p o rta n tes - est c o n stitu e p a r l 'ab sen c e :

» A b sen ce of q u o i? F r o m e s s e n t i e l , there is an absence of all that is important for life and the existence of human beings. C e th e m e , under d i f f e r e n t forms without being at the center of the w o r k s , is of ill u rs a n c i e n , e t t o u t l 'h isto ire of Occidental culture of the 11th century, it is necessary to write a point of deviation that cannot be passed between prisons and the generation of the different n te s m o d a l i t y p r e s e n t e d t h e m e d e l 'absence and deso n c o d itio n n e m e n t psycho-socio logic« .52

In its more general context, the appearance of the New Roman poses the problem of the structure of history itself: s o m e s p a r ve u s a u e t o p e tra n s itoire or to a kind of definition of history? In fact, Goldman poses to the Nouveau Rom a n the same questions as Marcuse's 1 'Man is dimensional: II s'a g it desa voir si m o d e r m o d e n p a r v i e n t s o c i e t e c r e e a s » a universal s ocial attendance frame and a 1'interior due to rapid progress rie l p lu s ou m o in s g e n e r a l i s e p o u r r a i t e t e r e a l l i s e s t h a t r e d u c e a n e a n t t h e s q u a l i t a t i v e r e l a t i o n s b etween humans as much as between humans and the nation itself r e , r e la tio n s qui e ta ie n t the m ain f a c t e u r of s o c i a l t r a n s f o r m a t i o n in ancient societies « .53 C 'est d a n s ce c o n the text's appearance in the New Romance constitutes a phenomenon, not only literary but social, important: it re flete 1'incapable of formulation 'to perceive acceptable values in the name of societal sq ues so it is po ssib le. A u ssi, l 'a n -

goes of the absurdity of the deviant world-it founds a category -

m e n t a l of m o d e r l i t t e r a t u r e , f r o m Kierkegaard and Kafka, in particular

« S. M. p. 180.

" S. M. p. 184.

par l'Existentialisme, l' Etranger de Camus et la Nausée de Sartre. C'est au terme d'une telle évolution que les romans de Robbe-Grillet prennent place. Goldmann repousse deux objections traditionnelles adressées au Nouveau Roman:

- Si l'œuvre de Robbe-Grillet suscite l'ennui par sa monotonie, c'est

qu'en écrivain réaliste il y a transposé cette société.

- Son œuvre ne se limite pas à un jeu formel d'objets: elle reflète la situation fondamentale de l'existence moderne et de son aliénation

Robbe-Grillet a fourni une étonnante illustration de ce que Marx annonçait déjà en 1867: la société capitaliste dans son fondement économique ne peut éviter, mais l'exige nécessairement, que la vie des hommes perde progressivement ses caractères spécifiques et tende à ressembler dans le secteur de l'économie à l'univers des choses. Les relations humaines ressemblent désormais à de simples relations entre des objets, des marchandises, et c'est ce fétichisme de la marchandise, dénoncé par Marx, que Lukàcs analysera à travers le concept de réification. Goldmann remarque à juste titre que ce concept de réification peut seul rendre possible une approche véritable des romans de Robbe-Grillet. Car l'univers de Robbe-Grillet c'est avant tout un univers humain devenu un univers d'objets, un univers réifié:

»Est-ce la faute de l'écrivain, s'il n'a d'autre alternative que de parler d'un monde ennuyeux où les choses prédominent et prennent le pas sur l'homme ou de faire une œuvre anecdotique et sans importance? Le seul moyen de prouver que Robbe-Grillet a tort serait de décrire une réalité humaine positive, de faire l'histoire de deux êtres qui s'aiment, ou celle d'une grève, d'une révolte, d'un acte de générosité, d'un mouvement de foule, dans une œuvre importante qui prenne place dans la culture universelle. Or qui y est parvenu?⁵⁴

C'est l'effondrement des illusions des romans de Malraux qui justifie l'apparition du Nouveau Roman. La Condition Humaine était liée à l'espoir qu'avait fait naître la révolution chinoise. Le Nouveau Roman est là pour témoigner de la toute puissance du système capitaliste. L'œuvre de Robbe-Grillet ne peut se comprendre hors de cette structure. La nécessité inéluctable et mécanique du crime des Gommes reflète celle d'un univers qui régit les relations des hommes aux choses »comme une machine moderne contrôlée par des mécanismes d'autorégulation«. Le Voyeur n'est pas le simple récit de l'assassinat d'une petite fille. Le meurtrier est lui-même inséré dans l'ordre des choses: tous les habitants de l'île son des voyeurs. Dans la mesure où la petite fille assassinée ne leur ressemblait pas, ils sont presque heureux de sa disparition. L'univers est tout entier constitué de voyeurs passifs qui ne tentent aucunement de transformer leur existence qualitativement et de la rendre plus humaine. Les mêmes mécanismes que dans les Gommes sont à l'œuvre dans les autres romans de Robbe-Grillet: par l'auto-régulation la société est capable d'intégrer ou d'éliminer tout élément qui tendrait à briser son ordre. Aussi, comprend-on que le

⁵⁴ S. M. p. 186.

take their place. G o ld m an n rejects two trad itio n al objections addressed to the N o u v eau R om an:

- If the work of R o b b e-G rillet arouses boredom by its monotony, it is because as a realist writer he transposed this society there.
- His work is not limited to a formal game of objects: it reflects the fundamental situation of modern existence and its alien atio n R o b be-G rillet provided an eto n n a n te illu stra tio n of what M arx a n n n n o n already said in 1867: c ap italist society in its economic foundation cannot avoid, but necessarily requires it, that the lives of men hopes to gradually lose its specific characteristics and tends to resemble in the sector of the economy the universe of things. H u m a n relations now resemble simple relations between objects, commodities, and it is this fetishism of commodities, denounced by M arx , that L ukacs a n a ly will be through the concept of reification. G o ld m an n rightly remarks that only this concept of reification can make possible a veritable approach to the novels of Robb e-G rillet. Because the univer sity of R o b b e -G rillet is above all a human universe that has become a universe of objects, a universe that reifies:

»Is it the writer s fault if he has no other alternative than to talk about a boring world where things predominate and take precedence over man or do an anecdotal work without im p o rtan ce? The only way to prove that R o b b e-G rillet is wrong would be to describe a positive human reality, to tell the story of two people who love each other, or that of a strike, of a revolt, of an act of generosity, of a crowd m ovement, of an im p o rta n t work that takes its place in u n ive rsal culture. But who got there? 54

It is the e f f o n d r e m e n t of the illusions of M a lra u x's novels that justifies the apparition of the N o u v e a u R o m a n . The Human Condition was linked to the hope that had fueled the Chinese revolution. The New Roman is the gateway to the full power of the capitalist system.

The work of R o b b e -G rillet cannot be understood outside of this stru c tu re. T h e inelu ctab le an d mecan ic nec ess o f th e Eras u r crim e re flat ts th e n e n u v erse th at rela tio n s m a n w ith things

"Like a m o d ern m ach in e con tro le d b y self-reg u latio n m echanism s ". L e V o y e u r is not the simple story of the murder of a little girl. The murderer is himself inserted into the order of things: all the inhabitants of the island are voyeurs. Since the little girl who was murdered did not look like them, they are almost happy with her

disappearance. The universe is entirely made up of passive voyeurs who make no attempt to transform their existence qua litativ ely and to m a k e it more Jewish. The same mecha nism s as in Les G u m es are at work in the other novels by R o b b e-G rillet: by self-regulation society is able to to integrate or ćlim in e any elem en t that tends to break up his o rd re. Also, understand that the M S. M. p. 186.

thème central des romans de Robbe-Grillet soit la disparition de toute action individuelle. Le crime contre l'humanité fait partie de l'ordre existant, de même que les auto-régulations criminelles. Le voyeurisme dans une »société du spectacle« est un phénomène normal. Ce n'est pas à l'égard du meurtre de cette petite fille que les hommes sont devenus voyeurs mais à l'égard de la vie elle-même. La réification apolitisation, amoralisation, désacralisation, déshumanisation - n'en sont que les conséquences immédiates. C'est encore cette réification qui constitue le thème du troisième roman de Robbe-Grillet analysé par Goldmann: La Jalousie. Ici encore, les actes humains perdent leur sens, les sentiments s'effacent, les hommes ne sont plus que des choses: »L'important, cependant, au delà de ces détails, c'est la structure d'un monde dans lequel les choses ont gagné une réalité autonome, dans lequel les hommes, loin de les maitriser leur sont assimilés et dans lequel les sentiments n'existent sur le monde positif que dans la mesure où ils peuvent encore se manifester à travers la réification«.55 En ce sens, la tentative de Robbe-Grillet est infiniment plus radicale que celle de Kafka, Sartre et Camus, qui se réclament encore de valeurs humanistes. La froideur du monde de Robbe-Grillet c'est celle du nôtre. Derrière les fictions littéraires, elle éclate, toujours obsédante.

L'angoisse que suscite la réification se retrouve encore dans Le Labyrinthe où pour la première fois semble apparaître un jugement humain, mais elle est immédiatement réintégrée au monde des choses. Dans l'Année Dernière à Marienbad l'angoisse semble laisser place à un faible espoir:

»Le château baroque de Marienbad est, transposé au cinéma. le même monde vide de la mort où rien n'arrive jamais, où on se livre à des jeux que tout joueur peut perdre, mais où ce sont pourtant toujours les mêmes qui gagnent et toujours les mêmes qui perdent (bien que ces derniers ne soient pas présents dans le film), un monde dans lequel deux êtres posent encore le problème de l'espoir. Or, l'espoir et l'angoisse ne sont que les aspects subjectifs d'une réalité dont l'aspect ontologique est le temps et cela, non seulement selon la dimension du futur, mais selon toutes les dimensions, donc aussi selon celle du passé«.56

Dans cet univers de Robbe-Grillet - monde d'indices, de coincidences, de témoignages incompréhensibles, - il est impossible de savoir ce qui s'est réellement passé à Marienbad, si les évènements sont de vrais évènements ou des pseudo-évènements dépourvus de signification. Rien ne permet d'établir la vérité d'une action dénuée de sens. Comme l'écrit Goldmann: »le fait que l'homme et la femme se sont ou ne sont pas rencontrés dans le passé dépend uniquement du caractère fondé ou illusoire de l'espoir qui semble vivre encore dans leurs consciences et dont le statut constitue le problème central du film«.57

⁶⁵ S. M. p. 196-197.

⁵⁶ S. M. p. 199. ⁵⁷ S. M. p. 199–200.

a u to - r e g u la tio n s c rim in e lle s. L e v o y e u rism e d a n s u n e » societe d u s p e cta c le « est u n p h e n o m e n e n o rm a l. C e n 'e st p a s a l 'e g a rd d u m e u r tre d e c e tte p e tite f ille q u e les h o m m e s so n t d e -

v e n u s voyeurs m aisa 1'e g a rd of the life she -meme. L a r e if i c a t i o n -

a p o p o l i t i s a t i o n , a m o r a l i s a t i o n , desacra lization , dehumanization - n't these are immediate consequences. This is the re if ication that constitutes the theme of Robb e-Grille t a n a ly s e p a r G o l d m a n n : L a J a lo u sie . Ic i e n c o re , the acts of man in sperden t their senses, the sentiments s'e ffacent, the h o m e s are nothing more than things:

» The important thing, however, besides these details, is the structure of a world in which things gain real autonomy, and in which people, within it les m a itris e r le u r s o n t a ssim iles e t d a n s w h e l e s e n t i m e n t s n'e x i s t e n t s u r l e m o n d p o s i t i f a t e d s l a m e s u r e ou ils p u v e n t e n c o re se m a n i f e s t r a v e r s l a re ifica tion « .5 5

In this sense, the Robb e - Grille test is finally more radical than that of Kafka, Sartre and Camus, even claimants re d e v a l u t i o n s L a f r o i d e u r d u m m o n d e de R o b b e - Grille t that's ours. Behind the scenes of literary fiction, however, you are obsessed.

There is that his scite of reific at ion is found in coredans Le La~

b y r in t h e ou p o u r l a p r e m i e r e f o r t h e r e seems to be a p p a r a i t r e un judgment -

m ain , m ais e lle est im m e d ia te m e n t r e in te g r e e a u m o n d e d es choses.

D a n s V A n n e e D e r n i e r e a M a r i n b a d l ' a n g o seems to be a place of unfailing hope:

»M a r i n ' s a u b a r o q u e d tea is the worst, transposed to au cinema, even if the murder does not arrive at all, or you can live reading it to you rd r e , m ais o u ce so n t p o u r t a n t t o u jo u rs the memes that i g a g n e n t t o u jours the memes that are lost (although recent ones are not present in them film), a world in which two three-dimensional characters relate to the problem of hope. Or, the hope is that the s u b j e c t aspects of a re a lite without the

logical aspect are the same, not the same lo n l a d i m e n s i o n d u f u t u r e , b u t according to these d i m e n s i o n s , d o n e a u ssi s e l o n c e l e d u p a sse« .5*

In these universes of the Robbe-Grillet-world indices, decoincidences, reveal incomprehensibles, - the impossible despite what is really happening in Maryland, if these events are derivative events rather than pseudo-events devoid of significance. Nothing allows the truth to be laid out by an action without sense. C o m m e l 'e crit G old m a n n : » the fact that the 'home and women's messes are towns does not pass through contradiction in the passage of dependence uniquely indicating the fondness or illusion of the sp o ir q u i sem b le v iv re e n c o r e d a n s l e u r c o n s i e n c e s a t d o n t t h e status c o n s t i t u e the central problem of the film « .57

88 S. M. p. 196-197.

88 S. M. p. 199.

87 S. M. p. 199-200.

Peut-être parviendroit-ils à échapper en partie à l'univers de la réification, en trouvant un espace de vie authentique (dans le film: le Jardin), une vie où de vrais évènements et de vrais sentiments pourraient se produire. Mais il demeure certain qu'ils se sont connus à Marienbad: les personnages ont été tenté – avec la même honnêteté que celle de Robbe-Grillet – de découvrir cet autre lieu, de chercher cette autre vie sans pour autant qu'ils puissent se représenter en quoi cette vraie vie consisterait. Comme le château le jardin ressemble – avec ses statuts figées et ses dalles de marbre – à un cimetière.

LE THEATRE DE JEAN GENET: DE LA GUERRE D'ALGERIE A MAI 68

Jean Genet est l'un des rares grands écrivains français à être issu du sous-prolétariat, du monde des petits voleurs et des homosexuels et la transposition de toutes ses expériences personnelles semblerait inviter à une compréhension de type psychologique ou psychanalytique. Pourtant dans la remarquable étude que Goldmann a consacré au théâtre de Jean Genet, il s'écarte délibérant d'une telle interprétation pour interrroger son œuvre poétique comme l'expression d'un refus total de la société.

Les pièces de Genet, selon Goldmann résultent de la rencontre entre »le non radical du poète sous-prolétaire qui, comme il le dit lui-même. n'ayant aucune revendication à présenter à la société existante, ne se révolte nullement contre elle« et »la conscience centrée précisément sur de telles revendications«. Ce qu'il y a de profondément original dans l'approche de Goldmann, c'est qu'il tente de lire en filigrane les précocupations essentielles de toute la gauche européenne.

Toutes les œuvres de Genet - Haute Surveillance, les Bonnes, Le Balcon, Les Nègres, Les Paravents, - expriment un seul et même problème de plus en plus complexe. Haute Surveillance appartient encore à l'univers poétique du sous-prolétaire non conformiste. C'est l'histoire de la lutte de l'individu pour sa reconnaissance dans un monde où »n'est moralement valable que ce qui est condamné par la société réelle, et d'autant plus valable que cette condamnation est plus rigoureuse et plus forte.58 Aussi l'univers se divise-t-il en deux catégories d'hommes: les faibles, les petits voleurs et les escrocs d'une part, les forts, les assassins naturels, tous ceux dont le caractère criminel est volontairement assumé d'autre part. Tout y est moral, mais en négatif. Dans les Bonnes, l'univers de Genet devient plus complexe. Bien qu'aussi radicale et anticonformiste que Haute Surveillance et celles qui la suivent, cette œuvre de Genet montre que le problème essentiel s'est déplacé. Ce n'est plus l'univers marginal du sous-prolétaire exclu de la société qui constitue la trame de l'action mais l'opposition entre deux mondes: celui des Bonnes et de Madame. Nous rencontrons pour la première fois chez Genet, la structure dans laquelle se joueront les autres pièces - Le Balcon, Les Nègres et Les Paravents - un univers

⁵⁸ S. M. p. 307.

met in M a rie n bad: the characters were tempted - with the same honesty as that of R o b b e-G rillet - to discover this other instead, to look for this other life without as long as they can imagine what this real life would consist of. Like the castle the garden looks like -

with its fixed statues and its m arb slabs - a cemetery.

THE THEATER OF JEAN GENET: FROM THE ALGERIAN WAR TO MAY 68

J e a n G en et is one of the rare great French w riters to ha ve come from a sub-p ro le ria t, the world of petty thieves and homosexuals and the trans p o sitio n of all his personal experiences would seem to invite an understanding of a psychological or psychoanalytical type.

However, in the remarkable study that Goldman has devoted to the theater of Jean Genet, he is far from releasing such an interpretation tation for his poetic work as the expression of a total rejection of society.

Les pieces de G en et, selon G o ld m an n results of la ren co n tre entre

»le n o n rad ic a l d u p o ete so u s-p ro le ta ire qui, comm e il le d it lui-m em e.

having no claims to present to the existing society, do not rebel against it at all "and" consciousness centered precisely on such claims". What is deeply original in Goldmann's approce is that he tries to read the preoccupations essential for all the European left.

All the works of G e n e t - H a u te Su rveilla n ce, les Bonnes, Le Balcon, L es N e g re s, L e s P a ravents, - express a single and same problem of more and more complex. H a u t S u rv eilla n c e still belongs to the p o etic un iv e rs o f th e non-conformist sub-pro le tary. This is the story of the struggle of the in d iv id u for his recognition in a world where

wis m o ra lly valid only what is condemned by real society, and all the more valid if this condemnation is more rigorous and stronger.58 Also is the un iv erse divided into two categories of men: the weak, petty thieves and crooks on the one hand, the strong, natural assassins , all those w h o s the re crim inal c a ra c ter is voluntarily assumed by the other side. Everything is m o ral, but negative.

In Les Bonnes, the world of G e n e t becomes more complex.

Although as radical and anti-conformist as H a u te S u rveilla n ce and those that followed it, this work by G e n t shows that the essential problem has shifted. It is no longer the m a rg in a l un iv ers e of the under-pro letarian excluded from so ciety that constitutes the weft of action but the opposition betw een two worlds: that of Good and of Ms. We meet for the first time at G en et, the stru c tu re in which the other rooms will be played - L e Balcon, L e s N e g re s et L e s P a ra vents - a universe

« S. M. p. 307.

où l'opposition centrale est celle des dominants et des dominés, des exploiteurs et des exploités, un rapport dialectique de haine et de fascination.

La haine est fondamentale et primaire. Elle ne devient haine amoureuse que par la fascination que les dominants exercent sur les dominés, à partir de l'impossibilité pour ces derniers de les vaincre. Jusqu'aux Nègres, la puissance des dominants est inébranlable et absolue. Rien ne peut la vaincre: on ne peut tuer Madame, dans le Balcon la révolte est vaincue, seuls les Nègres introduisent l'espoir et la possibilité de vaincre les exploiteurs. Mais cette victoire ne deviendra réalité que dans les Paravents. Comme l'écrit Goldmann:

»L'action de ces pieèces se déroule ainsi dans un univers statique et insuffisant, un univers dont l'insuffisance est cependant compensée par le fait que les dominés s'identifient dans un rituel imaginaire soit aux dominants, soit à des dominés qui seraient capables de mettre fin par la violence à cette domination. C'est ainsi que les valeurs que les hommes ne sauraient trouver, dans leur essence pour ainsi dire pure et platonicienne, dans la réalité peuvent être réalisées par les dominés dans l'imagination et seulement dans l'imagination«.⁵⁹

Dans les Bonnes, Claire joue Madame et Solange joue Claire. Dans le Balcon de petits employés jouent un évêque, un juge, un général. Dans les Nègres, les noirs jouent au balcon les Blancs, et, sur la scène, en bas, le meurtre imaginaire d'une femme blanche. Dans les Paravents, avant que la révolte n'éclate, Saïd joue au fiancé, chargé de cadeuax, et c'est Wanda – devenue prostituée parfaite – qui permet »aux opprimés de ritualiser dans l'imaginaire le rapport poétique et intensément vécu de l'homme avec la femme«.60

Tel est le décor dans lequel se situe l'action de tout le théâtre de Genet.

Goldmann s'est surtout attaché à analyser les structures de plusieurs de ces pièces. Ainsi l'univers de Haute Surveillance apparaît-il comme relativement simple: c'est l'homologue de la société bourgeoise, telle qu'elle veut être, mais affectée de signes contraires. Au centre se trouve l'amour mais homosexuel, la valeur et la reconnaissance sont fonction du caractère dangereux de la vie menée, mais l'héroisme est l'héroisme du mal: c'est le crime et l'assassinat qui entraînent la condamnation et l'exécution. Toute la pièce est dominée par une morale romantique mais un romantisme du crime. L'élite est seulement inversée: c'est l'ensemble du prolétariat non intégré à la société.

L'univers des Bonnes est plus structuré, moins romantique et plus proche de la réalité. C'est un univers divisé: d'une part les puissants, vivant dans le mensonge et le bavardage, mais immuables (Madame et Monsieur), d'autre part les Bonnes, authentiques, vivant intensément, haïssant et admirant leurs maîtres. Cet univers est étonnamment complexe, tout y est à la fois négatif et positif, la seule valeur authen-

⁵⁰ S. M. p. 309. ⁶⁰ S. M. p. 309.

Lahainis afundamental and primaire Ellenthaine amou-

reuse q u e p a r la fa s c i n a t i o n t h a t dominants exert their dominance, apart from the 'impossible p o u rces d e r n i e r s of the vain c re . J u s -

q u 'a u x N e g r e s , the power of the dominants is inevitable and absolute.

No one wants to believe: o n n e p e u t tu e r Madame, since the Balcony revolt is coming, only the Negroes introduce the possibility of vain c re les ex ploited. B u t this victory does not become a real lite in the Paravents. Goldmann wrote:

» The action of these pieces took place in this un i v e rs -

tiq u e e t in sufficient, u n u n i v e rs d o n t l 'in sufficient c e est c e p e n d ant c o m p e n see p a r l e f a t c u e les domin e s s'id e n t i f i e n t than t h e unre- tuel imag in a ire so it aux domin a n t s, s o it a d o m i n e s w h i c h are rai-ent c a p a b le s d e m e ttre fin par la vio lence of this domination.

It is in si q u e s v a l u e s t h a t h o m e s necessarily discover, in their essence for in sidire pure and platonic, that in reality you can realize these things dominated in the imagination net $\hat{}$ seu lement in the imagination « .59

D a n s les B o n n e s, Claire plays Madame and Solange plays Claire. D a n s le B a l c o n d e p e t i s e m p l o y e s you are equal, a judge, a general.

D a n s les N e g r e s, les n o irs jo u e n t a u b a lc o n les B la n c s, et, s u r la sc£ne, en bas, le m e u r tre im a g in a ire d 'u n e fem m e b la n c h e . D a n s les P a ra v e n ts, a v a n t q u e la r e v o lte n 'e c la te, S a id jo u e a u fia n c e, c h a rg e de c a d e u a x, et c'est W a n d a - d e v e n u e p ro stitu e e p a r f a it e - q u i p e rm e t

» a u x o p p r i m s d e r i t u a l i s e r d a n s 1'imagine a poetic and intentional relationship between man and woman $\ll .60$

T e l est le d e c o r d a n s leq u e l se s side e l'a c tio n d e to u t le t h e a tr e d e G e n e t.

G o ld m a n n s'est s u rto u t a tta c h e a a n a ly s e r les s tru c tu re s d e p lu -

sie u rs of these pieces. A in si l'universes of High Surveillance appar ait- it com m e r e latively simple: it is the 'hom o logue of bourgeois society, such as ' e lle v e u t e t e r , b u t affected by opposing signs. W h e n t h e r e finds 'a m o u r m ais homosexual, the value is recognized as a function of man's dangerous character, but h ć ro is m e est l'h e ro ism e d u m a l: it is the crime of 1'assassination that leads to the condemnation of the nation and the execution. The whole piece is a masterpiece of romantic morality but also of romanticism and crime. L 'e lite is itself in -

v e rse e : it is a semblance of the proletariat not integrated into society.

L 'u n i v e rs des B o n n e s is more structured, more romantic and more approachable to reality. C'estun universal divisions: une part of the powerful, living in men's songs and the bavard age, but immovable (Madame and Monsieur), d 'a u t r e p a r t les B o n n es, authentic s, living intentions6 -

m en t, h a i'ssa n t et a d m ir a n t leu rs m a itre s . C e t u n iv e rs est \acute{c} to n n a m m e n t c o m plex e, to u t y est a la fois n e g a tif e t p o sitif, la se u le v a le u r a u th e n -

" S. M. p. 309.

and S. M. p. 309.

tique est la réalisation imaginaire dans la fascination et la haine. Se meprisant et se haissant elles-mêmes, pleines de haine pour Madame et fascinées par elle, c'est le rituel qu'elles jouent sans cesse qui donne un sens à leur vie et elles ne pourront vaincre la marionnette qui est Madame, quand allant vers la mort et la prison:

»L'ouvrage est une pièce statiquement dialectique du désespoir. En intériorisant l'opposition qui lui paraît encore insurmontable entre dominés et dominants, Genet, l'outsider non conformiste, est devenu un pessimiste radical pour lequel l'art et l'apparence peuvent seuls constituer une compensation esthétique à une réalité mensongère et insuffisante. Sa perspective, à la fois classique et désespérée, pourrait être condensée par la paraphrase d'un vers célèbre de Goethe »c'est dans l'apparence sombre que nous avons la vie«.⁶¹

Il faudra attendre Le Balcon pour voir la réalité sociale et politique intégree au théatre de Genet. C'est toujours la même maison d'illusions qui nous est présentée, cette société de petites gens jouant tristement avec la réalisation de leurs rêves. Tout a ulong des scènes qui nous sont présentées surgissent dans une étonnante beauté les lois fondamentales de l'univers poétique de Genet. Les dominants ne peuvent exister dans les dominés, le quge ne peut exister par la voleuse qu'il condamne et l'esclave sans la maîtresse qui le fouette. Mais on apprend bientôt qu'une révolte a éclaté dans la maison des illusions. Comme l'écrit Goldmann:

»La lutte des révoltés contre le balcon constitue une lutte entre la mort et la vie, entre l'ordre à l'intérieur duquel les valeurs n'existent que dans l'imaginaire et le rituel, et la tentative de créer un ordre nouveau dans lequel ces valeurs penétreraient la vie elle-même et dans lequel la fuite dans l'imaginaire ne serait plus nécessaire, parce que la vie serait devenue authentique«.02

Mais la révolte sera elle-même condamnée parce qu'elle s'est divisée en deux fractions antagonistes. L'une s'en va vers la liberté et l'imaginaire alors que l'autre s'organise de manière désespérée et répressive. C'est encore le désespoir qui l'emporte mais désormais la réalité sociale est entrée dans le théâtre de Genet avec son angoissante complexité,

Une autre étape décisive sera franchie dans Les Nègres. Il ne s'agit plus d'une synthèse de haine et de fascination comme dans les Bonnes mais de la haine des Blancs comme sentiment authentique et vrai. Goldmann a tenté d'élucider la perspective dans laquelle les Bonnes, le Balcon, Les Nègres avaient été écrits. S'agit-il d'une perspective individuelle – celle de Genet, délinquant, homosexuel et poète – ou de la vision du monde d'un groupe social donné? Goldmann émet l'hypothèse suivante:

⁶¹ S. M. p. 315. ⁶² S. M. p. 317.

their life and they will not be able to vainly create the puppet who is Madame, when going towards death and prison:

"The work is a statically dialectical piece of despair. By internalizing the opposition that still seems insurmountable to him between dominants and dominants, G enet, the non-conformist outsider, has become a rad ic a l pessimist for which art and appearance alone can constitute an aesthetic compensation for a false and insufficient reality. His perspective, in the classic and desperate way, could be condensed by the paraphrase of a famous verse by G o ethe "it is in the dark appearance that we have life" .61

You will have to wait for Le Balcon to see the social and political reality integrated into the G enet the a tre. It is still the same house of illusions presented to us, this society of little people playing sadly with the realization of their dreams. Throughout the scenes that are presented to us, the fundamental laws of the poetic universe of G enet arise in astonishing beauty. The d o m in an ts cannot exist in the dom in es, the quegen cannot exist by the wayward that he condemns and the slave without the mistress who whips him. But we soon learn that a revolt has broken out in the house of illusions.

Com m e l'ecrit G o ld m an n:

» The struggle of the revolts against the balcony constitutes a struggle between death and life, between the order within the interior of which values do not exist. that in the im a g in ary and the ritu al, and the attempt to create a new order in which these values penetrate life itself and in which flight into the im a g in ary would no longer be necessary, because life would have become authentic".62

But the revolt will itself be condemned because it has split into two antagonistic fractions. One goes towards freedom and the im a g in ary while the other organizes itself in a desperate and re p ressive manner. It is still despair that wins out, but now social reality enters G e n t 's theater with its agonizing complexity,

One of the three decisive stages will be between Les Negres. It is no longer a synthesis of love and fascination as in the Good but of the love of the Whites as a feeling at the time and true

G o ld m an n has tried to elu c id e the persp ectiv e in which les Bonnes, le Balcon, Les N eg res had been written. Is it an in d iv id u a l perspective - that of G en et, lin q u a n t, homosexual and poet - or the worldview of a given social g ro u p? G o ld m an n em and the following hypothesis:

•• S. M. p. 315.

« S. M . p. 317.

»il nous semble pour le moins possible que la structure fondamentale de ces trois pièces corresponde à la structure mentale et psychique qui n'est pas toujours exprimée, d'une partie importante qui n'est pas toujours exprimée, d'une partie importante de la gauche radicale française; structure psychique dont la vision du monde en cours d'élaboration serait constituée entre autres, par cinq éléments principaux:

- 1) l'affirmation de l'existence d'une opposition radicale entre les classes, et de la nécessité de maintenir et d'accentuer cette opposition;
- 2) la reconnaissance de l'impossibilité de vaincre par la violence les couches dominantes de la société occidentale et avant tout l'absence de toute perspective révolutionnaire à l'intérieur de cette société;
- 3) la fascination exercée par la réussite politique des technocrates du capitalisme d'organisation et de la couche qui le dirige et le construit:
- 4) la condamnation morale et humaine de la réalité sociale créée par cette couche technocratique, à savoir le capitalisme d'organisation moderne;
- 5) la justification de l'opposition radicale et de la lutte contre cette société au nom de valeurs morales, esthétiques et humaines qui naissent dans la conscience, dans l'imagination et dans le vécu à partir du refus de la compromission et de l'oppression, et que souvent peuvent encore donner un sens à la vie dans une société fondée sur le compromis, sur la domination d'une minorité, sur le mensonge et le déclin de la vie culturelle.⁶³

Cette hypothèse, si elle est exacte, confirme l'impossibilité de séparer grande œuvre littéraire ou poétique de la réalité historique – et aussi de l'analyse structurelle de la vie culturelle. Bien plus, on peut dire avec Goldmann, que l'œuvre littéraire »constitue un moyen d'accés particulièrement éfficace à la compréhension des structures de la conscience et de la pratique des groupes sociaux existants«.64 C'est ce que montre d'une manière étonnante, Les Paravents, la dernière et la plus interessante pièce de Jean Genet, une des rares œuvres du théâtre contemporain qui prenne pour thème »la foi dans les possibilités de l'homme de résister à l'ordre et à la contrainte«.65

L'action se déroule en Algérie et a pour arrière plan la lutte victorieuse du peuple algérien. Les quatres étapes évoquées par Genet symbolisent un progrès dans le développement de la société et une radicalisation progressive du héros. Nous retrouvons encore l'ordre des dominants et des dominés, les scènes de rituel, mais aussi la haine révolutionnaire qui fera naître un nouvel ordre dans lequel, il n'y aura plus ni dominants, ni dominés, ni oppresseurs, ni opprimés.

⁶³ S. M. p. 328.

⁶⁴ S. M. p. 329.

⁶⁵ Ibidem p. 329.

- n ta le e t p s y c h iq u e q ui n 'est p a s to u jo u rs e x p rim e e, d 'u n e p a rtie im p o rta n te q u i n 'est p as to u jo u rs e x p rim e e, d 'u n e p a rtie im p o r ta n te d e la g a u c h e ra d ic a le fra n ^ a is e; s tr u c tu r e p sy c h iq u e d o n t la v isio n d u m o n d e e n co u rs d 'e la b o ra tio n s e ra it c o n s titu e e e n tr e a u tre s, p a r cin q e le m e n ts p r in c ip a u x :
- 1) l'a ff irm a tio n d e l'e x iste n ce d'u n e o p p o s itio n r a d ic a le e n tre les classes, e t d e la n e c essite d e m a in te n ir e t d'a c c e n tu e r ce tte o p p o sitio n;
- 2) the recognition of the impossibility of creating violence in the dominant layers of western society leads to the absence of any perspective re v o lu tion of the internal affairs of this society;
- 3) the fascination exerted by technocrats in the political reuse of capitalism through the organization of the layer in which it is directed and construed;
- 4) the cond a m n a t i o n m o r a t i o n m o r a l e t h u m a i n e d t h e re a lite so ciale c r eee p a r c e tte c o u c h n o c r a t i c a t i o n , as opposed to capitalism m o d e r n o r g a n i s a t i o n ;
- 5) la ju s tif ic a tio n d e l 'o p p o s itio n r a d ic a le e t d e l a lu tte c o n tre ce tte so ciete a u n o m d e v a le u r s m o ra le s , e sth e tiq u e s e t h u m a in e s q u i n a is s e n t d a n s la c o n scien ce, d a n s l 'im a g in a tio n e t d a n s le v ecu a p a r t i r d u re fu s d e la c o m p ro m is s io n e t d e l 'o p p ressio n , et qu e so u v e n t p e u v e n t e n c o re d o n n e r u n sen s a la v ie d a n s u n e societe fo n d e e s u r le c o m p ro m is, s u r la d o m in a tio n d 'u n e m in o -

rite, surlemensongethedecline of cultural life.63

C e tte h y p o th ese , si e lle est e x a cte , c o n firm e l 'im p o ssib ilite d e se p a -

r e g r a n d e c u v e r litter aire o u p o e t i c u l a t i o n o f h i s t o r i c reality - and beyond the structural analysis of cultural life. Furthermore, he could argue with Goldmann that 'creating literature » constitutes a medium of particularly effective access to the understanding of its structures the consciousness and practice of existing social groups « .64 W h a t is shown in a re e to n n a n e m a n y , L e s P a r a v e n t s , la d e rn ie t h e most interesting piece of J e a n G e n e t , one of the rare works of the contemporary theater that purports the theme of » the fo i d a n s les p o s s i b ility d e l ' h o m m e d e r e s i s t e r ' o r d e t a l c o n t r a n t « .65

L 'a c t i o n takes place in Algeria and is the stage for a plan to fight victorious -

rie used by algeria. WhenthreeseversparGenetsym-

b o l i s e n t u n p r o g r e s s i n t h e develo pment o f t h e t u n e r a d i c a l i s a t i o n progressive heroes. N o u s re tro u v o n c e n c o r l 'or d e d o m i n a n t s e t d e d o m i n e s , t h e ritual scenes, m a i s au ssi la h a iner£-

v o lu tio n n a ire q ui f e r a n a i t r e a n o u v e l o r d e n s l e c u e l , i n ' y a u ra more no dominants, no dominants, no oppressors, no primes.

88 S. M. p. 328.

M S. M. p. 329.

85 Ibidem p. 329.

Genet ne pose plus seulement le problème du sens et de la valeur des ordres sociaux, celui du moraliste anti-conformiste, exclu de la société, de la fascination entre les dominants et les dominés: c'est le mouvement même de la révolte et de la libération que Genet porte sur la scène, et Goldmann a tout à fait raison de lier l'évolution de Genet à celle de toute la gauche européenne, de la révolte victorieuse de l'Algérie:

»Les trois ordres de la pièce correspondent à tros concepts fondamentaux de la pensée socialiste européenne: la société de classe basée sur l'oppression, la société née de la victoire de la révolte et du mouvement de libération, qui a supprimé l'oppression de classe, mais qui est encore fondée sur la contrainte, et l'image d'avenir d'une société sans classes et sans contrainte qui occupe dans la pensée socialiste la place du Royaume des Ciel dans l'eschatologie de la pensée chrétienne«.66

D'ailleurs, le jugement que Goldmann porte sur le théâtre de Genet parait à de nombreux égards prophétiques:

»Dans le théâtre d'avant garde français, Les Paravents sont la première pièce importante qui nous dit la force et les possibilité encore intactes de l'homme et qui, si paradoxale que puisse paraître cette affirmation, met en scène un héros – dans sa négativité et à travers sa négativité – en dernière instance positif«⁶⁷

et il ajoutait:

»Les Paravents ne sont-ils qu'un phénomène isolé et accidentel? Sont-ils déjà la première hirondelle qui annonce l'arrivée du Printemps, représentent-ils un tournant dans la vie intellectuelle et sociale actuelle? Si, importante que soit cette question, elle est certainment prématurée et personne ne saurait y répondre dès aujourd'hui«.

C'était . . . en 1966!68

⁶⁶ Ibidem p. 337.

⁶⁷ Il est remarquable que Goldmann, à travers l'analyse d'une oeuvre littéraire comme les Paravents de Genet ait pu entrevoir la possibilité d'une crise sociale aussi importante que celle qui éclata en mai 1968, avec deux années d'avance, alors que la plupart des sociologues, empiriques, malgré leurs enquêtes, leurs methodes »scientifiques«, leurs immenses ressources n'ont pas été capables d'entrevoir cette crise, mais encore ont brillamment montré qu'elle était impossible! Ceci devrait conduire les plus lucides à s'interroger sur la valeur de telles recherches sociologiques et l'importance exhorbitante – théorique et financière – qu'on leur accorde.

⁴⁰ S. M. p. 337.

is the very movement of revolt and lib cration that G enet brings to the stage, and G o ld m an n was absolutely right to link In v o lu tion of G en and that of the whole European left, of the victorious revolt of A lgeria:

»The three orders of the play correspond to three fundamental concepts of European socialist thought: the class society based on oppression, the society born from the victory of the revolt and the lib ć ratio n movement, which removed class oppression, but which is still founded on co n train t, and the image of the future of a society without classes and without coercion which occupies in socialist thought the place of the Kingdom of Heaven in the eschatology of Christian thought.

D'ailleu rs, le ju g em e n t que G o ld m an n p o rte sur le th ć a tre de G enet p a ra it a d e n o m b reu x ć g ard s p ro p h ćtiq u es:

»In the French avant-garde theatre, Les P a ravents is the first im p o rta n t piece that tells us of the strength and the still intact possibilities of man. m e et qui, p a ra d o x a le as this affirm a tio n may seem, m et en scene a héros - in h is né-g a tiv ité and through h s n é-g a tiv ité - in last positive instance« 67

et il a jo u ta it:

»Are Windshields only an isolated and accidental phenomenon? A re they already the first h iro n d e l an n o n g th e s p r in g e s com e n t, re p re s e n t do they hold a turnin t in intellectual life and social news? Yes, however important this question is, it is certainly premature and no one can answer it today".

C'ć to it. . . and 1966168

- * Ibidem p. 337.
- •7 It is remarkable that Goldmann, through the analysis of a literary work such as Genet's P aravents, was able to foresee the possibility of a social crisis as important as that which broke out in May 1968, with two years of advance, while most sociologists, empirical, despite their surveys, their methods

»scientists«, their immense resources have not been able to foresee this crisis, but have yet brilliantly shown that it was impossible! This should lead the more lucid to wonder about the value of such sociological research and the exorbitant importance - theoretical and financial - that is given to it.

DES MODELES GLOBAUX AUX MICRO-STRUCTURES

"Car, la première exigence d'une étude positive et scientifique est de tenir compte de l'oeuvre entière et non seulement de certaines parties qui s'insérent avec plus ou moins de facilité dans telle ou telle interpré-

Structures mentales et création culturelle, p. XII

C'est encore à partir du théâtre de Jean Genet, des Nègres plus particulièrement, que Goldmann a tenté d'illustrer l'idée de prolonger la recherche des structures significatives d'une œuvre littéraire, d'une recherche des micro-structures. Cette méthode – que Goldmann n'a pas eu le temps de développer longuement – n'a été appliquée qu'aux 25 premières répliques des Nègres et a été prolongée par une étude de quelques poèmes de Saint John Perse. La compléxité extrême de cette méthode rend son exposé difficile. Aussi ne pourrons-nous n'en donner ici que quelque brefs exemples, renvoyant le lecteur aux études que Goldmann lui a consacré. 69

Le but initial de Goldmann semble être de contrôler méthodiquement l'analyse globale du théâtre de Genet, en la confrontant à chacune de ses pièces, analysée réplique par réplique: il s'agissait de »recenser les répliques qui s'inséraient difficilement ou pas du tout, dans notre analyse, ainsi que les éléments et les relations que nous n'avions pas vus et qui présentaient une certaine fréquence dans le texte. Ceci devait nous permettre de modifier éventuellement notre modèle interprétatif de manière à établir son accord avec toutes les répliques de la pièce et de donner une nouvelle dimension à notre analyse en établissant la fréquence et le points des différents éléments et relations qui constituaient le modèle global«.70 Il est bien évident qu'un tel travail posait des problèmes presque insolubles au niveau d'une recherche individuelle et justifiat pleinement le principe de la recherche collective que préconisait Goldmann. Néanmoins, Goldmann est parvenu à montrer que nous trouvons en 8 pages:

- dans une indication de mise en scène, un modèle réduit du rituel qui constitue l'élément qualitativement et quantitativement le plus important de l'ensemble de la pièce.
- puis trois autres modèles réduits un peu plus détaillés du même rituel dans les 25 répliques qui constituent l'ensemble de cette partie introductive.

Ce qui caractérise chacun de ces modèles réduits, c'est »le fait qu'à certains endroits pertinents se trouvent deux répliques à la fois symétriques et le plus souvent opposées, provenant respectivement du groupe des Nègres et du groupe des Blancs«.⁷¹ Le modèle réduit peut constituer l'une parmi un plus grand nombre de relations possibles

⁶⁹ S. M. p. 342-392.

⁷º S. M. p. 341-342.

⁷¹ S. M. p. 343.

DES MODELES G LO BA U X A U X M IC R O-STR UCTURES

"Because the first requirement of a positive and scientific study is to take into account the entire work and

not only of certain parts which fit in with

more or less ease in this or that interpretation.

S tru c tu re s m en ta le a n d c ria tio n

c u ltu relle, p. XII

C 'estenco reaparted from the theater of Jean Genet, the Negres plus particu lie rement, which Goldman attempted to illustrate the idea of a prologue.

g e r la research of structures is significant of a rare literary oeuvre, of micro-structures. This method-whichGoldmannwent through a long period of development-was applied to the first 25 replicas of the Negresta e teprolongeep a runeetu of some of the poems of Saint John Perse. The complex is extremely exposed to this method. Ausinepour rons-nousn'endone rice a few befexamples, directing the reader to the uxetudest hat Goldmannluiaconsacre.69

L e b u t in itia l d e G o ld m a n n se m b le e tr e d e c o n tro le r m eth o d iq u e -

m e n t l 'a n a ly s e g lo b a le d u t h e a tre d e G e n e t, e n la co n fro n ^ a n t a c h a -

cu n e d e ses pieces, a n a ly s e e r e p l i q u e p a r repliq u e : it seems that the replicas that are not d iff ic ile m e n t o u n d u t, d a n s n o t h e r a n a l y s e , I in si q u e t h e e l e m e n t s and r e l a t i o n s that we observe on airplanes and which present certain frequencies in the text. This allows us to eventually modify our three inter- modules.

pretative maniere a e tablirs a c c o rd a vecto utes the replicas of the piece and gives a new dimension in our analysis of the £ ta-bliss at the frequency the points of the differentelementelements in therelations that constitute the global mode. 70 II is be evident that the travelpose these insoluble problemes a univeau d'unerecherche in dividuelet justify plainly the principle of research c tive that G old man recognizes.

N e a n m o in s , Goldman is able to show us what we see 8 p a g e s:

- d a n s u n e in d i c a t i o n d e m ise en scčn e, a module reduces du ritual which stitu es the most important element of the piece qualitatively and quantitatively
- p u is tro is a u tre s m o d ele s r e d u its u n p e u p lu s d e ta ille s d u m e m e ritu e l d a n s les 25 re p liq u e s q u i c o n s titu e n t l 'e n sem b le d e c e tte p a rtie in tro d u c tiv e .

C e q u i c a ra c te rise c h a c u n d e ces m o d u les r e d u its, c'est »le f a it q u 'a c e rta in s e n d ro its p e rtin e n ts se tro u v e n t d e u x re p liq u e s a la fois sy -

m etriq u e s et le p l u s sou v e n t o p o sees, providing respect for the group of the Blacks and the group of the Whites« .71 The reduced module can constitute a uneparmiun plu s g r a n d n o m b e r p o ssible relationships

•® S. M. p. 342-S92.

" S. M. p. 341-342.

71 S. M. p. 343.

que l'on peut dégager dans l'univers global structuré de la pièce, et Goldmann voit dans ce type de recherches, la possibilité d'apporter une réponse à un certain nombre de questions qui caractérisent la critique structuraliste et en particulier, à certaines objections qui ont été adressées à sa méthode:

- Loin de se limiter au signifié, à la structure de l'univers de chaque œuvre, la méthode dialectique et génétique peut éclairer la forme, c'est-à-dire l'aspect tenu pour essentiellement littéraire. Si toute œuvre constitue une unité dans laquelle il est impossible de séparer la forme du contenu, la structure significative globale - ayant son origine dans la conscience collective - demeure l'élément premier, tant du point de vue chronologique, que du point de vue structurel, dans toute approche de l'œuvre. La généralisation de l'étude des micro-structures permet de souligner la primauté de l'univers sur l'expression.

- Dans la discussion sur le rapport entre la structure et l'histoire, il apparaît - dans la perspective du structuralisme génétique - que la structuration s'étend jusqu'aux étements constitu-

tifs des phénomènes concrets et particuliers.

L'analyse que Goldmann a tenté des micro-structures dans les premières répliques des Nègres nous semble constituer un prolongement essentiel de sa méthode. Mais le plus important demeure sans doute la possibilité de l'extension de cette méthode aux textes politiques.

* *

C'est ce que Goldmann a tenté de montrer à partir de l'étude de quelques poèmes de Saint John Perse, en particulier Eloges III.⁷² Une telle extension de la méthode génétique était hasardeuse et Goldmann reconnaît que pendant longtemps, il avait hésiter à l'accomplir. Il fallait en effet tenir compte de la spécificité du texte poétique tout en tenant pour probable que:

- Comme dans l'étude des œuvres en prose (et des faits sociaux en général), il fallait d'abord dégager une structure globale significative sur laquelle étaient fondées les structures partielles formelles.

- en ce qui concerne la poésie, des structures non sémantiques (syntaxiques, phonétiques, associatives) prenaient une importance particulière.

Pourtant Goldmann reconnaît que les premières applications de sa méthode structurale-génétique aux textes poétiques semblent fructueuses, même si les résultats ne sont que provisoires »car le principe fondamental (...) est qu'il faut partir non pas des éléments, mais du modèle global et unitaire d'une œuvre et que, dans ce cas, l'unité est

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that can be elucidated in the overall structured universe of the piece, and G o ld m an n sees in this type of research the possibility of providing an answer to a certain name ber of questions that

⁷¹ Poésie. Gallimard p. 30.

characterize stru c tu ralist criticism and in particular, to certain objections that have been addressed to its method:

- Far from limiting itself to the signified, to the stru ctu re of the universe of each work, the dialectical and genetic method can elucidate the form, i.e. the aspect held to be essentially literary.

If the whole work constitutes a unit in which it is impossible to separate the form of the content, the overall significant structure

- having its origin in the collective consciousness remains the primary elem en t, both from a chronological point of view and from a structural point of view, in any approach to the 'work. The generalisation of the study of micro-structures makes it possible to underline the primacy of the universe over expression.
- In the discussion on the relationship between structure and history, it appears from the perspective of structuralism and genetics that structuration they are juxtaposed with the considue-ent elements of concrete and particular phenomena.

The analysis that G o ld m an n attempted m icro -stru ctu res in the first replicas of the Negroes seems to us to constitute an essential extension of his m ethod. But the most important thing undoubtedly remains the possibility of extending this m eth o d to political texts.

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This is what G o ld m an n has tried to show from the study of a few poems by Saint J o h n Perse, in particular Praise 111.12 Such an exten sio n of the the gen etic method was hazardous and G o ld m an n recognized that for a long time he had hesitated to do it.

In fact, it was necessary to take into account the specificity of the poetic text

en te n an t p o u r p ro b a le that:

- As in the study of works in prose (and social facts in general), it was necessary first of all to create a signi cant overall stru c tu re on the laq that it was based on the formal partial stru ctu res.
- with regard to poetry, ancient non-scm stru ctu res (syntactical, phonetic, associative) take on particular im p o rtan ce .

F o rta n g G o ld m an n recognizes that the rst ap p licatio n s o f his m etho d e s tru c tu ra le -g e n \acute{c} tic e to poetic texts seem fruitful, m \pounds even if the resu lts are only provisional" because the funda mental principle (...) is that it is necessary to start not from the elements, but from the g lo b al m odule and un ita ire of a work and that, in this case, the unit is 71 Poisie. Gallimard p. SO.

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très probablement constituée par l'ensemble du recueil ou de plusieurs recueils. Sur ce point, cependant, une différence technique nous semble exister entre l'étude d'un ensemble de textes poétiques et celle d'une pièce de théâtre ou d'un roman. Même si le recueil s'avère être l'unité significative essentielle, il reste néanmoins évident que chaque poème constitue à son tour un élément bien plus autonome par rapport à l'ensemble que ne l'est un chapitre de roman ou une scène de tragédie«.⁷⁸

Ainsi est-il possible de rechercher des modèles sémantiques, poème par poème, avant d'aborder la recherche d'un modèle global du recueil. Mais un tel modèle existe-t-il nécessairement? En d'autres termes, est-il certain que l'on puisse extrapoler une méthode – sans aucun doute rigoureuse et riche dans ses interprétations – des modèles qui font intervenir d'une manière plus ou moins évidente la »conscience collective«? Avant d'exposer les principes généraux de cette approche génétique et structurale, il nous semble utile de nous arrêter encore sur une application assez étonnante de cette méthode: la sociologie de la peinture, que Goldmann a esquissé à travers une reflexion approfondie et très belle sur les tableaux de Chagall.

LA VISION DU MONDE DE CHAGALL: COMMENT RECONSTRUIRE PAR LE REVE UN MONDE BRISE?

S'il y a une »esthétique de Goldmann«, c'est avant tout une esthétique de la cohérence, Ce problème – central chez le jeune Lukàcs, à travers la discussion de la »qualité des formes« est au centre de toute l'interrogation de Goldmann sur l'art.

- Une œuvre artistique ou littéraire n'est valable esthétiquement par le fait qu'elle exprime toujours une signification cohérente dans une forme adéquate.
- La signification cohérente est caractérisée par la coïncidence de l'individuel et du social.
- La tendance à la cohérence constitue une caractéristique de la vie psychique de tout individu.
- Tout groupe social tend à élaborer une vision cohérente du monde qui est mieux réalisée dans le groupe que chez la plupart des individus pris isolément.
- Une étude technique des moyens d'expression n'a de valeur que dans la mesure où elle se fonde sur une analyse sociologique de la signification, ou, comme l'écrit Goldmann: »le véritable problème esthétique n'étant pas de savoir quels sont les moyens techniques employés par l'artiste, mais bien et surtout pourquoi ces moyens sont les plus adéquats pour exprimer sa propre vision du monde.^{73a}

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three p a b a b l e m c o n stitu e e p a r l ' e n sem b le du r e c u e il o u de p lu sie u rs recu eils. S u r ce point, c e p e n d ant, u n e d i f f e r e n c e technical knowledge seems to exist between the study of a

⁷³ S. M. p. 370–371. ⁷⁸a S. M. p. 417.

single text of poetry and a cell of one piece of it tr e ou d 'of a Roman Even though the recollection has the only signific ant ess, it remains a m o ins evident that each poem constitutes a so n to u r u n e l e m e n t b ie n p l u s e a u t o n o m e p a r r a p o r t a l 'as a r o m e t h e r o m a n o u n e scene of tragedy « .73

I do not think it is possible to research these ancient models, poems or poems, before bordering on a global model of life. B u t does this model exist - is it necessary? And in other words, it is certain that we can put an extra pole rune method - without rigorous use of these interpretations m o d e l s w h i c h interfere in a way that is repulsive or less ignorant of the » collective consciousness «? Before exposing the general principles of this genetic and structural app, it seems useful to denote a resurrection of such an application e tte m e th o d e: the socio logy of painting, which G oldmann elucidates through refle ction a ppro -

found a tremendous table aux de Chagall.

CHAGALL'S WORLDVIEW: HOW TO REBUILD

BY THE DREAM A BROKEN WORLD?

S'il y a u n e » e s th e tiq u e d e G o ld m a n n «, c'est a v a n t to u t u n e e s th e tiq u e d e la c o h e re n c e , C e p ro b le m e - c e n tr a l chez le je u n e L u k a c s, a tra v e rs la d isc u ssio n d e la » q u a lite des fo rm e s« est a u c e n tre d e to u te l 'in te r ro g a tio n d e G o ld m a n n s u r l 'a rt.

- A w oeuvre ouvre a r tis tiq u e ou l i t tć r a i r e n ' e s t v a l a b l e e s t h e t i c u e m e n t p a r l e f a t c u 'e lle e x p r i m e t o u j u s u n e s i g n ifica tion coherent in each other a d e q u a t e f o r m
- L a s ig n ific a tio n c o h e re n te est c a ra c te rise e p a r la c o in c id e n ce d e l 'in d iv id u e l e t d u so cial.
- Latency to coherence consti- tutes a characteristic of the life psyche of an individual.
- T o u t social groups tend to elaborate a coherent vision of a world that is better realized than small groups in which most individuals are pris isolated.
- A t e c h n i c a l m e a n s o f e x p r e s s i o n a n d de v a l e u r q u e d t h e m easurement or it is based on the socio logical analysis of the significance, or, c m m e l 'e crit G old m a n n : »there is a

veritable pro b le m e e s t h a t t h a t is not enough to recognize that those are the only means of technical employment for artists, m ais b i e n e t s u r t o u t p o u r q u o i c e s m o y e n s so n t le s a d e q u a t s p o u r e x p r i m e r s p r o p e v i o n d u m o n d e .73a 7S S. M. P. 370-371.

T,a S. M. p. 417.

C'est à partir de ces remarques générales qu'une application de la méthode structurale génétique à d'autres arts est possible: il ne s'agit jamais d'une étude de la forme expressive, mais d'une approche de la vision du monde qui soustend la création esthétique.

* *

»Pour aborder la peinture de Chagall il faut partir du milieu social dans lequel se sont déroulées son enfance et sa jeunesse: le groupe social juif de la petite ville et du village russes«.72b

S. M., p. 418

Au début du XXème siècle, les structures fondamentales de la société russe sont fortement ébranlées et par là même, celles du groupe social juif. Cet ébranlement s'est manifesté par l'explosion révolutionnaire de 1905 et Chagall lui-ême commencera à peindre vers 1907-1908. Le seul fait de se consacrer à la peinture implique déjà une rupture avec son milieu car, sans se heurter à un interdit formel, la peinture est un »métier non juif«: »En décidant de devenir peintre, le jeune Chagall se singularisait déjà dans une certaine mesure, il s'éloignait de son groupe social, témoignant par cela même qu'il ressentait celui-ci comme problématique jusqu'à un certain point«.73 Pourtant, il n'avait pas rompu avec lui: c'est à travers les catégories mentales et affectives de son groupe qu'il continuait à voir le monde, la société dans laquelle il avait été elevé. Quelles étaient ces catégories?:

⁷³b Goldmann précise, dans cette étude, que cette compréhension qu'il propose de la structure ou des structures globales de l'ocuvre de Chagall lui a été facilitée par sa connaissance des mêmes milieus dans lesquels Chagall a vécu. En fait, lorsqu'on lit cette étude, on ne peut se défendre de l'impression d'une étonnante rencontre entre une approche rigoureuse et structurale et une compréhension intuitive des toiles de Chagall: à moins d'une érudition étonnante – et encore – je crois qu'il est à peu près impossible de comprendre aussi bien le sens des figures de la peinture de Chagall, des symbôles, si l'on n'a pas vécu dans le même monde que lui. Aussi, cette étude des tableaux de Chagall nous fournit-elle l'occasion d'apporter quelques précisions biographiques sur Goldmann, qui, à notre avis, éclairent beaucoup cette approche de Chagall. De tous les textes de Goldmann, il s'agit, à notre avis, de l'un des plus beaux. Nous devons ces précisions à Annie Goldmann, sa femme et sa principale collaboratrice, qui nous a éclairé sur le monde dans lequel Goldmann a passé son ensance.

Goldmann, né en 1913 à Bucarest, n'est pas issu d'un milieu aussi pauvre que celui qu'évoque Chagall, mais il a passé son enfance dans une petite ville Botosani, où il a fait ses études et où il a bien connu les milieux juifs dont il était originaire. Aussi tous les symboles de Chagall, les images insolites, l'enfant barbu qui symbolise le Christ, l'étrangété des deux communautés – paysanne et juive, les mètiers goyim et les personnages insolites, le joueur de violon, par exemple, toutes ces figures qui hantaient le village et l'imagination des enfants juifs lui étaent-elles familières. Bien que profondément assimilé et athé, Goldmann connaissait admirablement la culture yiddisch, la poésic de ses contes et il est dommage qu'il n'ait pas pu développer plus longuement cette remarquable étude de Chagall, qui témoigne d'une compréhension aussi rigoureuse que sensible de son oeuvre.

⁷⁴ Ibidem pp. 419-420.

that underlies aesthetic creation.

"To approach painting dc Chagall you have to leave

of the social environment in which his childhood took place

childhood and its youth: the Jewish social group of the small

Russian town and village"." !*

S. M., p. 418

At the beginning of the 20th century, the fundamental stru ctu res of Russian society were seriously shaken and by the same token, those of the Jewish social group. This e e b ran lement was manifested by the revolution a ry explosion of 1905, and Chagallhimself will begin to paint around 1907—

1908. The mere fact of devoting oneself to painting automatically implies a break with one's environment because, without coming up against a formal ban, painting is a "non-Jewish profession": "In deciding to become a painter, the young Chag all himself was already laughing at it to a certain extent, he was unaware of his social g ro u p, testifying by that very fact that he felt it as a prob lem a tic up to a certa in p o int«.71

However, he did not break with it: it was through the mental and affective categories of his group that he continued to see the world, the society of an s laq u e lle il a v a it ête elevê. What are the categories?:

"•> Goldmann specifies, in this study, that this understanding he offers of the overall structure or structures of Chagall's work was facilitated by his knowledge of the same milieus in which Chagall lived. In fact, when one reads this study, one cannot help feeling an astonishing encounter between a rigorous and structural approach and an intuitive understanding of Chagall's canvases: unless there is astonishing erudition - and again - I believe that it is almost impossible to understand the meaning of the figures in Chagall's painting so well, of the symbols, if one has not lived in the same world as him. Also, this study of Chagall's paintings provides us with the opportunity to provide some biographical details on Goldmann, which, in our opinion, shed much light on this approach to Chagall. Of all Goldmann's texts, this is, in our opinion, one of the finest. We owe these precisions to Annie Goldmann, his wife and his main

collaborator, who enlightened us on the world in which Goldmann spent his childhood.

Goldmann, born in 1913 in Bucharest, did not come from such a poor background as that evoked by Chagall, but he spent his childhood in a small town Botosani, where he studied and where he knew well the Jewish circles from which he originated.

Also all the symbols of Chagall, the unusual images, the bearded child who symbolizes Christ, the strangeness of the two communities - peasant and Jewish, the goyim professions and the unusual characters, the violin player, for example, all these figures who haunted the village and the imagination of Jewish children were familiar to him. Although deeply assimilated and atheistic, Goldmann had an admirable knowledge of Yiddish culture, the poetry of its stories, and it is a pity that he could not develop this remarkable study of Chagall at greater length, which testifies to such a rigorous understanding. that sensitive of his work.

74 Ibidem pp. 419-420.

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»Dans la totalité relative du village et, dans une moindre mesure de la petite ville russe, les sociétés paysanne et juive constituaient, si nous faisons abstraction de leur différenciation interne, deux groupes complémentaires, relativement fermés l'un par rapport à l'autre: deux groupes radicalement différents par leur structure professionnelle (sauf quelques rares exceptions localisées, il n'y avait pas de paysans juifs. La société juive se composait essentiellement de commerçants, d'artisans, d'employés, de clercs – traditionnels ou modernes – et de quelques métiers marginaux qu'on retrouve d'ailleurs dans la peinture de Chagall; violonistes, porteurs d'eau . . .) et implicitement par leurs habitudes, leur manière de vivre et de penser«.75

Dans l'univers de Chagall, Goldmann distingue plusieurs époques fondamentales:

- les années qui ont précédé son premier voyage en Occident
- le premier séjour en Occident (1910-1914)
- le second séjour en Russie (1914-1922)
- l'établissement définitif en Occident à partir de 1922.

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La première période de la création de Chagall est marqué par l'opposition de deux mondes: celui de la chambre et celui du village. Le premier est le monde juif, le second est le monde paysan. On peut déceler aussi une certaine influence hassidique, »l'idée, par exemple, que l'homme socialement le plus méprisé (ce que les contes hassidiques illustraient souvent en spécifiant: le porteur d'eau et parfois le musicien) est l'un de ces »justes cachés« (Zaddick) dont la présence permet au monde d'exister malgré son imperfection et ses péchés.« De même, dans un tableau comme La Naissance (1910), le visage du vieux juif qui regarde la scène du dehors, par la fenêtre, n'est pas sans rappeler l'image du Chihiah, l'envoyé de Dieu qui regarde les Juifs aux occasions décisives de leur vie et enregistre leur comportement«.76

Face à ce monde juif se dresse l'univers paysan pour lequel le peintre éprouve une sympathie croissante, et qui est la contre partie de son éloignement du monde juif. Aussi Chagall, divisé entre ces deux mondes, cherchera-t-il à en exprimer le caractère insolite dont l'exemple le plus typique est sans doute celui des trois Saintes Familles (1908, 1909, 1910):

»Deux d'entre elles, dont l'une est de toute évidence une famille juive (1908), sont normales: la troisième, par contre (1910) indiquée come une famille de paysans, autant par les vêtements des personnages que par le fait que l'un d'entre eux tue un cochon, est caractérisée par la présence au centre du tableau d'un enfant à barbe. En effet, les paysans ne racontent-ils pas aux

⁷⁵ Ibidem pp. 440-421.

⁷⁶ Ibidem p. 423.

complementary groups, relatively firm to the other: two groups are radically different r and u r s t r u c t u r e p r o f e s s s i o n n e l (unless a few rare exceptions localize, it doesn't h a v e passed the country of jewish people . Jewish society is composed of -

s a it e s se n tie lle m e n t d e c o m m e ^ a n ts , d 'a rtis a n s , d 'em p lo y e s, d e clercs - tra d itio n n e ls o u m o d e rn e s - e t d e q u e lq u e s m e tie rs m a r -

g in a u x q u 'o n r e tro u v e d 'a ille u rs d a n s la p e in tu r e d e C h a g a ll; v io lo n iste s, p o rte u rs d 'e a u . . .) e t im p lic ite m e n t p a r le u rs h a b itu d e s, le u r m a n ič re d e v iv re e t d e p e n s e r« .75

In Chagall's universe, Goldman distinguishes several fundamental epochs:

- les a n e e s q u i o n t preceded by the first voyage of the Occident
- the first journey to the Occidental (1 9 1 0 -1 9 1 4)
- le se co n d s e jo u r e n R u ssie (1 9 1 4 -1 9 2 2)
- l'e ta b lis s e m e n t d e fin itif e n O c c id e n t a p a r t i r d e 1922.

The first period of the creation of Chagall is marked by parl'op-

p o site of two worlds: that of the ch a m b e r and that of the village. T h e p r e m e n t is the Jewish world , the second is the country world O n p e u t d e - $\frac{1}{2}$

c e le r a u n e c e r t a i n e in fluence h a s sid iq u e , » t h e idea , for example , that h o m m e s o c i a l m e n t l e s s m e p r i s e (what these contests h a s sid iq u e s il -lu s tra ie n t so u v e n t e n s p e c i f i a n t: the bearer of the eau and perhaps the musician) is these »just caches« (Z a d d ick) without the presence rm e t a u m o n d e d 'exist thermal despite the imperfections of these species.« The meme, in a table like La Naissance (1910), leaves the view u x j u if who watches the scene outside, by the window, does not pass by the image of Chihiah, the envoy of God who watches the J u ifs has decisive occupations le u r v i e t e n r e g i s t e r c o m p o r t a m e .76

F a c e a ce m o n d e j u if se d resse l 'u n i v e rs p a y s a n p o u r l e c u e l p e n t r e e p r o u v e s sympathy growing, and quite

possibly the opposite party of its lo i g n e m e n t du m m o n d e j u if A u s i C h a g a ll, divided between two worlds, c h e r c h e r a - t- is a first character in so lite whose most typical example is his n s d o u t e c l u i d i n g t o t h e Holy Families (1908, 1909, 1910):

» D e u x d 'e n tr e elles, d o n t l'u n e est d e to u te e v id e n c e u n e f a -

m ille jewish (1908), are n o r m a l e s : t h e mistake, b e c a u s e (1910) indicates that it comes from a family of peasants, as much as the p e r s o n a g e s wear the fact that the woman enters a couch is characterized by the presence of a tree doubtful or a fantasy barbe. Effectively, the countries' content- they passed through 7S Ibidem pp. 440-4

70 Ibidem p. 423.

jeunes garçons juifs et à leurs parents l'histoire d'un Dieu qui est à la fois un enfant (à Noël), et un homme mûr (à Pâques), le plus souvent barbu, et que les juifs ont crucifié?«77

Dans les deux Nus Rouges, l'expression violente des couleurs symbolise »le caractère explosif de l'érotisme pour une société pratiquement parvenus à le recouvrir entièrement sous les différentes formes de relations socialisées«.78 Goldmann souligne que le simple fait que le jeune Chagall ait fait des nus indique que la mentalité de la société juive lui était devenue problématique, mais qu'il reste pourtant encore prisonnier de cette société – comme en temoigne ce rouge explosif associé au nu et à l'érotisme. Dans la plupart de ses œuvres se dessine la même opposition:

monde juif / monde paysan chambre / village

Ce contraste fondamental s'exprime encore dans plusieurs toiles: La Mort (1908) où un cadavre transposé de la chambre mortuaire dans la rue est insolite au milieu du village, à côté du balayeur et du musicien, l'Enterrement (1909) et la Noce (1909).

* *

L'arrivée de Chagall à Paris en 1910, son éloignement de la Russie, son contact avec l'Occident modifiera profondément ses structures mentales et affectives, et sa vision du monde.

C'est maintenant dans la présentation du monde paysan, dans une vision toujours plus étrange et insolite, qu'évoluera la peinture de Chagall. A ce groupe appartiennent les tableaux suivants: Moi et le village (1911), A la Russie, aux âmes et aux autres (1911), le Village russe et la Lune (1911). La rencontre avec le monde occidental accentue la distance qui séparait Chagall du monde juif. La dimension spirituelle du Judaïsme perd son importance et sa réalité et les images du monde juif ne sont plus que des images pleines d'amour et de tendresse; ce sont: l'Homme Barbu (1910-1911), La Naissance (1911), Le Musicien (1912-1913), le Rabbin Jaune (1912), Marché de Bestiaux (1912), Le Violoniste (1912-1914). Toutes ces images semblent suggerer que quelque chose est malade: le Rabbin Jaune est moitié à l'endroit, moitié à l'envers, le Musicien flotte au-dessus du village.

Le monde paysan acquiert beaucoup plus de sérénité et Chagall semble le regarder avec toujours plus de sympathie. »Tout en le trouvant au plus haut point étrange et insolite, Chagall met l'accent sur son carractère vivant et créateur. Le poulain dans le ventre de la jument de ses Marchands de Bestiaux, l'enfant dans le ventre de la paysanne de La Femme Enceinte (1912-1913) expriment ce sentiment «.79

⁷⁷ Ibidem p. 425.

⁷⁸ Ibidem p. 426.

⁷⁹ S. M. p. 429.

In the two Red Nudes, the violent expression of the colors symbolizes "the explosive character of eroticism for a society that has practically managed to cover it entirely under the differen your forms of socialized relations".78 G o ld m an n points out that the mere fact that the young C h ag all did nudes indicates that the mentality of Jewish society he has become a p ro b lem atic, but he still remains a prisoner of this society - as evidenced by this explosive red associated with the nude and eroticism. In most of his works, the same opposition emerges:

m onde ju if / m onde p a y san

cham b re / villag e

This fun da m e n ta l contrast is still ex p ressed in several canvases: Death (1908) or a c a d av re tran sp ose from the m o rtu ary chamber to the east street unusual in the middle of the v illag e, next to the sweeper and the m usician, V E n terrem en t (1909) and la N o ce (1909).

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The arriv e of C h a g a ll a P a ris in 1910, his distance from Russia, his contact with the West profoundly m od ified his m en tal structures and affectiv es, and his vision of the world.

It is now in the p rese n tatio n of the peasant world, in an ever more strange and unusual vision, that the painting of Ch agall will evolve . To this g ro u p belong th e following tab le: Me and the village (1911), To Russia, to the souls and to the others (1911), the Russian V illage and the Moon (1911). The encounter with the Western world accentuates the d istan what seems to C h a g a ll from the Jewish world. The sp iritu al dimension of J ud aism loses its im p o rta n c e and its real ity and the images of the Jewish world are no more than images full of love and tend -

res; they are: the Bearded Man (1910-1911), L a N aissance (1911), Lc M u sicien (1912-1913), R a b b in Ja u n e (1912), M ark de B estiaux (1912), The V io lonist (1912-1914). All these pictures seem to suggest that something is wrong: the Yellow Rabbin is half upside down, half upside down, the Musician is floating above the village.

The world of the country acquires much more serenity and C h agall seems to regard it with ever more sympathy. " While finding him

highly strange and unusual, C h a g a ll m and the emphasis on his c arr a c draws alive and c reator. The foal in the belly of the ju -

m en t of his Livestock M a rch a n d s, the ch ild in the womb of the coun -

san n e de La F emme E n e in te (1912-1913) exp rim en t ce sentiment«.79

n Ibidem p. 425.

70 Ibidem p. 426.

» S. M. p. 429.

Le peintre prend conscience de son déracinement et de sa solitude, et c'est cette atmosphère qui caractérise les tableaux de cette époque – L'Auto-portrait aux sept doigts (1911) dans lequel on voit le poète écartélé entre l'appel de la Russie et Paris.

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En 1914, Chagall rentre en Russie. La conscience du caractère maladif de la société juive devient très aigü. Au Rabbin Jaune succède le Rabbin Vert (1914). L'homme, comme le remarque Goldmann, est presque transformé en fantôme, et une partie de son corps, surtout ses mains, semble en train de mourir. Le Rabbin cesse d'être le personnage qui inspire la tendresse et le respect pour devenir dramatique et maladif: c'est l'époque du Rabbin au cîtron. Tous les tableaux de cette période nous montrent le monde juif en train de s'effondrer. Ce sont Au-dessus de Vitebsk (1914) qui montre le Juif Errant au-dessus de la ville au moment où il est train de tomber, Le Juif Rouge (1915), Le Portrait du Père (1921). Tous ces tableaux expriment un monde malade qui s'effondre. A ce sentiment s'ajoute celui d'une métamorphose de la société russe. Chagall semble se rattacher à des valeurs subjectives: l'amour, la famille. Il s'oppose au monde comme le Juif s'opposait au village. C'est l'époque de Autoportrait (1914), Le Peintre Âllongé (1915), Les Amoureux en vert (1916-17), Les Amoureux au-dessus de la Ville (1917), La Promenade (1917), Le Double portrait au verre de vin (1917), N'Importe où hors du monde (1919). Arrivé en Occident, dans un monde avec lequel il n'a jamais eu de lien affectif, Chagall semble se réfugier dans l'univers du rêve. Il est bien difficile de savoir quelle place a pu prendre dans sa création la Révolution d'Octobre. Mais, comme le remarque Goldmann:

»la relation de Chagall avec la Révolution a certainement été superficielle; il a quitté vite la Russie révolutionnaire. Aussi bien le thème explicite de la Révolution n'a-t-il qu'une importance réduite dans son œuvre. Le seul tableau qui en traite, à la rétrospective du Pavillon de Marsan, la Révolution (1937), la présente comme une sorte d'immense crique, Lénine en accrobate marche sur les mains et, dans un coin, séparés du reste, étendus sur un lit, le peintre et sa famille... Peut-être faut-il mentionner aussi le groupe d'ouvriers à drapeau rouge qui, dans la Crucifixion Blanche (1938), pénètre dans un monde affolé, en proie à la panique«.00

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A partir de 1922, Chagall quitte définitivement la Russie et s'installe en Occident. C'est alors qu'il créé ses œuvres les plus romantiques dans le même refus de la société juive malade, de la Russie révolutionnaire et de l'occident. Il semble se réfugier définitivement

⁸⁰ S. M. p. 435.

U A u t o - p o r t r a i t a u x s e p t d o ig ts (1911) in which he sees the poet's map between the Russian and Paris appeals.

E n 1914, C h a g a ll r e n tr e e n R u ssie. L a c o n scien ce d u c a ra c te r e m a -

the d if of Jewish society tree s aig ii. The Young Rabbi succeeded the Green Rabbi (1914). L'h o m m e, Goldman remarked, is almost transformed into a phantom, and part of his body, especially his hands, seems to be about to die. The R a b b ce ceased to be the person who inspired la nd re s see t le respect in order to become dramatic and m a-ladi if: that's the moment the R a b b b in a citro n T o u s les t a b l e a u x d e c e tte p e rio d e n o u s m o n t r e n t l o m endejuifentraindes'e fondrer. Cesont Au-dessus de Vitebsk (1914) who shows the Jewish Errant au -dessus of the town at the time of his fall, Le J u i f Rouge (1915), Le P or trait of Pere (1921). Thous tables au x e x p rimentamondemalet h a t is ffond re. T h e s e s e n t i m e n t s add celu i d to a metamorphosis of Russian society. C h a g a ll seems to be attached to subjective values: love, family. II s'o p o se a u m o n d e c o m m e l J u if s'o p o s a i t a u v illage. C'estl'e poquede's Autoportrait (1914), Le Paintre Allonge (1915), Les Moureuxenvert (1916-17), Les Moureux-d essu s de la Ville (1917), The Promenade (1917), Le Double's Portrait of Goddess (1917), Importation of the Horse of Monde (1919). Arriving in the Occidental, in a world with which il il n 'a ja ma is eude lie n a f-fective, Chagall seems to be a refugee from the universe forever. II is difficult to know where the October Revolution took place. M a is, as Goldman noted:

» C h a g a l a ' s r elationship with the Revolution is certainly superficial; it t h e r e v o l u t i o n n a ire of Russia. A u ssi b i e n t h e theme of the R e v o l u t i o n does not have any importance reduced in such a work. The only table at the entrance, even the retrospective of the Pavillion de Marsán, the Revolution (1937), presents an immense variety c riq u e , L e n i n e a c r o b a t e m a r ch e s u r les main set, a coin, separated from the rest, tends to light, and enters the family. P e u t-etrefaut- ilm e n t i o n -

n e r au ssi le g ro u p e d o u v rie rs a d r a p e a u ro u g e qu i, d a n s la C r u c ifix io n B la n c h e (1938), p e n ć tr e d a n s u n m o n d e a ffo le , e n p ro ie a la p a n iq u e «.80

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From 1922, Chagall quite definitively withdrew from the Russian -

stalls in the West. That is why he created his most romantic works in the meme of the Jewish society, of the Russian revolution ir e e t of the west. II seems to be finally fugitive 80 S. M. p. 435.

dans l'univers du rêve qui devient désormais le thème central de sa peinture. Son monde est composé d'éléments imaginaires et mithologiques que l'on ne peut rattacher à aucun contexte social particulier. Le rêve réconciliera les deux mondes antagoniques qui constituent l'univers de Chagall: le monde de l'enfant juif et le monde du paysan:

»Constatons enfin l'impression de joie qui se dégage des tout derniers tableaux: le monde pour Chagall est devenu un cirque plein de contradictions, une sorte de tourbillon dans lequel se trouve tout, depuis l'homme sans tête jusqu'aux voltiges de l'écuyère, tourbillon néanmoins merveilleux dans sa richesse et sa complexité«.81

II

PROBLEMES THEORIQUES DE LA METHODE GENETIQUE ET DIALECTIQUE EN SOCIOLOGIE DE LA LITTERATURE

Goldmann considère que la sociologie de la littérature doit être nécessairement dialectique et génétique. Issue des travaux de Georg Lukàcs, la méthode de Goldmann se veut radicalement différente de toutes les formes de critiques »universitaires« tentées jusqu'alors. Elle prétend même apporter une véritable révolution dans la compréhension du rapport du contenu d'une œuvre à la conscience collective, c'est-à-dire de la création artistique à la vie quotidienne des hommes. Goldmann a souvent défini les principes de cette approche par cinq thèses fondamentales.82

- la relation essentielle entre la vie sociale et la création littéraire concerne les catégories qui organisent à la fois la conscience empirique d'un certain groupe social et l'univers imaginaire créé par l'écrivain.

- l'expérience d'un seul individu est nécessairement trop brève et trop limitée pour créer les structures mentales que la sociologie de la littérature prétend déchiffrer: il s'agit de l'aboutissement d'une création collective d'individu vivant dans une situation analogue, constituant un groupe social privilégié.

- la relation entre la structure de la conscience d'un groupe social et celle de l'univers de l'œuvre constitue dans les meilleurs cas, une homologie plus ou moins rigoureuse ou une simple relation significative.

- une telle investigation concerne toutes les œuvres et particulièrement les plus grandes. Les structures catégoriennes sur lesquelles porte cette sociologie littéraire constituent précisément ce qui confère à

l'œuvre son unité.

- les structures catégoriennes qui régissent la conscience collective et sont transposées dans l'univers imaginaire créé par l'artiste ne sont ni conscientes ni inconscientes (au sens freudien du terme): elles sont informulées.

⁴¹S. M. p. 443. ⁸² Cf. en particulier: la Sociologie de la Littérature: Statut et problèmes de méthode (M. S. p. 54).

dream will reconcile the two antagonistic worlds which constitute the universe of C h agall: the world of the Jewish child and the world of the peasant:

»At the end, let us note the impression of joy that emerges from the very last tables: the world for C h ag all has become a circus full of con trad ictio n s, a kind of all rb illo n in which is found everything, from the headless man to the aerobatics of the e-cuyere, whirlpool nonetheless marvelous in its richness and complexity«. 81

II

THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF THE GENETIC METHOD

AND DIALECTICS IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE

G o ld m an n considers that the sociology of literature must necessarily be dialectical and genetic. Stemming from the work of G e o rg L u kacs, G o ld m an n s m etho d is rad ic a lly d iffe re n t from all forms of u n iv ersity criticism "Try until then. It even claims to bring a real rev o lu tio n in the understanding of the relationship of the content of a work to the collective consciousness, that is to say of the c a rtistic re a tio n to the daily life of men.

G o ld m an n has often defined the prin ciples of this approach by means of five fundamental theses.82

- the essential re la tio n betw een social life and literary crea tio n concerns the categories which orga nize both the emp irical consciousness of a certa in g ro u p and the human uni verse a g in aire created by the writer.
- the experience of a single individual is necessarily too brief and too limited to create the mental structures that the sociology of literature represents n d d of decipherment: it is the result of a collective creation of individuals living in a similar situation, constituting a private social group illegitimate
- the rela tio n betw een the stru c tu re of the consciousness of a social group and that of the un iv erse of the work constitutes in the best cases, a more or less h om ology rig o r or a sig n ificant relatio n.
- such an in v estig a tio n concerns all works and in particular -

m ent the largest. The categorical stru c tu re s on which this literary

sociology deals are precisely what gives the work its unity.

- the categorical stru c tu re s that govern the collective consciousness and are transposed into the im a g in ary universe created by the artist are neither conscious nor unconscious (in the Freudian sense of the term): they are inform ulated.

"S. M. p. 443.

Cf. in particular: the Sociology of Literature: Status and problems of method (M. S. p. 54).

Ainsi se dessine un premier découpage de l'obiet d'une sociologie de la littérature: il s'agira de rendre compte de la presque totalité d'un texte à partir de sa structure (à découvrir), sans jamais rien ajouter au texte oui lui soit extérieur. Ce n'est qu'en montrant le caractère fonctionnel de la structure que l'on parvient à une compréhension authentique de l'œuvre. Cette démarche exige que l'on renonce à accorder une importance particulière aux intentions de l'auteur:

»La conscience ne constitue, en effet, qu'un élément partiel du comportement humain et a, le plus souvent, un contenu non adéquat à la nature objective de ce comportement«.83

et que l'on ne surestime pas l'importance de l'individu. Par ailleurs, »les influences« n'ont elle-mêmes aucune valeur explicative et ne constituent qu'une donnée parmi les autres. En résumé, on peut dire que: »la compréhension est un problème de cohérence interne du texte qui suppose qu'on prenne à la lettre le texte, tout le texte et rien que le texte, et qu'on recherche à l'intérieur de celui-ci une structure significative globale: l'explication un problème de recherche du suiet individuel ou collectif (dans le cas d'une œuvre culturelle nous pensons, pour les raisons que nous avons indiquées plus haut, qu'il s'agit tou-ioure d'un sujet collectif) par rapport auquel la structure mentale qui répit l'œuvre a un caractère fonctionnel et, par cela même, significatif«.84

Une telle approche ne s'inscrit pas seulement contre la critique universitaire classique (étude de l'œuvre elle-même, sans rapport à l'histoire. étude de la personnalité de l'auteur, des influences qu'il a suhies) mais aussi contre tout approche psychanalytique. Si la sociologie de la littérature et la osvchanalyse ont ceci en commun qu'elles reconnaissent que tout comportement humain fait partie d'une structure significative, ou'il est impossible de comprendre ce comportement sans référence précise de la structure, et que cette structure est - elle-même compréhensible dans sa genèse, elles s'opposent sur l'interprétation globale du comportement. Alors que la psychanalyse tente de la réduire à la sphère du désir, la sociologie génétique »sépare les comportements libidinaux qu'étudie la psychanalyse, des comportements à caractère historique« qui selon Goldmann se rapportent à un sujet trans-individuel. Même si un comportement s'insère dans la sobère libidinale et dans la sphère historique, le découpage selon la méthode employée ne peut être le même. Si la psychanalyse se veut la sphère de l'interprétation, la sociologie de la littérature sera celle de la compréhension. Comprendre, remarque souvent Goldmann n'est pas un acte affectif mais intellectuel; c'est la description aussi précise que possible d'une structure significative immanente à l'objet étudié. Il suffit de prendre pour objet d'étude la structure englobante pour que l'explication devienne compréhension. De la sociologie de la littérature, Goldmann tire un principe valable pour l'ensemble des sciences humaines: toute recherche doit se situer à deux niveaux différents, ce-

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A D e ssin e u n D e s s i n e d e c o u p a g e o f a sociology of literature: it aims to account for the presqu e to ta litć of a text or a party sa s tr u c t u r e (a d e c o u v i r), without any utterance. C h e

⁶³ M. S. p. 60. ⁶⁴ M. S. p. 62

n 'st it shows the c a-rac te re fo n c t i o n of the structure that 1'on provides a uthen tique understanding of the work. T h i s d e m a r c h demands a renouncement of a c c o r d e r u n e i m p o r t a n c e p a r t i c u l e r e auxiliary intentions of the author:

"Consciousness is, in effect, a part of human behavior, most often, an adequate account of the objective nature of this behavior ".88

et o u e l'o n n e su re s tim e n a s l'im p o rta n c e d e T in d iv id u . P a r a ille u rs ,

»les in fl uence s« does not mean that any rex n licative value and no constituents are permissible to others. In summary, it can be said: » c o m p r e h e n s i o n is a ro b l i f n e d e coherence in t e r n e d u t e o u su n p o s e o u 'on p r e n n e a l a t t r e l e t t r e , t o u t the text is called the text, and that the interior of this globally significant structure: the ex n lic a tio n p ro b le m e d e r e c h e r c h e d u s u i e t i n d i-vid u e l ou c o l l e c t i f (in the case of a cultural oeuvre nous pensons, for reasons other than its own in diqu ees plus shaut , $1999 \cdot q$ u 'il s'a g it to you -

io vrc d 'u n s u je t c o lle c tif) o a r r a p p o r t a u q u e l la s tr u c tu r e m e n ta le a u i re < df l 'reu v re a u n c a ra c tč r e f o n c tio n n e l et, p a r c e la m em e, s ig n ific a tif « .84

Un etheporochenes'in scrit passes ulementcontercriticulationi-versita $\hat{}$ reclassmue (study of his work-meme. sans raooortal'his to ire. etu of the author's personality, the influences that he-

Ue.O m ais aussi c o n tre to u t a p p ro c h e p s y c h a n a ly tiq u e . Si la so cio lo g ie d e la l itte r a tu r e et la n s v c h a n a lv s e o n t ceci en c o m m u n q u 'elles re -

c n n n a isse n t que to u t c o m p o r t a m e n t h u m a in fighting party d'unes tru c ture sJornlfirative. a u 'it is impossible to comprehend this c o m p o r t e m without reference to the r e p r e c i s e o f t h e structure, and t h i s structure is - it - meme m m n rehensible from its genesis, else s 'o o p o s e n t s u r Interpretation of global behavior. W h e n the lapse of the re -

d u ire a la s p h e r e d u d e s i r , t h e g e n e t i c socio l o g y » separates the lib i d i n c o m p o r t m e n t s in order to study the o s y c h a n a l y s e , of such behaviors c te r e h i s t o r i o u e « w h i c h G o l d m a n n will appr opriate tra n c-individual subjects. M e m e s i o n c o m p o r t m e n t s'in se r e d a n s n h e r e libidin a le et in

the sphere of history, which is decouo aged according to the method used to create a meme. Si la p s y c h a n a l y sees itself as the sphere of interpretation, the sociology of literature as the race of understanding. C o m p r e n d e r , r e m a r k u e sou nt G o l d m a n n 'is not an act affective but an intellectual; it is the d e s c r i p t i o n au ssi p recise that it is possible to have an immanently significant structure to the object of study 6 . II it is sufficient to take the object of study of the overarching structure in order for the explanation to lead to comprehension. From the sociology of literature, Goldman has a valuable principle for the likeness of the human sciences: to ute research does its situ and at different levels, ce-83 M. S. p. 60.

M M. S. p. 62

lui de l'objet étudié et celui de la structure immédiatement englobante. L'étude d'un objet donné (texte, réalité sociale) ne peut être tenue pour satisfaisante que si l'on parvient à dégager une structure qui rende compte du plus grand nombre de données empiriques, et en particulier celles qui sont tenues pour les plus importantes de telle façon qu'il soit improbable ou impossible qu'une autre analyse puisse proposer une autre structure qui permette une plus grande compréhension.

Goldmann qui s'est souvent vu reproché son interprétation sociologique des textes littéraires, manifeste à leur égard un respect étonnant. Ce qu'il reproche à la critique classique, c'est moins de retrancher quelque chose au texte, que d'y ajouter autre chose. Pour le spécialiste de l'histoire littéraire, Hector ne peut parler dans Andromaque parce qu'il est mort et qu'il s'agit de l'illusion d'une femme acculée au désespoir. Comme le remarque Goldmann, malheureusement, rien de tout cela ne se trouve dans le texte de Racine, qui nous laisse seulement savoir par deux fois, qu'Hector, le mort, a parlé. Parfois Goldmann, pousse le respect du texte jusqu'à l'ecès. Ainsi lorsqu'il écrit: »on ne saurait parler d'un inconscient d'Oreste ni d'un désir d'Oedipe d'épouser sa mère, puisque ni Oreste ni Oedipe ne sont pas hommes vivants mais des textes, et qu'on n'a pas le droit d'ajouter quoique ce soit à un texte qui ne parle ni d'inconscient ni de désir incestueux.85 Aussi, le principe explicatif, selon lui ne saurait résider que dans l'inscient de Sophocle et non d'Oedipe car Oedipe n'est qu'un texte.

La sociologie de la littérature a le privilège sur les autres de savoir que si une œuvre a survécu au temps, il est probable qu'elle constitue une structure significative. Mais il est toujours possible que plusieurs œuvres d'un même auteur expriment en fait des structures différentes. Ainsi Goldmann a-t-il montré que Les Provinciales et Les Pensées correspondent à deux visions du monde ayant des fondement socio-

logiques distincts.

– le jansénisme centriste et mi-cartésien dont les représentants les plus connus étaient Arnaud et Nicole, et le jansénisme extrémiste, dont la principale figure fut le théologien Barcos, Abbé de Saint-Cyran. Entin la mise en lumière de la structure tragique a permis d'intégrer à l'objet de recherche quatre des principales pièces de Racine: Andromaque, Britannicus, Bérénice et Phèdre. Goldmann a montré à partir de nombreux exemples, que nous avons précédemment analysés, comment de telles structures pouvaient être mises en lumière dans la plupart des grandes œuvres occidentales. Lorsque la cohérence interne de l'œuvre est découverte, il s'agit de s'orienter vers l'explication, sans pour autant régresser à l'explication psychologique.

- tout d'abord parce que nous sommes toujours peu renseignés sur la psychologie d'un écrivain mort depuis longtemps et que nous ne pouvons en donner qu'une reconstruction fictive plus ou moins bril-

lante.

- aucune explication psychologique n'est jamais parvenue à rendre compréhensible la plus grande partie d'un texte en dehors de quelques éléments partiels très généraux.

⁸⁶ M. S. p. 70.

accounts for the largest number of data. empirical data, and in particular those which are held to be important in such a way that it is improbable or impossible that another analysis could propose another structure which allows for greater understanding.

G o ld m an n, who has often been reproached for his sociological in te rp re tatio n of literary texts, manifests an astonishing respect for them.

What he criticizes classical criticism is less for taking something away from the text than for adding something else to it. For the specialist in literary history, H e c to r cannot speak in A n d rom a c e because he is dead and it is about the illusion of a woman forced into despair. As G o ld m an n points out, unfortunately, none of this is found in Racine's text, which only lets us know twice that 'H ector, the dead man, has spoken. S ometimes G o ldm ann, pushes respect for the text to the point of access. Thus when he writes: "we cannot speak of an unconscious of O remains nor of a desire of Oedipus to marry his mother, since neither O remains nor Oedipus they are not living men but texts, and that we do not have the right to add anything to a text that speaks neither of the unconscious nor of incestuous desire.85 Also, the ex p licative principle, according to him, can only reside in the unconscious of Sophocles and not of Oedipus because Oedipus is only a text.

The sociology of literature has the privilege over others of knowing that if a work has survived time, it is likely that it constitutes a significant stru c tu re e. But it is always possible that several works by the sam e author in fact express d ifferent stru ctu res.

Thus G o ld m an n has shown that Les Provinciates and Les Pensees correspond to two visions of the world with d istinct socio-logical foundations.

- jan se nism e c en triste et m i-cartesie n whose best-known rep resen tatives were A rnau d and N icole, and extrem ist jan sen ism e, of which the main fig u refu ted the th eo lo gian Barcos, A bbe of Saint-C yran . Finally, the highlighting of the tra g ic s tru c tu re made it possible to in te g re to the re search object four of the main pieces of R a cine : A n d rom a c u e , B ritan n icu s, B erenice and P h ed re. G o ld m an n has shown from m a n y examples, which we have previously analysed, how such stru c tu re s can be highlighted in m ost of the great Western works. When the in te rn coherence of the work is discovered, it is a matter of moving towards explanation, without regressing to ex p lic a tio n psychological.

- first of all because we are still little informed about the psychology of a writer who has been dead for a long time and that we can only give a reconstruction of it fictitious ctio n more or less brilliant.
- no psychological ex p lic a tio n has ever managed to make most of a text understandable, apart from a few very general partial elem ents .
- M. S. p. 70.

- ce que l'explication psychologique éclaire, c'est en général le moins important de l'œuvre.

Une fois distinguée la sociologie de la littérature, de l'interprétation psychanalitique, il reste a en montrer l'opposition avec l'histoire littéraire traditionnelle. A l'inverse du structuralisme formaliste qui dégage des structures éternelles, le structuralisme génétique entreprend de montrer l'évolution de l'histoire sans pour autant renoncer à l'analyse structurale. Aussi la sociologie de la littérature parvient-elle à distinguer des concepts qui, même s'ils ne peuvent jamais coïncider avec le réel s'en approchent considérablement. Si elle ne s'arrête qu'aux structures cohérentes fondamentales, elle n'en ignore pas moins que toutes structures sont toujours partiellement inadéquates au réel et qu'elles sont enveloppées dans un processus de destructuration historique qui intervient sur l'objet de la recherche. La découverte des micro-structures permettrait aux chercheurs de réajuster continuellement le schéma d'interprétation de manière à rendre compte de l'intégralité du texte.

GENESE ET STRUCTRE: LE STRUCTURALISME GENETIQUE

»le problème de l'histoire, c'est l'histoire du problème et inversement«.

Georg Lukàcs

»Grise, mon ami, est toute théorie, mais l'arbre de la vie est toujours vert«.

Goethe

La conviction qui domine toutes les recherches de Goldmann c'est qu'il est impossible d'isoler une œuvre, un problème, une théorie, du contexte culturel qui l'a vu naître et dans lequel il a évolué. Aussi chaque question particulière ne cesse-t-elle de poser la question de l'histoire en général. Manis inversement, toute compréhension de l'histoire implique: »l'étude de la vie intellectuelle et consciente de ces hommes et la recherche des corrélations entre les transformations qu'elle a subies et les transformations des autres secteurs de la vie sociale«.86 On ne peut comprende l'évolution d'une société qu'à travers l'évolution de chacune de ses manifestations – les problèmes qui se sont posés aux hommes – et les transformations qu'a subies la structure de ces problèmes.

Ainsi se justifie le structuralisme génétique – tentative pour comprendre la structure significative de tout comportement social à travers la mise en lumière de la structure partielle, elle-même comprise dans une structure plus vaste il s'agit de découvrir et ainsi de suite. Par cette méthode Goldmann se sépare de deux approches opposées et finalement semblables par leur incapacité à saisir la réalité concrète.

- this clear psychological explanation is generally the most important part of the brain.

⁸⁰ M. S. p. 18.

Once again, the sociology of literature, of interpretation -

tio n p s y c h a n a litiq u e, il re s te a e n m o n tr e r l'o p p o s itio n a v e c l'h isto ire l itte r a ir e tra d itio n n e lle. A l'in v e rs e d u s tr u c tu r a lis m e f o rm a lis te qui d e g a g e des s tru c tu re s e te rn e lle s, le s tr u c tu r a lis m e g e n e tiq u e e n tre -

prendem onters revolution of the 'histoire sanspoura utantrenoncera 1 structural analysis. The sociology of literature also appears—it distinguishes concepts that even s'ils never allow us to think about and reels'en approchent consider blement. If he does not argue that there are fundamental coherences among the structures, he does not ignore anyone else to u jours partielment in a decuates a ureeletthe yare involved in a process of destructuring history that intervenes in the object of the research...

Ladecouverthere to adjust continuously -

m e n t the s ch e m a d 'interpretation of how we re a r e c o m p t e d the 'in te -

gralitedutexte.

GENESE ET STRUCTRE: L E S T R U C T U R A L IS M E G E N E T IQ U E

»the problem of history is the history of the problem and vice versa«.

Georg Lukacs

"Grise, my friend, is all theory, but the tree of

life is always green".

G o eth e

The conviction that dominates all of Goldman's research is that it is impossible to create, a problem, a theory , due to the cultural context in which it evolves. Each p a rtic u l e question needs to pose the question of history in general. M a n is in v e r s e m e n t, any understanding of 1'h isto ire implies: » the knowledge of the intellectual and conscious life of these men et la r e c h e r c h e d c o r r e l a t i o n s among t r a n s f o r m a t i o n s q u 'e lle a su b i s e t h e t r a n s f o r m a t i o n s of o t h e r s e c t e r s o f social life« .86 One can comprehend a revolution of a society that goes beyond the Involvement of each of these manifestations - the problems most of

them possess in homes - and so on s fo r m a t i o n s t h a t the s t r u c t u r e d e s s p ro b le m e s. \blacksquare

I in sight justify structuralism me g enetic- tentatively in order to understand the structural significance of it to social behavior across la mise en lum ie re d e la s t r u c t u r e p a r t i e lle , it -me m e c o m p rise d a n s u n e s t r u c t u r e plus vas te il s'a g it d e d \acute{c} cou v rire t a in si de suite.

Parcette m ć thode Gold mann se s ć parededeux approches o pposćes et finalement se m b lables par leur in capacitć as a is ir larća litć con crete.

»' M. S. p. 18.

- l'atomisme qui tente d'introduire dans les sciences humaines les principes qui au 19ème siècle régisssaient les sciences de la nature (explications causales et nécessaires, corrélations universelles qui expliquent le particulier).

- structuralisme non génétique qui englobe Husserl, les psychologues de la Gestalt (Wertheimer, Köhler, Koffka) mais aussi Lévi-Strauss et Roland Barthes qui ne considèrent que l'existence de struc-

tures permanentes et universelles.

Parfois ces deux approches opposées semblent se rejoindre. Ainsi, Lévi-Strauss semble unir un structuralisme descriptif et un atomisme explicatif: les structures sont éternelles et non significatives, mais les liaisons intelligibles sont le fait d'éléments communs: des »atomes de structure«.87 Comme le groupe composé de l'homme, de la femme, de l'enfant est d'un membre masculin du groupe (qui donne la femme au mari). La perspective génétique - dont il reconnaît l'utilité - reste pourtant chez lui secondaire. A l'inverse de ce structuralisme Goldmann affirme que: »compréhension et explication ne sont pas seulement des processus intellectuellement connexes mais un seul et même processus rapporté seulement à des niveaux différents du découpage de l'objet«.88

Ainsi les structures constitutives du comportement humain ne sont pas des données universelles mais des »faits spécifiques nés d'une genèse passée et en train de subir des transformations qui ébauchent une évolution future.89 La recherche de la structure dynamique a donc un caractère à la fois compréhensif par rapport à l'objet étudié et un caractère explicatif par rapport aux structures limitées qui en sont les

éléments constitutifs.

Par là, le structuralisme génétique renoue avec toute une tradition qui naît avec Hegel et Marx et dont la seconde étape semble liée à l'apparition de la psychanalyse.90 Goldmann émet toutefois quelques réserves à l'égard de l'approche freudienne - qui vise bien moins la psychanalyse comme science et méthode que son application à l'histoire;91 - il lui reproche d'user d'explications dangereuses à partir d'une conception du temps tronqué: pour la psychanalyse scul existe le passé et non l'avenir. Goldmann remarque que Freud »a curieusement gardé de la conception officielle de l'explication causale qui régnait en son temps, l'idée que l'explication d'un état présent ne saurait se trouver que dans le passé, renonçant à introduire dans sa vision une dimension essentielle pour tout structuralisme génétique généralisé: celle de l'avenir«. Par ailleurs Goldmann n'a jamais caché sa méfiance à l'égard de l'application des concepts psychanalytiques aux phénomènes sociaux, historiques et culturels. Car si toute œuvre est comprise dans des totalités relatives, on ne saurait privilégier absolument la signification de l'une d'entre elle.

49 Ibidem p. 21. 00 Cf. l'ouvrage célèbre de Norman O. Brown: Héros et Thanatos.

⁸⁷ Cf. Anthropologie structurale 88 M. S. p. 21.

oi Il semble que Goldmann omette une étape importante dans la formation de ce structuralisme génétique: l'introduction du concept d'interprétation et de généalogie par Nietzsche.

explain the particular).

- non-genetic stru ctu ralism which includes H usserl, the G estalt psychologists (W erth eim er, K ohler, K offka) but also Levi-Strauss and R o lan d Barth es who do not co only concerns the existence of perm an t and universal structures.

S ometimes these two opposite approaches seem to come together. So.

L evi-S trau ss seems to unite a stru ctu ralism of scrip tiv e and an atom ism ex p licative: the stru ctu res are etern al and insignificant, but the intelligible links are the fact of com m un elem ents: "atoms of stru c tu re ".87 As the g ro u p is made up of m a n , w o m a n , chil dren is m a n m em ber of the g ro u p (w h o gives the wife to the husband). The genetic perspective - whose usefulness he recognizes - remains secondary for him. In contrast to this stru ctu ralism G o ld m an affirms that: »understanding and ex p licatio n are not only in telctu ally related processes but one and the same process relates only to d iffere n t lev els of the slicing of the o b jet".88

Thus the stru ctu res constituting h u m a n behavior are not universal data but "specific facts born of a past genesis and in the process of undergoing tra n sfo rm atio n s that ćau t a future evo lu tio n. OB JECT STU D Y AND AN EX P LIC A TIVE NATURE IN RELATION TO THE LIMITED STRUCTURES WHICH ARE ITS CONSTITUTIVE ELEM ENTS.

In this way, gen etic stru c tu ra lism reconnects with a whole tra d itio n which was born with Heg el and M a rx and whose second stage seems bound for the appearance of p sy ch an alv se.90 G o ld m an n em and however some reservations with regard to the freu d ian ap p ro ch e - which aims much less at psych analy se as science and m eth o d than its ap p licatio n to h istory; only the past exists and not the future. G o ld m a n n remarks that F re u d 'curiously kept from the official conception of the causal ex p lication which prevailed in his time, the idea that the exp the lic a tio n of a present state can only be found in the past, renon g ant has introduced into his vision an essential dim en sio n for all stru c tu ra lism generalized genetics: that of the future. P a r ill e rs G o ld m an n has n e v er h e d h is h u s mistrust o f the applicatio n o f p sy ch an aly concepts -

to social, historical and cultural p h enom ens. For if every work is comprised in relativ e totalities, we c o n n t have ab s o lu m en t to privilege the sig n ific a tio n of one of them.

81 Cf. Structural Anthropology

88 M. S. p. 21.

*• Ibidem p. 21.

90 Cf. the famous work by Norman O. Brown: H iro s et lh an atos.

91 It seems that Goldmann omits an important step in the formation of this genetic structuralism: the introduction of the concept of interpretation and genealogy by Nietzsche.

Si elle est issue de Hegel, Marx et Freud la méthode du structuralisme génétique doit encore s'en référer Dilthey – malgré son manque total de rigueur – pour comprendre comment elle a pu s'organiser en méthode d'approche des sciences humaines. Mais c'est surtout à partir des travaux de Georg Lukàcs et de Jean Piaget qu'elle a pu devenir une méthode rigoureuse. En introduisant la catégorie de totalité dialectique en devenir, Lukàcs peut être considére comme le précurseur de toute recherche structurale. Quant à Piaget il a, selon Goldmann, »retrouvé empiriquement dans la recherche de laboratoire presque toutes les positions fondamentales que Marx avait formulé cent ans plus tôt dans le domaine des sciences sociales«.92 La méthode élaborée par Goldmann pour l'approche des œuvres littéraires ne doit donc pas se limiter à la sociologie de la littérature, mais concerne l'ensemble des approches que l'on peut tenter en sciences humaines.

LA CREATION CULTURELLE ET LE SUJET SOCIAL

Ce qui me parait constituer le principal caractère spécifique de la pensée marxiste, c'est le concept de sujet collectif, l'affirmation que, dans la dimension historique, ce ne sont jamais les individus mais les groupes sociaux qui agissent et que c'est seulement par rapport à eux que nous pouvons comprendre les évenements, les comportements et les institutions«.

M. S. - p. 327

Pour l'épistémologie génétique et dialectique de Goldmann, il est impossible de séparer la conscience et son développement du reste de la vie des hommes. Le sujet créateur de toute vie intellectuelle et culturelle n'est pas individuel mais social. »Chaque fois que nous étudions, soit un évènement historique, soit, ce qui paraît au premier abord moins évident, les grandes œuvres de l'histoire de la littérature, de la philosophie ou de l'art, nous constatons que le sujet, cette unité active et structurée qui permet de rendre compte de manière significative de l'action des hommes ou de la nature et du sens de l'œuvre que nous étudions n'est pas un individu mais une réalité trans-individuelle, un groupe humain.93

Par là Goldmann manifeste une fois de plus sa méfiance à l'égard de toute interprétation psychanalytique, littéraire ou sociale. S'il reconnaît qu'à côté de ce sujet collectif, il reste »un secteur à sujet individuel de la vie humaine, celui que Freud a exploré et désigné comme le domaine de la libido«, 94 il précise que:

»La libido et le comportement libidinal n'expliquent jamais de manière valable le sens d'aucune création historique ni surtout d'aucune création culturelle; car on ne saurait réduire au

If it is an issue of Hegel, M a r x e t F r e u d the method of genetic structuralism to which he refers Dilthey - although he lacks a total derigue - for comparison re n d r e c o m m e n t a p u s'organizing

⁹² M. S. p. 29.

⁰³ M. S. p. 38.

⁹⁴ M. S. p. 39.

method of approaching the human sciences. B u t it is certainly from the work of G e o rg Lukacs and Jean Piaget that I could devise a rigorous method. An introducer into the category of total dialectical and future, Lukacs considers himself to be the precursor of all research on structure and . Q u a n t a Piagetila, according to Goldman,

» re tro u v e e m p i r i q u e m e n t in laboratory research to rescue to ute s the fundamental positions that Marxist formulates beyond the domain of the sciences so c ia les« .92 G o l d m a n n ' s m e t h o d of labor for the app roach of literary works does not go beyond limiting the sociology of literature, . b u t c o n c e r n e l 'together with the app roaches that 'can enable human sciences.

CULTURAL CREATION AND THE SOCIAL SUBJECT

What seems to me to constitute the principal characteristic

specific to Marxist thought is the concept of

collective subject, the affirmation that, in the historical dimension, it is never individuals but

social groups that act and that it is only

compared to them that we can understand the

events, behaviors and institutions.

M.S.-p. 327

For Goldmann's geneticpistem oly, it is impossible to separate consciousness from its development during human life. The subject creator of all intellectual and cultural life is not passing individual but social. » What we know-

d ions, so it u n e v e n e m e n t h i s t o r i q u e , soit, ce q u i p a r i t a u p r e m e r a b o r d m o ins evident, the great works of the h istoire of literature, of philo sophico d e l 'a rt, n o u s c o n sta t o n s q u e l s u j e t , t h e u n i t e a c t i v e s s t r u c t u r e e q u i p e r m e t h e r e to recompte in a significant way the F a c t i o n of the people o u de la

n a tu r e and meaning of the work that we

etu d io n s

n'est p as u n in d iv id u m ais u n e r e a lite

between individuals,

ungroupehumain.93

For the G o l d m a n n m a n ife s te u n e fo i s of p l u s s a m e f i a n c e a l e g a r d d e t o u te in te r p re ta tio n p sy c h a n a ly tiq u e, litte r a ire e or so cial. If it is recognized as a collective subject, it remains an individual subject of human life, the joy of exploring signs like the day of libido ",94 he specifies that:

» L a libido and libid in al c o m p o r t e m e n t are never e x p l i c u e n t in the sense of any creation history above all of any creation culture lle; c a r o n e s a r e to reduce to 91 M. S. P.

•» M. S. p. 38.

•« M. S. p. 39.

désir individuel la signification d'aucune œuvre d'art valable, d'aucune pensée philosophique authentique et d'aucune création historique en général«.95

Il aurait été intéressant, sans doute, de savoir ce que Goldmann n'aurait pas manqué d'écrire à propos du Flaubert de Sartre. Déjà. dans un compte rendu de la critique de la Raison Dialectique, il faisait part de sa méfiance au sujet de l'importance que Sartre accordait à la vie individuelle«:

»Or le problème n'est pas de savoir ce qu'était Madame Bovary pour Flaubert, mais ce par quoi Madame Bovary est une œuvre culturelle importante, c'est-à-dire une réalité historique, ce que la différencie de mille autres écrits moyens de la même époque et des divagations de tel ou tel aliéné».98

Goldmann a précisé cette conception du sujet social comme sujet individuel en opposant la plupart du temps la sociologie dialectique et génétique de la littérature à l'interprétation psychologique ou psychanalytique de l'œuvre d'art et littéraire. La méthode issue de Hegel, Marx et Lukàcs par opposition à celle de Freud tente d'insérer l'œuvre étudiée dans une structure plus vaste que la psychanalyse. Cette structure n'est pas éternelle, c'est l'aboutissement d'une génèse. Pour Freud la création est toujours rapportée à l'individu et constitue »une transposition rigoureuse et à peine modifiée sur quelques points secondaires, des analyses du comportement individuel et de la libido individuelle«.97 Cette transposition, Goldmann, juge toujours problématique. Une œuvre ne peut être limitée à un individu: elle s'ouvre sur l'avenir, le passé et la mort. Aussi ne saurait-on faire de l'individu une catégorie centrale de la recherche car le sujet est toujours constitué par plusieurs individus. Alors que pour la psychanalyse, c'est l'intégration du désir du sujet qui est fondamentale, pour la sociologie de la littérature l'intelligibilité n'a de sens que par rapport à un suiet individuel. Aussi, Goldmann s'est-il souvent efforcé de dégager l'autonomie d'un suiet culturel - groupe opposé à d'autres groupes et transformant l'histoire dans cette opposition - en évitant toute possibilité de réduction dogmatique (réduction de toutes les oppositions à celle des classes ou à un sujet individuel se détachant sur un horizon social et historique). Tout groupe social tende à créer une représentation - ordre plus ou moins conscient de l'ensemble social - et dans certain cas privilégié peut devenir sujet d'une création culturelle, lorsou'il parvient à faire de cette représentation une vision du monde.

Mais ces structurations globales comme nous l'ont montré Hegel et Marx n'ont qu'une valeur temporaire et ne sont valables que pour tels groupes sociaux déterminés. placés dans une certaine situation historique. Lorsque sous le fait d'influences extérieures le groupe se transforme, les catégories mentales cessent d'être efficaces, perdent leur rationalité et doivent se transformer à leur tour. Par là, Goldmann s'oppose à tout dogmatisme qui prétendrait maintenir dans l'histoire,

⁹⁸ M. S. p. 39.

M. S. p. 257. M. S. p. 99.

It would no doubt be interesting to know what G oldman would not have failed to write about Flaubert de Sartre. Already.

in an account of the critique of dialectical reason, he expresses his distrust of the im p o rtan ce that S a rtre placed on individual life. :

» But the problem is not to know what M adam e Bovary was for F laubert, but what M a d a m e B ova ry is an important cultural work, that is to say a historical reality, what the difference from a thousand other medium-sized writings of the same period and from the ramblings of such and such an alien6".96

G o ld m an n clarified this conception of the social subject as an in d iv id ual subject by contrasting, most of the time, the dialectical and genetic sociology of literature to n te r p r e t a t i o n psychological or psychan aly tic of the work of art and literature. The m ethod stemming from H egel, M arx and L ukacs as opposed to that of F re u d attempts to insert the work studied in a stru c tu re larger than the psychanalyse. This stru c tu re is not eternal, it is the culmination of a genesis. For F re u d, crea tio n is always re p o rted to the ind iv id u and constitutes "a rig o r transp o s tio n and barely m o dified on a few secondary points. an alyses of in d iv id u a l com p o rtem en t and in d iv id u al libido".97 This tran sp o sitio n , G o ld m an n , still judges p ro b lem a-tiau e. A work cannot be limited to an in d iv id u: it opens onto the future, the past and death. Also, it would not be possible to make the individual a central category of research because the subject is always constituted by several in d iv id u s. Whereas for psychoanalysis, it is the in te g ratio n of the desire for su ic t which is fundamen tal, for the sociology of litera tu re the in te llig ib ility n it makes sense that or relates to an in divid u al subject. Also, G o ld m an n has often endeavored to deg ag er the autonomy of a su iet cu ltu rel - g ro u p opposed to other groups and tra n s fo rm a n ts history in this op position - avoiding any possib ility of dogmatic reduction (re duction of all oppositions to that of classes or to an in d iv id u a l followin g of ta c h a n t on a social and historical horizon). Every social group tends to create a representation - an order that is more or less conscious of the social whole - and in certa in case a privilege has become su icated by a cultural creation, when he manages to make this representation a vision of the world.

But these global stru c tu ra tio n s as we have shown H egel and M a rx only have a temporary v a lu e and are valid only for such determ social g ro ups in es, nlacćed in a certain h isto ric situ atio n. W h e n the g ro u p is tran sformed by external influences, the m en tal categories cease to be effective, lose their r a tio n a lity and must t

will be tra n s fo rm in turn. G o ld m an n therefore opposes any dogmatism that claims to remain in history,

•* M. S. p. 39.

M M. S. p. 257.

M M . S. p. 99.

des formes de pensées condamnées par l'évolution historique ellemême et qui s'opposeraient alors aux aspirations des hommes vers la liberté.

Rechercher la vision du monde, c'est s'opposer à l'ensemble de la critique universitaire qui n'a jamais tenté de saisir l'unité de la richesse et de la multiplicité des œuvres qu'elle étudiait. Cette unité de l'œuvre d'art est sans doute l'une des thèses les plus centrales chez Goldmann. Il s'agit toujours de découvrir l'unité de l'œuvre d'art, le lien de cette unité avec la conscience de certains groupes sociaux déterminés historiquement. Comment explorer cette vision du monde? Pour Goldmann la critique doit s'appliquer à trois domaines distincts:

- les valeurs refoulées: toute œuvre littéraire importante comporte une vision du monde unitaire qui organise son univers. S'il s'agit réellement d'une œuvre authentique, on doit aussi pouvoir trouver une prise de conscience des autres valeurs refusées et refoulées par cette vision du monde.
- l'Onthologie de la mort: toute œuvre, toute vision du monde a un caractère fonctionnel à l'égard du groupe qu'elle exprime et qu'il a créée, mais elle se heurte à une réalité onthologique qu'elle ne pourra jamais supprimer: la mort. Aussi, toute interrogation de la vision du monde doit être aussi une interrogation sur le sens que la mort a reçu dans cet univers.
- le conflit des aspirations individuelles et de l'ordre social. Il s'agit de comprendre les sacrifices exigés sur le plan de la vie individuelle par l'ordre social. La critique psychanalytique a sans doute tort de mettre ces aspirations à l'origine de toute création culturelle mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que la création littéraire implique une conscience aigüe du sacrifice exigé sur le plan de la vie individuelle par ces aspirations. »La libido constitue ainsi un élément important de l'œuvre, mais non pas du côté de l'unité et du sens, comme le pensent les psychanalystes, mais au contraire du côté de la multiplicité et de la richesse qui s'opposent à la structuration«.98

Ш

SOCIALISME OU BARBARIE

»Aujourd'hui encore, et malgré toutes les transformations et les modifications qu'il est extrêmement important d'analyser de manière positive et scientifique, l'alternative formulée par Marx et par Rosa Luxemburg reste toujours valable; aux deux pôles extrêmes de l'évolution se dessignent les deux images extrêmes de la barbarie et du socialisme«.

Marxisme et Sciences Humaines - p. 14.

Il nous est impossible, dans cette étude consacrée principalement à la méthode d'approche de Goldmann des œuvres littéraires, d'exposer la complexité des dernières recherches politiques, interrompues par sa

des condamnes deperves esparre volution histor icuesthatopos eraientaloraux aspirations of mo mes towards freedom.

⁹⁸ M. S. p. 51.

Recherchertheworldvision, it is s'opposeral'in the form of the critical university that has never tried to unite it richness and the multiplic ity of the works you diait. This unity of the arter's oeuvre is undoubtedly one of the most central to Goldmann. II s'agit to u jours of discovering the unity of the work of art, the link of this unity with the consciousness of certain social groups in terms of history uement. How do you explore this world view?

Pour Gold mannlacritiquedoit s'anpliquer a trois domaines distincts:

- les v a l e u r s re fo u l e s: to u te oeuvre litter aire an im p o r t a n t c o m p o r t u n e vision d u m o n d e u n i t a r e q u i o r g a n i s e so n u n i v e r s S 'il s 'a g it re -
- e lle m e n t d 'u n e oeuvre au t h e n tiq u e , o n d o i t au s i p o u v e r u n e p r i s e d e c o n s c i e n c e o f o t h e r s v a l u e r s refuse to see the foulness of this p a r c e tte vision of the world.
- V O n t h o l o g y of death: every work, every vision of the world and its character and function in terms of a small group that is expressed and believed, but is seen rte a u n e r e a lite on t h o l o g y q u e q u 'e l e p o u r ra ja m a i s sup r i m e r: death. A u s s i s , t h e interrogation of the vision of the universe does three external interrogations on the sense of mortality contributing to these universes.
- the c o n flit of despair in individual sets of the Word re social. II s 'a g e d e c o m p r e n d e r the sacrifices required on the plan of individual life and social order. P s y c h a n a l y c r i t i c a l s a n s doubt the wrong of putting these a s p i r a t i o n s a l 'origine of all c u l t u r a t i o n c r e a t i o n b u t it is no less true than creation tion of literature implies a consciousness aig iie d u s a crific e e x i g e s u r e p l a n d e l i f i e s i n d i v i d u e p a r ces a s p i r a t i o n s . » L a lib i d o c o n s titu e a n s i o n e s i m p o r t a n t e l e m e n t o f t h e w o r k , b u t it does not pass through the unity and sense, c o m m e l e p e n -

se n t les p s y c h a n a ly s te s , m ais a u c o n tr a ir e d u co te d e la m u ltip lic ite et d e la ric h e sse q u i s 'o p p o se n t a la s tr u c tu r a tio n \ll .98

"Even today, and despite all the transformations and modifications that it is extremely important to analyze in a positive and scientific way, the alternative formulated by Marx and by Rosa Luxemburg still remains valid; at the two extreme poles of Involution are drawn the two extreme images of barbarism and socialism.

M a rx ism e et S cien ces H u m ain es - p. 14.

11 now it is impossible, in this case, to consecrate the principal method of approaching Goldman's literary works, to expose the completion x ite of recent political research, in te rro p u e s p a r s e

•8 M. S. p. 51.

mort, qu'il n'a pas toujours eu le temps de thématiser. 99 Nous nous proposons, à partir des quelques textes publiés dans le recueil posthume » Marxisme et Sciences Humaines«, de ses différentes interventions lors des Congrès de l'Ecole de Korçula, de sa discussion des thèses d'Ernst Bloch et d'Herbert Marcuse, de Mallet et d'Ernest Mandel, de tenter, dans une autre étude de montrer l'extrême richesse de ces recherches à peine ébauchées. Nous ne nous attacherons ici qu'à un seul thème, la necessité, pour Goldmann, de redéfinir le contenu du socialisme, de montrer que s'il est justifié, c'est en tant qu'il incarne, comme l'a prophétisé Marx, un nouveau stade de civilisation.

*

L'un des textes les plus importants pour comprendre la pensée politique de Goldmann est sans doute »Socialisme et Humanisme«, rédigé pour un recueil en langue anglaise dirigé par Erich Fromm, où Goldmann s'efforce de montrer la signification présente du socialisme. Dans la théorie Marxiste, la victoire de la révolution prolétarienne, la socialisation des moyens de production et l'établissement d'une planification centralisée devaient aboutir à une organisation sociale qui, après une phase transitoire de dictature du prolétariat, supprimerait l'aliénation de l'homme par l'homme, réaliserait les grandes valeurs de l'humanisme bourgeois, leur donnant pour la première fois un caractère authentique, à la place du statut purement formel qu'elles avaient dans la société capitaliste où elles n'existaient que gravées sur les frontons des monuments. L'égalité effective établie par la société socialiste permettrait la construction d'un autre stade de civilisation qui reprendrait les éléments positifs des trois grandes formes de société qui l'ont précédées:

- l'absence de classe des sociétés primitives.

- les relations qualitatives des hommes avec les autres hommes et avec la nature qui caractérisent les sociétés pré-capitalistes.

- la rationalité que la société capitaliste avait introduite dans l'en-

treprise et les valeurs d'universalité liées à cette rationalité.

Àussi, la révolution socialiste devrait-elle symboliser la fin de la préhistoire et le passage du royaume de la nécessité au royaume de la liberté. L'existence à partir de 1917 d'un état socialiste puis de plusieurs au lendemain de la seconde guerre mondiale pose désormais le problème esesntiel de la réalisation effective du contenu du socialisme. On ne peut nier l'écart qui sépare la réalisation des promesses de Marx et la transformation de l'idéologie révolutionnaire en idéologie apologétique. Si la fonction que Marx et Engels ont rempli à l'égard de l'idéologie de la bourgeoisie triomphante a été de rétablir l'accord entre la pensée la réalité, le rôle de l'intellectuel marxiste aujourd'hui, selon Goldmann, est de maintenir la même exigence par rapport:

- aux apologistes des nouvelles sociétés socialistes.

- aux apologistes des sociétés occidentales en voie de transformation.

aux apologistes des sociétés du tiers monde.

⁹⁹ Et qui annonçaient sans doute un tournant dans sa pensée.

M arcuse, of M allet and E rnest M andel.

to try, in another study, to show the extreme richness of this barely sketched research. We will only focus here on a single theme, the need for G o ld m an n to redefine the content of socialism, to show that if it is justified, it is as such that he embodies, as M arx prophesied, a new stage of civilization.

On e of the most im portant texts for understanding Goldmanns political thought is undoubtedly "Socialisme et Humanisme", written for a compendium in English language led by Erich Fromm, or Goldmann strives to show the present sign ification of socialism.

In M arxist theo ry, the victory of the proletarian rev o lu tio n, the socialization of the means of p ro d u ctio n and the establishment of a cen a social o rg an isatio n which, after a tra n sito ry phase of dicta tu re o f the p ro le ta ria t, w ould remove the a lie n a tio n of man by man would realize the great values of bourgeois humanism, giving them for the first time an auth en tic character, instead of the purely form al sta tu s that they had in cap italist society where they only existed engraved on the fronts of m onum ents. The effective equality established by socialist society would allow the construction of another stage of civilization which would take up the positive elem ents of the three great forms of society. companies which preceded them:

- the absence of class in primitive societies.
- the q u a litativ e relations of men with other men and with n a tu re which characterize pre-capitalist societies.
- the r a tio n ality that the c a p italist society had introduced into the company and the v alu es of un iv ersa lite linked to this rationality.

Also, the socialist rev o lu tio n should symbolize the end of the preh isto ry and the passage from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom. The existence from 1917 of a socialist state and then more

lords at the end of the second world war now poses the essential problem of the effective realization of the content of socialism.

On ne peu tnier l'e c art qui se pare la rea lisa tion des promesses de M a rx et la tra n s fo rm a tio n d e l'ideologie revolu tio n n aire en ideologic ap o lo get tagged If the fon ctio n that M a rx et Engels on t rem pli a l'eg ard de l'ideologie de la b ourgeoisie trio m ph a n te a etć

de re tab lir l'accord e n tre la pensee la rea lite, le ro le de l'in tellectu el marxiste au jourd 'hui, selon Goldmann, est de m a inten ir la meme exigencia para p a r p o rt:

- to the ap ologists of the new socialist societies.
- to the apologists of Western societies in the process of transformation.
- to apologists of Third World societies.
- *® And which undoubtedly heralded a turning point in his thinking.

Aussi, le soucis constant de Goldmann a-t-il été de redéfinir par des analyses positives de la réalité, l'évolution politique du mouvement ouvrier depuis 1917. L'un des grands problèmes qu'il n'a cessé de poser est celui des relations entre la réalité et la valeur dans les sociétés capitalistes et socialistes. Des deux théorie fondamentales de Marx sur la société capitaliste:

- la théorie du fétischisme de la marchandise (ou de la réification

selon Lukàcs).

– la théorie de la paupérisation progressive du prolétariat et de son développement nécessaire vers une prise de conscience révolutionnaire. La première, selon Goldmann est la plus décisive dans la compréhension de l'évolution du monde capitaliste au 20e siècle. La seconde, au contraire, s'est révélée de plus en plus dépassée et contredite par l'évolution réelle de la société. Goldmann voit chez Lénine l'ébauche de la prise de conscience de cette transformation dans deux théories importantes:

- l'évolution spontanée du prolétariat conduit au trade-unionisme et non à la constitution d'une classe révolutionnaire.

- il existe en occident une couche plus ou moins large du prolétariat (»l'aristocratie ouvrière«) intégrée à la société capitaliste et qui constitue la base sociale du movement réformiste.

Enfin le capitalisme s'est transformé depuis seconde guerre mondiale rendant nécessaire de nouvelles analyses économiques:

- le capitalisme moderne peut désormais éviter la plupart des crises structurelles prévues par Marx, assurer un accroissement des forces productives et un niveau de vie plus élevé aux ouvriers.

- la théorie marxiste ne peut plus se fonder sur la misère croissante en occident pour fonder la transformation nécessaire du prolétariat en

classe révolutionnaire.

Ainsi se dessine une évolution politique, sociale et économique différente de celle prévue par Marx: la prise de conscience de la nécessité du socialisme ne peut plus se fonder sur la misère croissante de la classe ouvrière. Nous nous trouvons dans une situation paradoxale caractérisée par le fait que socialisme et capitalisme se disputent la conscience de classe ouvrière et que l'infra-structure semble jouer en faveur de l'intégration à l'ordre social existant.

Aussi, la tâche qui s'offre aujourd'hui aux socialistes est-elle d'élaborer »un programme apte à mener sur le plan des superstructures, de la pensée politique, sociale et culturelle, la lutte pour la conscience des individus«. Pour Goldmann, le choix ne peut s'effectuer aujourd'hui qu'entre deux modèles de sociétés définies par des critères non pas de production, mais de valeur:

- une société où le standard de vie pourra d'élever d'une manière sans doute assez considérable mais aboutissant »à un monde déhumanisé dont les possibilités culturelles seront réduites au minimum«.

- une société socialiste et démocratique capable d'assurer un bienêtre progressivement égal mais »qui assurerait aussi, et avant tout, le développement des responsabilités individuelles de toute la population et créerait des fondements sociaux et économiques d'un essor de la vie spirituelle et culturelle«.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ M. S. p. 297.

g r a n d s p b e c a u s e t h e r e l a t i o n s b etween reality and v a l u e in capitalist and socialist societies. F r o m M a r x ' s f o u n d a m e n t theories on capitalist society:

- la th e o rie d u fetisc h ism e d e la m a rc h a n d is e (ou d e la r e ific a tio n se lo n L u k a c s).
- the theory of progressive poverty and its development requires a revolutionary consciousness raising.

F irst, according to Goldmann the most decisive understanding of the revolution in the capitalist world in the 20th century. The second, on the contrary, it is increasingly revealed that a real revolution of society has passed. Goldmannvoited Leninel'e bauche de lapresed e conscience de cesstransformation in terms of important theories:

- r e v o lu tio n s p o n ta n e e d u p r o le ta r ia t c o n d u it a u tra d e -u n io n is m e e e t n o n a la c o n s titu tio n d 'u n e classe r e v o lu tio n n a ire .
- il e x iste e n O ccident u n e c o u ch e p lu s o u m o in s la r g e d u p r o le ta r ia t (» l'a ris to c r a tie o u v rie re «) in te g r e e a la so ciete c a p ita lis te e t q u i c o n s titu e la ba se so c ia le d u m o v e m e n t re fo rm is te .

F inally capitalism has been transformed into a second world war that requires a new economic analysis:

- modern capitalism may therefore avoid many of the structural crises envisioned by Marx, ensuring an increase of the productive forces at a higher level p lu s e l e v e a u v o v e v s.
- Marxisttheory can plus fonders urlamiserecrois sent in the Occident in order to found the transformation necessary for the next proletariat and class revolution.

A in sise drawing of a political, socio-economic evolution if -

- u n e sociEtE ou l e s t a n d a r d d e vie p o u r ra d 'E lever d 'u n e m a n iE re without a doubt quite considerable but a b o u t i s s a n t wa u n m o n d e d E h u m a n i s E d o n t l e s c u ltu r e possibilities ro n t r e d u i t e s a m i n i m u m «
- u n e sociEtE so c ia list e t d E m o c ra tia u e c a p a b le d 'a s su re r u n b ie n -

e tre p r o g r e s s i v e m e n t Equally »which would also ensure, it would be, the development of the responsibility of the individuals of the entire population n e t c rE was the socio-economic foundations of a spiritual and cultural life « .100

1M M. S. p. 297.

Goldmann a repris la vielle discussion lukàcsienne sur la difficulté de concilier l'intérêt historique et l'intérêt immédiat du prolétariat à la lumière de l'évolution du mouvement ouvrier. Si l'intérêt immédiat du prolétariat joue en faveur de l'intégration au système capitaliste, l'intérêt historique joue en faveur de la construction du socialisme. L'analyse que propose Goldmann de l'évolution des sociétés socialistes souligne les mêmes écarts par rapport à la théorie marxiste.

- il faut reconnaître que les sociétés dites socialistes sont loin de réaliser les promesses de Marx quant à la suppression de l'aliénation et la réalisation des valeurs humanistes.

– le système bureaucratique a engendré de nouvelles formes d'aliénation et d'oppression que l'on peut difficillement justifier: »sur le plan philosophique, c'est le célèbre problème du mal et de sa fonction positive et progressiste dans l'histoire en tant que le seul moyen de réalisation du bien; pour parler avec Goethe, le fait que l'homme doit vendre son âme au diable pour arriver à Dieu; mais le diable n'est pas Dieu et à aucun moment les penseurs socialistes n'avaient fait de la dictature, même prolétarienne, des limitations de la liberté et de l'égalité, une valeur fondamentale et durable de leur philosophie«.¹⁰¹

 la vie intellectuelle, artistique, culturelle qui aurait dû connaître avec l'avènement du communisme – en Europe de l'Est par exemple – un nouvel épanouissement, semble toujours extraordinairement pauvre et réduite.

Cet état de fait est compréhensible. La révolution socialiste s'est produite dans un pays économiquement arriéré et non dans un pays développé comme le pensait Marx. Le retard économique a nécessité des formes de réppression et un ajournement de la construction immédiate du socialisme. La menace du fascisme a obligé l'U. R. S. S. à consacrer tous ses efforts à une industrialisation rapide et au renforcement de sa puissance militaire. L'environnement capitaliste a nécessité le renforcement de l'état et des institutions répressives. Toutefois, la plupart de ces répressions paraissent aujourd'hui injustifiées: si le socialisme demeure un stade supérieur de civilisation, il faut reconnaître qu'il n'est pas encore réalisé - et surtout pas en URSS - ou même en Chine. Aussi, le rôle de la théorie marxiste est-il de critiquer impitoyablement cet écart de l'idéal et de la réalité, d'en comprendre l'origine, le développement, le dépassement possible. Il s'agit surtout de montrer, comme le dit Goldmann, à la fin de la préface à son dernier recuiel d'essais qu'

»Aujourd'hwi encore, et malgré toutes les transformations et les modifications qu'il est extrêmement important d'analyser de manière positive et sicientifique, l'alternative formulée par Marx et par Rosa Luxemburg reste toujours valable: aux deux pôles extrêmes de l'évolution se dessinent les deux images extrêmes de la barbarie et du socialisme.

Quant à l'évolution historique, qui n'est rien d'autre que le résultat global des actions humaines, je crois qu'on peut raison-

¹⁰¹ M. S. p. 306.

mediate interest of the proletariat is in favor of integration into the capitalist system, the historical interest is in favor of the construction of socialism.

G o ld m an n 's analysis of the re v o lu tio n of socialist societies highlights the same deviations from Marxist theo ry.

- it must be recognized that so-called socialist societies are far from realizing the promises of M a rx quant to the abolition of alien ation and the realization of humanist values.
- the c ra tic office system engenders new forms of alić-n a tio n and oppression that are diffi cult to justify: "on the philosophical level, it is the famous problem of evil and its positive and progressive function in history as the only means of realizing good; to speak with G oethe, the fact that man must sell his soul to the devil in order to reach God; but the devil is not G od and at no time had socialist thinkers made dicta tu re , even pro le tarian , lim itatio ns on freedom and equality, a fun da m e n ta l and enduring v a lu e of their philosophy.101
- the intellectual, ar tistic, cu ltu ral life that should have been known with the adv en t of com m unism in Eastern E u ro p e for example -

un nouvel epanouissem ent, sem ble to u jo u rs e x tra o rd in a ire m e n t pau v re et red u ite.

This fact is understandable. The socialist rev o lu tio n took place in an economically backward country and not in a developed country as M arx thought. The economic backwardness necessitated forms of repression and a postponement of the im m ed iate construction of socialism. The threat of fascism compelled the U . R.S.S.

to devote all his efforts to a rapid industrialization and to the strengthening of his military power. The capitalist environment requires the strengthening of the state and repressive institutions. You or -

However, most of these repressions today seem unjustified: if socialism remains a superior state of civilization, it must be recognized that it is not yet realized - and especially not in the USSR

- or even in China. Also, the role of M arxist theory is to criticize this gap between ideal and reality, to understand the origin, dev elo p m en t, possible overrun. It is above all a question of showing, as G o ld m an n says, at the end of the preface to his last collection of essays that

» To this day, and despite all the tran sfo rm ation s and m odification s that it is ex trem ently important to analyze in a positive and scientifically, the alternation formulated by M arx and by R osa L ux emburg remains valable: at the two extreme poles of Involution the two extreme eimages of barbarism and socialism.

Q u a n t & h isto rical in v o lu tio n, which is nothing other than the glo b al re s u lta of h u m a n actions, I believe that we can reason-

»•» M. S. p. 306.

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nablement espérer qu'elle évitera la première, même si nous devons accepter comme réel le risque qu'elle ne réalise pas entièrement le second. L'essentiel étant de faire tout notre possible pour que cette évolution nous mène assez près du socialisme pour réduire la barbarie au minimuum«.¹⁰²

LES TACHES ET LES POSSIBILITES D'UN »SOCIALISME REALISTE«

*Les partis socialistes ne peuvent plus compter sur une évolution spontanée qui favoriserait une action tendant à remplacer la société capitaliste par une société socialiste. Il ne s'agit plus de rendre seulement effective une conscience vers laquelle s'orienterait spontanément la classe ouvrière«.

> Marxisme et Sciences Humaines p. 318

»La société capitaliste commence à être progressivement constituée d'analphabètes qui sont sinon docteurs d'Université tout au moins bacheliers et licenciés. La lutte pour le socialisme devient ainsi une lutte pour la culture, non pas comme monopole d'une petite couche d'intellectuels, mais comme réalité universelle et populaire au moment où, précisément, les couches populaires acquièrent les possibilités matérielles d'y accéder, mais où on fait tout pour supprimer le besoin de culture authentique non seulement dans la conscience de ceux qui accèdent au statut d'étudiant, mais aussi dans celle de ceux qui seront leurs enseignants ou bien leurs supérieurs hiérarchiques pendant le reste de leur vie«.

Marxisme et Sciences Humaines p. 320-321

Ce qui caractérise les écrits politiques de Goldmann, c'est le soucis constant d'éviter ce qu'il considérait comme les deux éneuils fondamentaux du marxisme contemporain: le dogmatisme impénitant (qui englobe aussi bien le néo-stalinisme du marxisme soviétique que la stérélité théorique du Parti Communiste français), est le »révisionnisme«. Ce qu'il reproche à ces différents courants c'est le défaut caractéristique de la plupart des théories se réclamant du socialisme: le manque fondamental d'imagination:

»le manque d'imagination caractérise non seulement le groupe dogmatique qui se refuse à modifier la plupart des idées établies et transmises par la pensée marxiste traditionnelle même lorsqu'elles ne correspondent plus à la réalité de notre temps, mais aussi certaines écoles révisionnistes, parmi lesquelles une école d'inspiration marxiste des plus brillantes et des plus remarquables, je veux parler de l'École de Francfort (désignation sous

¹⁰² M. S. p. 14-15.

v o n s a c c e p te r co m m e re e l le ris q u e q u 'e lle n e re a lis e p a s e n tie re -

m e n t the second con d L 'e sse n tie l e t a n t d e f a i r e t o u t n o t h e r e p o s s i b l e p r o c e s e v o l u t i o n o u s m&ne sufficiently p r i s d u s i c a l s m e o f r educing barbarism to a m i n i m u m « .102

L E S T A C H E S E T L E S P O S S IB IL IT E S D 'U N » S O C IA L IS M E R E A L IS T E «

»LesspartionsplassplasscomptersSpontaneev olutionseforserationaction tends to replace capitalist society c ia list II nes'ag it plus derendres e ulementefect i veuneconscience towards which it spontaneously orients the classouv rić re«.

M arxism and Human Sciences

p.518

» L a so ciété c a p ita lis te co m m en ce a e tr e p r o g r e s s iv e m e n t c o n s titu é e d 'a n a lp h a b é te s q u i so n t s in o n d o c -

te u r s d 'U n i v e r s i tć to u m o i n s b a c h e l e r s e t l i c e n c e s T h e struggle for soci alism becomes a struggle for culture, not more than a memonopoly of a small layer of intellectuals, but it is commemorated litć u n i v e r s e l e t p o p u l a t i o n a u m o m e n t 0 6 , p r e c i s s i o n , t h e p o p u l a t e d layers acquire the possibilities m a tć -

rie lle s d'y a c c ć d e r, m a is ou o n f a i t to u t p o u r s u p p ri-m e r le b e so in d e c u ltu re a u th e n tiq u e n o n s e u le m e n t d a n s la co n scien ce d e ce u x q u i a c c ć d e n t a u s ta tu t d'ć tu d ia n t, m a is a u ssi d a n s c e lle d e ce u x q u i s e ro n t le u rs e n s e ig n a n ts o u b ie n le u rs s u p ć rie u rs h ić r a r c h i-qu es p e n d a n t le r e s te d e le u r vie«.

M arxism and Human Sciences

p. 5 2 0-321

This characteristic of Goldmann's political secrets is his constant concern to avoid what he considers right to resemble the two foundations of Marxism temporain: the impenitant dogmatism (which is also supported by neo-Stalinism and Marxism so much as the

te re lite theory of P a r of the French C o m m m u n i s t e s), is the » rev ision -

n ism e« T h i s re pr o c h e a ces d i f f e r e n t s c o u r a n t s is the de fault characteristic of most of the theories that claim so ci alism : f o u n d a m a g i n a t i o n :

when manced 'imag in ationcaracterise nonseuleme nt of the group dogma that refuses to modify lappart of the ideas set forth in translation into Marxist thought tradition of memelors-

q u 'elles n e c o rre s p o n d e n t p lu s a la re a lite d e n o tre tem p s, m ais au ssi c e rta in e s ecoles rev is io n n is te s , p a rm i lesq u e lle s u n e ecole d 'in s p ir a tio n m a rx iste des p lu s b r illa n te s e t des p lu s r e m a r-q u a b le s, j e v e u x p a r l e r d e l 'E co le d e F r a n c f o r t (d e s ig n a tio n sous 1M M. S. p. 14-15.

laquelle il faut embrasser non seulement Horkheimer et Adorno mais aussi Herbert Marcuse qui leur est très lié, bien qu'il enseigne aujourd'hui aux U. S. A.)«. 103

Il semble difficile de rassembler dans une même critique le »dogmatisme« du Parti communiste et le »révisionnisme« de la théorie critique de l'Ecole de Francfort et pourtant Goldmann considère que Garaudy et Marcuse¹⁰⁴ font preuve du même manque d'imagination théorique lorsqu'ils s'interrogent sur le socialisme. Si Garaudy est incapable de se détacher véritablement de l'organisme dirigeant, Marcuse et Adorno font preuve d'un manque d'imagination par rapport à la société existante. Ce qu'ils ne parviennent pas à mettre en question, ce n'est pas le dogmatisme théorique, mais l'apparente solidité de la société capitaliste contemporaine. Aussi, apparaissent-ils radicalement pessimistes sur les possibilités de la transformer:

»Marx, Staline, Khrouchtchev ou Thorez ont dit telle ou telle chose, elles sont donc vraies et nous devons les admettre. Le monde occidental assure une augmentation du niveau de vie des ouvriers, les intègre et affaiblit considérablement leur autonomie intellectuelle et leur capacité de résistance à l'ordre existant, c'est un fait et nous avons à l'admettre et nous en accommoder. Si grandes que soient les différences entre des deux positions, il y a malgré tout quelque chose de commun entre elles«. 105

Goldmann adresse les mêmes reproches à Mandel et Alavi pour leur analyse de la société contemporaine et de l'évolution du capitalisme: ils reconnaissent la realité des transformations du capitalisme par rapport aux prévisions de Marx mais au lieu d'élaborer une théorie capable de comprendre cette évolution, ils s'efforcent désespérément de montrer que celles de Marx et Lénine ont toujours la même validité:

»très souvent d'ailleurs ils ne se demandent même pas si la validité de telle analyse particulière signifie encore quelque chose quand elle s'insère dans un ensemble différent et surtout, ne se demandent pas si cette manière d'étudier une réalité par rapport

¹⁰³ M. S. p. 814.

¹º4 Ce reproche de Goldmann à l'égard de Marcuse nous semble injuste, lorsque l'on songe à Eros et Civilisation. Goldmann a consacré une très intéressante étude au courant que représente Marcuse (Réflexion sur la Pensée de Hcrbert Marcuse). M. S. p. 259-287. Il serait utile d'étudier le bien fondé des critiques qu'il lui adresse, le développement qu'il a donné à plusieurs de ses thèmes, et ses positions fondamentales par rapport au problème de l'utopie et son rôle dans la pensée mariste. Sa critique du pessimisme de Marcuse, ne prend tout son sens qu'à la lumière des oppositions fondamentales de l'hégélo-marxisme et du marxisme orthodoxe, c'est-à-dire de Bloch, Marcuse et Adorno et Lukàcs. Goldmann a eu l'occasion de prendre souvent position par rapport à ces courants au cours des congrès organisés à Korçula par la revue Praxis, auxquels participaient régulièrement Ernst Bloch, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, les assistants de Lukàcs et Goldmann lui-même. Nous étudierons ces différentes controverses dans une autre étude de la pensée politique de Goldmann.

It seems difficult to bring together in the same criticism the »dogmatism« of the Communist Party and the »revisionism« of the critical theory of the School of Francont and p o u rta n t Goldman considers that Gara u d y and Marcu se104 fo n t preu v e of the same mem and m ay theoretical imagination lo rsq u 'ils interro g e n on socialism e. If G a ra u d y is capa l e of se d e ta c h e r v e rit abl e m e n t of the org anism e d irig e an t, M a rcuse et A d o r n o fo n t prove v e of a lack of im ag in atio n p a r r a p p o r t to the existing company. What they fail to question is not theoretical dogmatism, but the apparent solidity of contemporary capitalist society. Also, they appear to be radically pessimistic about the possibilities of the transformation:

"M arx, Stalin, K hrou s tch ev or T h o rez said such and such a thing, they are therefore true and we must admit them. The Western world ensures an increase in the standard of living of the workers, integrates them and weakens them con siderablely their in tellectual autonomy and the urability to resist the existing order is a fact and we have to admit it and live with it.

However great the differences between the two positions, there is still something in common between them."105

G o ld m an n addresses the same reproaches to M and d el and A lav i for their an a ly sis of c o n tem p o rain e so ciety and the c a p ita lism r e v o lu tio n: they recog nize th e rea lite t h e tra n sfo rm atio n s o f capitalism com pared w ith M a rx's p r e v isio n s but instead of elaborating a theo ry capable of un derstanding th is evolution, they strive desperately to show that those of M a rx and Len ine still have the same va lidity:

»very often, moreover, they don't even ask if the vallid ity of such an an aly s es p a rtic u ly still means something when it fits into a d iffere whole n t and above all, don't wonder if this way of studying a reality in relation to

,M M . S. p. 314.

1M This criticism of G o ld m a n n & the \acute{c} g a rd of Marcuse seems to us unjust, when we think of Eros and C iv ilization . G o ld m a n n has devoted a very interesting study to the current represented by Marcuse (Reflection on the Thought of H erbert Marcuse).

M. S.p. 259-287. It would be useful to "tu d ify the well-foundedness" of the criticisms that he addressed to it, the development that he gave

to several of his themes, and his fundamental positions by re p o rt to the problem of utopia and its role in roˆrxist thought. His criticism of the pessim ism of Marcuse, only takes on its full meaning in the light of the fundamental oppositions of h dgelo-M arxism and orthodox Marxism, it e s t- i- d ir e of B loch, M arcuse and A d o rn o and L ukacs. G o ld m an n often had the opportunity to take a positio n in relation to these currents during the c o n g ris organized

k Correspondence to the journal Praxis, to which particip ants were Ernst Bloch, Herbert Marcuse, Erich From m, the assistants of L ukacs and Goldman river-m em e.

N ous étu d iero n s ces di'fferentes controverses d ans une a u tre etude de la pensee politiq u e de G old m an n .

*« M . S. p. 315-316.

à des doctrines anciennes en la morcelant en fragments plus ou moins isolés, ne rend pas la compréhension beaucoup plus difficile qu'une analyse directe se contentant de noter au passage que telle ou telle idée loin d'être nouvelle avait déjà été formulée par Marx ou par Lénine«. 108

Pour Goldmann, il s'agit au contraire:

- de redéfinir les changements structuraux du capitalisme.

- d'établir en quoi ces transformations modifient les perspectives de l'action socialiste. Le fait nouveau le plus important par rapport à l'analyse marxiste traditionnelle, c'est, pour Goldmann, l'intervention massive de l'état capitaliste dans la vie économique qui permet de supprimer ou du moins de modifier la contradiction entre le développement des forces productives et l'exiguïté du marché de la consommation.

Enfin, la classe ouvrière a évolué différemment par rapport aux prévisions de Marx: la tendance à la paupérisation a été remplacée par une lente mais réelle augmentation du niveau de vie. Parallèlement la lutte syndicale a remplacé la lutte révolutionnaire, et tous ces faits modifient profondément les perspectives de construction du socialisme. La lutte pour le socialisme doit devenir essentiellement: une lutte »pour la conscience de la population en général et de la classe ouvrière en particulier«. Ce qui est radicalement nouveau c'est que les adversaires du socialisme n'ont même plus besoin de lui opposer une autre idéologie: l'absence d'idéologie est le garant du statu quo. Goldmann fait sienne la plupart des analyses que les théoriciens de l'Ecole de Francfort et en particulier Herbert Marcuse ont consacré à l'intégration du movement ouvrier au système capitaliste. Il ne s'agit plus de lutter pour le socialisme, en partant de la pauvreté et de la misère mais de l'appauvrissement progressif humain et culturel, de l'imbécilité agressive et heureuse qui caractérise le style de vie capitaliste:

»C'est dire à quel point cette lutte est aujourd'hui autrement difficile qu'elle ne l'était auparavant. Car les dangers de »lavage de cerveau« et d'intégration à un monde de plus en plus inhumain et réifié menacent non seulement la population dans son ensemble, mais encore les cadres mêmes des organisations syndicales et des organismes politiques de la classe ouvrière. La bureaucratisation n'est rien d'autre que la forme concrète de ce danger dans ces milieux«.107

Aussi la lutte pour le socialisme devient-elle fondamentalement une lutte culturelle. C'est là que Goldmann rend à l'imagination tout son pouvoir: il s'agit avant tout d'établir un plan d'organisation socialiste qui soit ressentie par les hommes qui en prendront conscience comme une possibilité effective de lutte et non comme un rêve ou une utopie démagogique. La plus grande difficulté dans l'élaboration d'un tel

¹⁰⁶ M. S. p. 316. ¹⁰⁷ M. S. p. 320.

d'e t r e n o u v e l had this formula for M a r x or L e n i n e «

Pour Gold mann, il s'agit aucontraire:

- deredefinirles changements structuraux ducapitalisme.
- tabulate the quoi ces tra n s formatio ns m o d i f i e n t less perspectives of the action list. T h e fact is that the most important part of Marxist analysis is, for Goldmann, the massive intervention of ethnicity t h a t c a p i t a l i s t a n s l a y e c o n o m i c l i v e qui p e r m o d i f i e d t h e c o n t r a d i c t i o n between the development of the productive forces that it requires d u m a r c h e d of c o n s o m m a t i o n

En fin, la classe ou vriere a e volu ed ifferemment parrap portaux previsions de Marx: la tendance a la pauperis a tiona eteremplace eparune lentemais reelle augmen ta tiondunive audevie. Paralle le-

but the syndicate struggle has replaced the next revolutionary struggle, and it has its modified profound perspectives on the construction of socialism. The struggle for soci alism must become sensible: a struggle "for the consciousness of the population in general and of the working class in particular". When stradical ment nouses that the adversaries of socialism are not meme plus beso in delui op -

p o s e r u n e a u t r e ideo logic: the absence of ideology is a guarantee of the status quo. G old man n f aits that in most of his analyzes the theorists of the V E cole de Frankfort in particular Herbert Marcuse do not conscientiously 'integrate movements t o u v e r a c a p i t y s ystem lis te II n e s'a g it plus de lu tter p o u r le so ci alism, e n p a r t a n t t h e p o v e r t y and de la m i s e r e m a i s o f h u m a i n e t c u l t u r a l progress , of the imbecile and aggressive use that characterizes the capitalist lifestyle:

» C 'est d ire a q u e ll point of this struggle is the day of the h u i a u t r e m e n t d iffic ile q u 'e lle n e l 'e tait a u p a r a v a n t. C a r les dangers of » la vage de cerve au « et d 'integration into a world of increasing humanity pose a threat not only to the population but also to each other re les c a d re s e m e s y n d i c a l s y n d i c a t i o n s o r g a n i s a t i o n s a l s e t h e p o l i t i c a l organizations of the working class. L a b u r e au c r a t i s a t i o n i s n o t e r t h e c o n c r e t e f o r m of d a n g e r i n these milieu « .107

The struggle for soci alism also becomes the foundation of the c u ltu re struggle. That's why Goldman rendered his imagination to his power: he didn't want to table a societal organization plan list qui so it resse n ties p a r m e n t s w h o take consciousness as an effective possibility of struggle and not as a revelation or a m a g o g i c u t o p i e . L a plus great difficulty in laboring until 108 M. S. p. 316.

107 M. S. p. 320.

programme c'est d'unir la rigueur et l'imagination dans la conception du passage à la société socialiste et la stratégie nécessaire pour la réaliser. Il s'agit de montrer les nouvelles possibilités humaines et culturelles de liberté et de réalisation qu'offrirait cette société socialiste par opposition à la société occidentale actuelle. Deux thèses sont, pour Goldmann, fondamentales:

- la classe ouvrière est aujourd'hui intégrée au système capitaliste. Sur ce point, il semble accepter pleinement les analyses de Marcuse. Dans son étude Critique et Dogmatisme dans la création littéraire, il écrit: »aujourd'hui le monde industrialisé constitue, de ce point de vie - et seulement de ce point de vue - un secteur privilégié dans lequel les classes ouvrières des différents pays se sont, jusqu'à un certain point, intégrées aux sociétés globales, et dans lequel parler encore de paupérisation, de misère croissante et d'orientation révolutionnaire du prolétariat c'est tout simplement penser et vivre dans le mythe«. 108 S'il n'y a pas paupérisation croissante, il n'y a pas de passage évident de la classe ouvrière à la conscience révolutionnaire. Tout semble indiquer que le prolétariat ne joue plus aujourd'hui le rôle d'une classe révolutionnaire. Goldmann précise d'ailleurs »qu'il n'y a jamais eu de révolution proprement prolétarienne et que dans les pays industriels avancés le prolétariat s'est, depuis le début du siècle, déjà intégré à l'ordre social existant«. 109 La classe sait désormais que la construction du socialisme exige de lourds sacrifices et »elle n'est nullement disposée à risquer des acquisitions auxquelles elle accorde une valeur considérable, dans des tentatives dont la réussite lui paraît en tout cas aléatoire et dont le but même, compte tenu de ce qu'elle sait des sociétés socialistes existantes (et notamment de la société soviétique de l'époque stalinienne), ne lui semble pas non plus désirable de manière univoque«.110

- le concept de révolution prolétarienne devient un mythe, il n'apparait plus, selon Goldmann, comme un élément constitutif de la conscience possible des ouvriers occidentaux. La réalité de fait est telle que l'idée de révolution violente n'a plus jamais été développée par les Partis communistes occidentaux qui préconisent un passage pacifique au socialisme.

Toutefois, Goldmann s'écarte de cette conception du passage pacifique au socialisme développée par Khrouchtchev et par le Parti communiste français dans d'inimitables brochures et reproche à l'orthodoxie communiste de considérer qu'un tel passage s'effectuera par la simple voie parlementaire. C'est plutôt dans l'action syndicale directe que Goldmann voit une possibilité effective de transformer la société, en particulier à partir de la théorie de l'autogestion:

»Dans le prolongement de l'action syndicale à l'intérieur des entreprises se situe naturellement l'idée d'autogestion qui n'est pas nécessairement liée à une crise révolutionnaire unique et à la conquête du pouvoir par une révélation violente, mais peut tout aussi bien être l'aboutissement d'une lutte progressive pour

M. S. p. 32.
 M. S. p. 8.
 M. S. p. 8.
 M. S. p. 323.

freedom and fulfillment that this socialist society would offer as opposed to present-day Western society. Two theses are, for G o ld m an n , funda mental:

- the working class is today integrated into the capitalist system.

On this point, he seems to fully accept Marcuse's analyses.

In his study of C ritique and D ogmatism in literary creation, he writes: "Today the industrialized world constitutes, from this point of life - and only from this point of view - a privileged sector in which the working classes of the different countries are, up to a certain point, integrated into global societies, and in which there is still talk of poverty, of growing misery and of a revo lutionary orientation of the p ro le ta ria t is quite simply to think and live in the my the«.108

If there is no growing poverty, there is no obvious passage from the working class to revolutionary consciousness. Everything seems to indicate that the p r o le ta riat no longer plays the role of a re v o lutio n ary class. G o ld m an n clarifies, moreover, that there has never been a proper p ro letarian rev o lu tio n and that in advanced industrial countries the p r o le ta ria t has, since the beginning of the century, already been integrated into the existing social order.109 The class now knows that the construction of socialism requires heavy sacrifices and it is by no means disposed to risk acquisitions to which it attaches considerable value, in attempts whose success seems to it in any case random and whose the goal itself, taking into account what she knows of ex istant socialist societies (and in particular of the Soviet society of the Stalin era), does not seem to her either desirable in a drunken way".110

- the concept of rev o lu tio n p ro le tarian n o b ecomes a m yth, it no longer appears, according to G o ld m an n , as a constitutive element of consciousness possible western workers in rate. The de facto reality is such that the idea of violent rev o lu tio n has never again been developed by the Western communist parties which p recognize a passage p acifi c to socialism.

However, Goldman departs from this conception of the peaceful transition to socialism developed by Khrushchev and the French Communist Party. b brochures and reproaches to the common orthodoxy of considering that such a passage was effected for the simple way to speak. It is rather in direct trade union action that Goldman sees an effective possibility to transform society, in part from the theory of to management:

» In the extension of trade union action within compa nies there is naturally the idea of self-management which is not necessarily t linked to a unique revo lu tio n a ry crisis and to the conquest of power by a violent rev e la tio n, but can just as well be the culmination of a progressive struggle for M . S.p. 32.

1W M. S. p. 8.

« • M . S. p. S23.

des réformes de structure de plus en plus amples et fondamentales et qui, par cela même, pourrait constituer un programme particulièrement adapté d'action socialiste en Occident«.¹¹¹

C'est dans le socialisme yougoslave que Goldmann a cru trouver la réalisation la plus fidèle de cette conception – thèse qui mériterait, bien sûr, d'être longuement discutée à partir des analyses des marxistes yougoslaves, groupés autour de la revue *Praxis*, dont nous adoptons totalement les positions. Il n'en demeure pas moins que pour Goldmann c'est le socialisme yougoslave »qui a élaboré et mis en pratique ce concept d'autogestion économique et sociale, et dont l'expérience et la manière commence déjà à avoir un retentissement non négligeable dans le reste du monde«. Dans un autre texte intitulé: *Critique et Dogmatisme dans la Création littéraire*, Goldmann écrit:

»C'est la grande découverte des socialistes yougoslaves qu'on ne saurait lutter contre la bureaucratie sans lui opposer des structures sociales et économiques à tendances antibureaucratiques et notamment l'autogestion.

Nos sociétés ont cependant une structure et un passé trop différents de la société yougoslave pour pouvoir reprendre simplement les idées des socialistes de ce pays de sorte que nous devons nous demander quelles sont, chez nous, les possibilités d'orientation vers un ordre social qui assurerait aux hommes une réelle responsabilité et une réelle participation aux décisions. Pour les sociétés occidentales l'autogestion est une perspective fondamentale, importante et séduisante sans doute, mais non pas immédiate et je ne pense pas que nous pourrions la développer sans formuler comme étape intermédiaire l'exigence de la cogestion«.112

Cette thèse de Goldmann est l'une des plus fondamentales qu'il a développée dans ses derniers textes. L'autogestion lui semblait à tout point de vue »l'idée cléf« de tout programme sérieux et susceptible d'inspirer une action efficace à l'intérieur des sociétés industrielles sur le plan économique, social et politique«.

* *

Ainsi, refuse-t-il d'adhérer à la plupart des interprétations proposées de la crise sociale contemporaine.

- il reproche au marxiste soviétique et aux Partis communistes de ne pas être capables de poser concrètement - théoriquement, politiquement, stratégiquement - le problème du dépassement du capitalisme et de son au-dèla. C'est ce fameux manque d'imagination qui transforme la théorie révolutionnaire en simple idéologie lorsqu'on refuse de modifier la théorie à partir de la réalité des faits: le déclin de

¹¹¹ M. S. p. 324.

¹¹² M. S. p. 37.

It is from socialism and you slave that Goldman found the realization of the most fiddly of this concept - these merit rights, well sur, d 'e t r e l o n g u e m e n t discussion apart from the analyzes of Marxists and Ugoslavs, group authors of the review Praxis , do not know what to do

to n s to ta l e m e n t s p o s i t i o n s. II n 'e d e m e u r e p a s m o in s q u e p o u r G o l d m a n n c'est Slavic soci alism which elaborates and puts into practice the concept of economic and social selfmanagement , and d o n t the ex -

rie n c e e t l a m a n i e r c o m m e n c e d e ja a a v o i r u n r e t e n t i s s e m e n t n o n e g l i a b l e d i n t h e rest of the world«. Another text entitled: Critique of Dogmatism in Literary Creation, by Goldman:

» It is the great cover of social lists y o u g o slaves that it is necessary to fight against labor and aucracy without opposing social and economic structures tib u r e au c r a t i c u e s e t n o t a m e n t l 'auto management.

Our societies ontcependantunestructuretunpasset ropasstructurethanpassetropdifferents of y o u goslavepourpourprenders imple-

m e n t the ideologies of the societal lists of these countries of the sort that we devon s nous demand that they are, in our case, the p o ssib ilites d 'o rie n ta -

tion versus a social order that ensures homes' real responsibility and the ability to participate in decisions. F o r western societies, self-management is a perspective foundation -

ta le , the importance of this is due to no doubt, but it does not pass immediately and it is thought that we have poor developers of formulas such as the intermediate stage, for example ig e n ce of the coges-tio n $\ll .112$

The se of Goldmannestl'uned the plus fondaments which he developed in his later texts. The auto-management now seems to be a point of departure » the key idea « of a series of programs that inspire effective action rieurdindustrial societies on the economic, socio-political plane «

A n si, r e f u s e -t- il d'a d h e re r a l a p l u p a r t des in te r p re ta tio n s pro p o -

sees de la crise so ciale contempora in e.

- il re p ro c h e a u m a rx is te so v ie tiq u e e t a u x P a r tis co m m u n istes de n e p a s e tre c a p ab le s d e p o se r c o n c rč te m e n t - th e o riq u e m e n t, p o litiq u e -

m e n t, s tra tegiq u e m e n t - t h e p r o b l e m e d u c a p i t a lism m e t h e r e C 'est ce fa m e u x lacked 'imag in a t i o n q u i t r a n c e f r o m t h e theory of r e v o l u t i o n i n a simple ideo logical idea because one refused to m o d i f e the theory apart from it rć a lite of facts: the decline of 111 M. S. p. 324.

111 M. S. p. 37.

l'esprit révolutionnaire, l'augmentation du niveau de vie, l'intégration massive du prolétariat au système capitaliste dont il perpétue les valeurs et les intérêts.

- si Goldmann accepte de nombreuses analyses de Marcuse qu'il s'agisse de: »Soviet Marxisme« ou de »One dimensional Man«, il reproche aux théoriciens de l'Ecole de Francfort d'avoir développé une théorie critique et négative d'une extrême rigueur et sans doute fondamentale mais coupée de toute réalité politique, une théorie pessimiste qui ne tient pas compte des failles réelles des sociétés contemporaines, Marcuse, aux yeux de Goldmann, n'est qu'un prophète de l'apocalypse et son pessimisme radical tient lieu de théorie constructive.
- il reconnaît la valeur de toutes les formes de contestations, du gauchisme qu'il soit trotskyste ou maoiste, de toutes les formes d'oppositions qui surgissent au sein des sociétés industrielles avancées, mais il ne considère pas ces oppositions comme une force politique capables d'ébranler le système capitaliste et de rompre la passivité du prolétariat. Mais Goldmann a toujours défendu - et il est bon de le rappeler - la contestation. Nous n'en donnerons qu'un seul exemple, cette remarquable phrase extraite de l'une de ses dernières interventions au congrès de Korçula dont le thème était Pouvoir et Humanisme: »il a suffit de deux jours d'occupation de la Sorbonne pour que nous comprenions tous que, dans un moment de révolte populaire, une affiche collée sur un mur signifiait simplement qu'un homme avait quelque chose à dire et qu'il s'adressait à tous les passants. Le mur comme moyen d'expression à la place du livre et du journal était difficilement concevable pour les gens de 40 ans; il était tout naturel pour les filles et les garçons de 20. La Chine est proche, et les jeunes qui le savent et le vivent ont raison contre l'érudition de tous les sinologues et géographes de la génération précédentes«. 113 Pour cette simple phrase, Goldmann méritera l'estime et l'admiration de tous les étudiants à venir qui n'auront connu ni sa chaleur ni son honnêteté fondamentale.
- il refuse catégoriquement de reconnaître la moindre valeur aux théories »positives« (surtout par leur médiocrité) de l'idéologie bourgeoise) et refuse tout rapprochement théorique avec Raymond Aron le plus honnête et le moins dangereux des idéologues bourgeois comme avec le courant structuralo-linguistico-épistémologico-althusserien qu'il considère, on s'en doute, comme une révision du marxisme et sûrement pas comme son approfondissement.

Si un dépassement du capitalisme est possible à partir de l'autogestion – thèse fondamentale de Goldmann qu'il nous est malheureusement impossible de discuter ici dans une aussi brève étude – c'est parce que de nombreux indices rendent les failles sociales de plus en plus évidentes.

- le niveau de vie ne pourra s'élever éternellement. On doit parvenir à un niveau de saturation de la consommation imbécile: »une seconde voiture a moins d'importance que la première, une troisième beaucoup moins que la seconde. La différence entre la possession d'un ou de deux costumes est énorme, elle diminue considérablement entre six et sept, ...«

¹¹⁸ M. S. p. 317.

- if G o ld m an n accepts m a n y analyzes of M arcuse - whether it be: »S oviet M a rxism« or »O ne dim en sio n a l M an«, he is close to the x theoreticians of the Ecole de F ra n cfo rt for having developed a critical and negative theory of extreme rigor and no doubt fund am en tal but cut off from all political reality, a pessimistic theory that does not take into account the real flaws of contemporary societies

p oraines, Marcuse, in the eyes of G o ld m an n , is only a prophet of the apocalypse and his radical pessim ism takes the place of a constructive theory.

- it recognizes the value of all forms of contestation, of leftism whether Trotskyist or Maoist, of all forms of opposition which arise within advanced industrial societies, but it does not consider these oppositions as a political force capable of shaking up the capitalist system and breaking the passivity of the proletariat. But G o ld m an has always been a fan and it's good to remember
- the protest. We will only give a single example, this re-mark a b the sentence taken from one of his last speeches at the K o rču congress whose theme was P o wer and H um anism: "it was enough for two days of occupation of the Sorbonne for us all to understand that, in a moment of popular uprising, a poster on a wall simply signified that a man had something to say and that he was addressing all passers-by. The wall as a means of expression instead of the book and the newspaper was hardly conceivable for people in their 40s; it was n a turel for girls and boys aged 20. Ch in is near, and the young people who know it and live it are right against the erudition of all the sinologists and geographes of the precedent generation. 113 For this simple sentence, Goldmannwill deserve the the admiration of all future students who have never known his warmth nor his fundamental honesty.
- he categorically refuses to recognize the importance of the "positive" theories (especially the mediocrity) of bourgeois ideology) and refuses to approach anything theo riq u e with Raymond A ro n -

the most honest and the least dangerous of the bourgeois ideologues -

as with the current structural-linguistic-epistemic-logical-althous-serial - which he considers, one suspects, as a revision of Marxism and sur rem en t pas com m e son appro fo n d issem en t.

If an overcoming of capitalism is possible from self-management - the fundamental thesis of G o ld m a n that it is unlucky for us -

It seems impossible to discuss here in such a brief study - it is because many clues make the social fault lines more and more evident.

- the standard of living cannot rise forever. We must manage to reach a level of sa tu ra tio n of imbecile consumption: »a second car is less im p o rta n c e than the first, a third c a lot m less than the second. The d iffe re n c e betw een owning one or two suits is enorm e, it decreases con sid erably betw een six and seven. . .«

" » M. S. p. 317.

- des revendications qualitatives - culturelles, existentielles, les loisirs, le rêve d'une autre vie, les grèves sauvages ... - sont impossibles à satisfaire au sein du système capitaliste.

Les dernières recherches de Goldmann – qu'il nous est malheureusement impossible d'évoquer ici, s'orientaient vers une redéfinition de la classe ouvrière – en particulier sa dernière communication présentée au congrès de Korçula. Il considérait que les revendications des couches moyennes salariées offraient la perspective d'une évolution industrielle vers le socialisme, car cette couche tende à devenir la couche numeriquement la plus importante de la société contemporaine et se trouve au point névralgique de toute l'organisation sociale.

Mais Goldmann a toujours refusé d'apporter des selections faciles aux problèmes qu'il posait: il limitait la tâche à l'interprétation la plus rigoureuse possible des phénomènes sociaux et culturels qui caractérisent notre vie quotidienne. On peut qualifier ses positions de »réalistes« ou de »réformistes«, elles ne cesseront jamais de témoigner d'une lucidité, d'une honnêteté, d'un courage, sans doute uniques dans la pensée marxiste contemporaine.

C'est sur l'avenir – le nôtre – que se termine le dernier ouvrage de Goldmann, que la mort l'empêchera à jamais de compléter, même s'il restera toujours vivant parmi nous:

»Les formes futures d'organisation devront sans doute – pour être fonctionnelles et efficaces – se débarrasser de tout ce que l'enthousiasme et le radicalisme des étudiants de 1968 avaient d'intempestif, d'irresponsable et d'exagéré. Il n'en reste pas moins que leur refus de la hiérarchie et de la discipline bureaucratique – ces deux caractéristiques du mouvement ouvrier des dernières décennies –, leur exigence profonde de liberté et de démocratie contenaient en germe, et sous une forme sans doute anticipatrice, une profonde et puissante intuition du monde moderne en train de naître et des formes que prendront probablement les valeurs humanistes, l'organisation de la lutte pour le socialisme et les structures du pouvoir et que, par cela même, les étudiants de mai 1968 étaient en avance sur la conscience bureaucratique des défenseurs des structures antérieures, devenues oppressives et en train d'être dépassées par l'Histoire.«

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- qu a litative r e v e n d i c a t i o n s - c u ltu re lle s , existing ones, the lo isirs, the revelation of a new life, the grave savages. so it is possible to create a fair use of the capitalist system.

Goldmann's recent research - what he knows is misfortune -

s e m e n t is impossible to evoke this, s'o rien ta ient v e r u n e r e d e f i n i t i o n of the ouvre class - in particular the recent re c o m m u n i c a t i o n presented at the congress C o r a l II c o n s i d e ra i t that the claims of the middle layers of la rie e s of fr a ient to the perspective of 'an evolution of industry lead to socialism, however tte couch tends to make the couch numerically the most important of contemporary society and finds itself at a nev ra l g i c u e point of all T o rg a n is a tio n so ciale.

B u t G o ld m a n n a to u jours refused to ascribe easy selections to the problem he posed: he limits it to an Interpretation the most rigorous use of possible societal and cultural phenomena -

te ris e n t n o t h e r v i e q u o t i d i e n e W h e n p o i s e s of » re a

lists« or of » refo rm iste s«, they need never evince lucidity, honesty, courage, without a doubt unique in it contemporary Marxist thought.

C' is surely T a v e n i r - our tree - which is the last term of Goldmann's review, which death Temperature is not accomplished, even il r e s t e r a t o u r living p a r m i n o u s:

»The futur e forms of or g a n is a tio n de v ront sans d o ute - for t h e r e f u n c t i o n n e l s e t e ffica c e s - se d b a r r a s s e r e t o u t ce q e T e n t h o u sia s m e e t le ra d ic a lis m e d e s t u d i a n t s of 1968 a v a ient d 'inte m p e s t i v e , irresponsible and exaggerated. II n 'on the rest there is nothing more than a refusal of the hierarchy of the bureaucratic discipline and the ristic character of the movement to overcome the recent decades ie s - , his exigency is profound for liberty and democratic content, and under a formation of doubt antic ipatric, it is profoundly possible itio n d u m o d e r m o n d e n t r a i n t h e f o r m e s t h a t p r e n d r o n t p r o b a b l e -

m e n t s h u m a n i s t v a l u e s , O rganization of the struggle for socialism and other structures of oppression that, in part, are studied Since May 1968, there has been an advance in the consciousness of the defenders of the sanctuary structures, which has led to oppressive entrainment in the tree of passage T H isto ire .«

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METHOD OF CRITICAL THEORY

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For more than three decades now there has been a trend of thinking in modern philosophy and sociology which its most influential protagonists have usually called the critical theory of society, or more often just the critical theory. The influence of this trend has been considerably enhanced in recent years. If involvement in the wave of student protest and riots has done more for the popularity of some personalities than acquaintance with their works, increased interest in their ideas is not entirely due to this circumstance, although it is not really to be neglected. The increased influence of critical theory in professional circles made itself felt considerably earlier than the mentioned restiveness came into the focus of the international public, and was prompted by a number of works, published in recent years, in which its theoretical and methodoligical standpoint acquired a more developed, and sometimes only a more challenging form. They have made possible a clearer insight into the peculiarities of this thinking, despite all the theoretical and methodological variations introduced by different thinkers. Although differences in some of their standpoints are greater than could be reasonably put together in a common platform, and occasionally tend to turn into internecine debates, they nevertheless hardly challenge the basic common features of this theoretical current. The aim of this article is precisely to reveal these peculiarities. However, in order to avoid the risk of a schematic generalization, which would fail to take into account internal differentiation and the development and contradictions of a standpoint, we shall point to some of their major internal differences.

The examination of the methodological standpoint of critical theory is mainly designed to throw light upon its internal logic and contradictions which most frequently are due to an inconsistent elaboration of its basic idea, but also to a lack of explicitness in some of its methodological problems. An attemps will be made here to assess the range of that standpoint, its advantages and possibilities of development.

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Form ore than three decades now there has been a trend of thin k in g in m o d em p h ilosophy a n d sociology w hich its m ost in flu e n tia l p ro ta gonists h a v e u su ally called the critical th eo ry of society, o r m ore o ften ju s t th e critical th eo ry . T h e influ en ce of this tre n d has been co n sid erab ly e n h an ced in recen t years. If in v o lv em en t in the w ave of stu d e n t pro test a n d riots has d one m ore for the p o p u larity of some perso n alities than acq u ain tan c e w ith th e ir works, in creased in terest in th e ir ideas is n o t e n tirely du e to this circum stance, alth o u g h it is not re a lly to be n eg lected. The in creased in flu ence of critical theory in professio n al circles m ad e itself felt co n sid erab ly e a rlie r th an the m en tio n ed restiveness cam e into th e focus of the in te rn atio n al public, an d was p ro m p te d by a n u m b er of works, p u b lished in recent years, in w hich its theo retical and methodoligical stan d p o in t acq u ired a m ore d ev eloped, a n d som etim es only a m ore ch a lle n g in g form. They have made possible a cle a rer in sig h t into the pecu liarities of this thinking, desp ite a ll the theo retical a n d m eth odological v a ria tio n s in tro d u ced by d iffe re n t th in k ers. A lth o u g h differen ces in some of th eir s ta n d p o ints a re g re a te r th a n could be rea so n a b ly p u t to g eth er in a comm on p latfo rm, a n d occasio n ally ten d to tu rn into in tern ecin e debates, they nev erth eless h a rd ly ch allen g e the basic com m on features of this theo retical current. The aim of this article is p recisely to reveal these pecu liarities. How ever, in order to av o id the risk of a schem atic gen eraliza tio n, w hich w o u ld fail to tak e into account in te rn al d iffe re n tia tio n a n d th e d e v elo p m en t a n d co n tra d ic tio n s o f a s ta n d p o in t, w e shall po in t to some of the ir major in ternal differences.

The examination of the methodological standpoint of critical theory is mainly designed to throwlight uponits in ternal logic and contradictions which most frequently are due to an inconsistent elaboration of its basic idea, but also to a lack of explicitness in some of its methodological problems. An attemps will be madehere to assess the range of that standpoint, its advantages and possibilities of development.

THEORETICAL APPROACH - PROGRAMME AND RANGE

A fundamental principle of the critical theory is to establish a rational unity between theory and practice. In the next chapter an attempt will be made to analyze the characteristics of the idea which, according to this school of thought, is likely to be able to establish such a unity. Beforehand we shall state how the aspiration for a practical and at the same time critical theory is reflected in the views upon its internal structure, and present some results of its application in the research into the contemporary society. In its structure the critical theory is complex analysis of contemporary society, of its basic internal contradictions and antagonisms, and of the possibility of their progressive practical overcoming. Such a theory, understandably enough, can only develop within a comprehensive methodical approach to contemporary society, in which revelation of its basic relationships is closely related to the research into various forms of their mediation in all the main spheres of social life. Unless it dealt with the basic social relationships, this theory could not explain the nature of the whole, the mode of its preservation, reproduction and development; unless mediation between the whole and the parts thereof is subjected to scrutiny, the concept of the whole would remain abstract and schematic, since the theory would lack knowledge about a concrete mode of relating the general to the particular. Furthermore, society is a historical totality, constantly changing and developing, giving rise to new needs, interests and contradictions, as well as to the possibilities of their utilization and transcendence. The development of the theory is therefore not only a result of the progress of knowledge about a stationary reality. Historical changes in society and the new practical strivings arisen therein have also been a vital causative factor in the development of the theory. The representatives of the critical theory emphasise its historical character and demand that it should not restrict itself to the research into current social affairs, but rather to perceive in the present time the opportunity for a more rational future. Regarded as a moment in the historical process, designed to elucidate ever new situations and possible progressive prospects contained in them, the critical theory could transform itself into discontinued »diagnoses of time«, mainly of a descriptive character, had there been no firm continuity in broader historical epochs, determined by the existence of socio-economical formations, being historically specific types of society. A more generalized theoretical knowledge is possible in this broader and yet sufficiently well-defined socio-historical framework. »The stability of the theory is due to the fact that despite all changes in society its fundamental economic structure, class relationship in its simplest form, and hence the idea of its abolition, remain identical «.1 This is the broader historical base of the existential judgement contained in the theory which must very concretely express the social condition of particular historical phases and moments. This is clearly seen in Horkheimer's comment on the role

¹ M. Horkheimer, »Traditionelle und kritische Theorie«, Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung, Jhrg. VI (1937), H. 2, p. 285.

A f u n d a m e n ta l p rin c ip le o f th e c ritic a l th e o ry is to e sta b lish a r a tio n a l u n ity b e tw e en th e o ry a n d p ra c tic e . I n th e n e x t c h a p te r a n a tte m p t w ill b e m a d e to a n a ly z e th e c h a ra c te ristic s o f th e id e a w h ic h, a c c o rd in g to th is school of thought, is likely to be a ble to establish such a un ity. Be fore handweshalls tatehowtheaspiration for a practicalandatthesametimecriticaltheory is reflec te d in th e v iew s u p o n its in te r n a l stru c tu re, a n d p re s e n t som e re s u lts o f its a p p lic a tio n in th e re s e a rc h in to th e c o n te m p o ra ry so ciety. I n its s tr u c tu r e th e c ritic a l th e o ry is complexanalys is of contemporary so ciety, of its basic i n ternal contra dictions and antagonisms, and of the p o ssib ility of the ir progressive practical overcoming. S u ch a th e o ry, u n d e rs ta n d a b ly en o u g h, c a n o n ly d e v e lopwith in a comprehen sivemethodicalapproach to c on temporary society, in whichrevelation of its basicre l a tio n sh ip s is clo sely r e la te d to th e re s e a rc h in to v a rio u s form s o f th e ir m e d ia tio n in a ll th e m a in sp h e re s o f so cial life. Unlessit dealtwith thebasic so cialrelationships, th is theory could notexplain then a ture of thew hole, th e m o d e o f its p re s e rv a tio n, r e p r o d u c tio n a n d d e v e lo p m e n t; u n less m e d ia tio n b e tw e e n th e w h o le a n d th e p a rts th e re o f is s u b je c te d to s c ru tin y, th e c o n c ep t o f th e w h o le w o u ld r e m a in a b s tra c t a n d sc h em a tic, sin ce th e th e o ry w o u ld la c k k n o w le d g e a b o u t a c o n c re te m o d e ofrelating thegeneral to theparticular. Furthermore , so ciety is a h isto ric a l to ta lity, c o n s ta n tly c h a n g in g a n d developing, giving rise to newneeds, in teres ts and co n tra d ic tions, as well as to the possibilities of their u tiliza tionand transcendence. The development of the the ory is there for enot only aresult of the progress of kno w le d g e a b o u t a s ta tio n a r y r e a lity. H is to r ic a l c h a n g es in so ciety a n d th e n e w p r a c tic a l s triv in g s a ris e n t h e r e in h a v e also b e e n a v ita l c a u sa tiv e fa c to r in th e d e v e lo pmentofthetheory. Therepresentatives of the critic altheory emphasise its his toricalcharacter and dema ndthatitshouldnotrestrictitself to the research in to c u rr e n t so cial a f f a irs, b u t r a t h e r to p e rc e iv e in th e p re s ent time the opportunity for amorer a tional future. Re g a rd e d as a m o m e n t in th e h isto ric a l p rocess, d e s ig n e d to e lu c id a te e v e r n e w s itu a tio n s a n d p o ssib le p ro g re ssiv e p ro sp e c ts c o n ta in e d in th em, th e c ritic a l th e o ry c o u ld tra n s fo r m its e lf in to d isc o n tin u e d » d iag n o se s o f tim e «, m a in ly of a descriptivech aracter, h a dtherebeen

n o fir m c o n tin u ity in b r o a d e r h isto ric a l epochs, d e te rm in e d b y th e e x iste n ce o f so c io -e co n o m ica l fo rm a tio n s, b e in e h is to ric a lly sp ecific ty p es o f so ciety. A m o re g e n e ra liz e d th e o re tic a l k n o w le d g e is p o ssib le in th is b r o a d e r a n d y e t s u ffic ie n tly w e ll- d e fin e d so c io -h isto ric a l fra m ework.» The stability of the theory is due to the fact tha t d e s p ite a ll c h a n g es in so ciety its f u n d a m e n ta l eco n o m ic s tr u c tu re, class r e la tio n s h ip in its sim p le st fo rm, a n d h encetheideaofits abolition, remainidentical«.1 This is thebroaderhistoricalbaseoftheexistentialjudgem entcontained in the theory which must very concrete ly ex p re ss th e so cial c o n d itio n o f p a rtic u la r h isto ric a l p h a ses a n d m o m en ts. T h is is c le a rly se en in H o r k h e im e r 's commentontherole1 M. Horkheimer,» Traditionelle u n d k ritis c h e T h e o rie «, Z e i ts c h r ift fiir S o z ia l-fo rsch u n g, Jhrg. VI (1937), H. 2, p. 285.

of the more generalized theoretical knowledge. »Historical development of contradictions in which the critical thought plays its role, alters the importance of some of its moments, compels differentiation and modifies the significance of specific knowledge of the critical theory and practice«.¹¹ The dialectical idea about the concrete nature of truth is clearly expressed in this endeavour to use general theoretical knowledge in the study of the actual condition of society, making theoretical ideas more concrete.

It is necessary to emphasize that in both its broader theoretical and actual concrete forms, the critical theory is invariably relevant, to society as a whole, and that it implies the practical interest and desire for society to progress toward increasing substantial rationality (Vernunft). This abstract determination of the historical meaning of theoretical involvement has been deliberately used because it embraces - precisely because of its universality - the interpretations of the practical meaning of theory held by all the representatives of this school of thought. In the next chapter we shall consider their conception of reason. For a better understanding of the critical theory's opposition to other contemporary systematic theories of society, we shall quote Horkheimer's thought that »rational interest in abolishing class society«, as implied in the theory, was an »abstract expression of the materialistic content of the idealistic notion of reason«.2 It is in the pursuance of this interest and determination that truth about the theory, and the intellectual basis of its critical function will be found. "The emphatic notion of truth implies at the same time a proper (richtig) organization of society, although the latter cannot be painted as an image of the future. Reductio ad hominem, which inspires critical enlightenment, has for its substance man than its to be created in a society which governs itself. In the existing society his only index is social untruth«.22 The inclusion of a rational possibility into the theory, based on the interest of realizing this possibility, is regarded as a precondition for a deeper understanding of the existing society. »That which is given is made available only to that view which regards it from the aspect of a genuine interest, interest in a free society, in a just state and in man's development. He who does not measure human things by what they themselves want to mean, sees them not only superficially but also erroneously«.3 The critical theory may well coincide with the results of research carried out by other scientific disciplines, and no one challenges the general epistemological demand for theoretical propositions to be sufficiently explicit and for their relationship with experiential evidence⁴ to be clearly demonstrated,

¹a Ibid., p. 285.

² Ibid., p. 292. In later definitions of reason and rational interest, their sociohistorical meaning is not as clearly outlined, which can partly be explained by adiplomatic proceedings for the sake of survival in evil time.

^{ža} Th. W. Adorno, »Zur Logik der Sozialwissenschaften«, Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 14 Jhrg. (1962), H. 2, p. 263.

^a Institut für Sozialforschung, Soziologische Exkurse, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Soziologie, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt a. M., 1956, p. 18.

⁴ M. Horkheimer, »Traditionelle und kritische Theorie«, p. 292.

compels d ifferen tiatio n a n d m odifies the significance of specific know ledge of the critical theory a n d practice« .11 T h e dialectical id ea about the concrete n ature of tru th is cle a rly expressed in this e n d eav o u r to use gen eral theo retical know ledge in the stu d y o f the actual condition of society, m aking theo retical ideas more concrete.

It is necessary to em phasize that in both its broader theoretical and actual concrete forms, the critical theory is in variably relevant, to society as a whole, and that it implies the practical interestand desire for society to progress to ward increasing substantial rationality (Ver-nunft). This abstract determination of the historical meaning of theoretical in volvement has been deliberately used because it embraces

- precisely because o f its u n iv ersa lity - the in te rp re tatio n s of the p rac tical m ean in g o f th eo ry h e ld by a ll th e rep resentativ es of this school o f thought. In the n ex t c h a p te r we shall consider th eir conception of reason. F o r a b e tte r u n d e rstand in g of the c ritical theory 's opposition to o ther c o n temporany systematic theories of society, we shall quote H o rk h e imer's though that he is rational interest in abolishing class society, as implied in the theory, was an wab stract expression of the material listic content of the idealistic notion of reason«.2 It is in the pursuance of this interest and determination that truth about the theory, and the intellectual basis of its critical function will be found.

» T he em p h atic no tio n o f tru th im plies a t th e sam e tim e a p ro p er (rich-tig) o rg an iz a tio n o f society, alth o u g h th e la tte r can n o t be p ain te d as an im age o f the fu tu re. R ed u ctio a d k o m in e m, w hich inspires critical e n lig h ten m en t, has fo r its substance m an th a n its to be created in a society w hich governs itself. In the ex isting society his only in dex is social un truth « .21 The in clusion of a rational possibility into the theory, b ased on th e in te rest of rea liz in g this possibility, is reg a rd e d as a p rec o n d itio n fo r a d e e p er u n d e rs ta n d in g o f th e ex istin g society. » That which is given is made available only to that view w hich reg a rd s it fro m th e aspect o f a g en u in e interest, in terest in a free society, in a ju s t sta te a n d in m a n 's dev elo p m en t. He w ho does not measure hum anthings by what they them selves w a n t to m ean, sees th em n o t only s u p e rfic ia lly b u t also erro n eo u sly « .3 T h e c ritical th eo ry m ay w ell coincid e w ith the results of research carried out by oth er scientific d isciplines, a n d no one challen g es th e g e n e ra l epistem ological d

em and for the o retical propositions to be sufficiently explicit and for their relationship with experiential evidence 4 to be clearly demonstrated, Ib id., p. 285.

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»diplom atic« p roceedings for the sake of survival in evil times.

Th. W. Adorno, "On the Logic of the Social Sciences", Kolner Zeitschrift for

Sociology and social psychology, 14th year. (1962), H. 2, p. 263

* Institute for Social Research, Sociological Excursions, Frankfurt Contributions to Sociology, European Publishing House, Frankfurt. M., 1956, p. 18

4 M. Hork heim cr, » Traditionelle und kritische Theorie «, p. 292.

but the aforesaid practical intentionality of thought is deemed to be the most essential feature distinguishing the critical theory from all others.

The epistemological characteristics of the critical theory will become clearer as we view its relationship to social experience from some other angles. (1) The question arises what the relationship is between the critical theory and the social-historical consciousness existing in various sections of society? It would be naive to think that consciousness in any section of society arises quite spontaneously, and particularly not to realize that the consciousness of the opressed classes and strata is ceaselessly exposed to various forms of pressure and influence by the ruling social forces, as well as to social pressures of traditions carried over from the past. But, like the collective mentality of different sections of society, it is a fact with which the theory must reckon. (2) The next question is how to realize in society the interest engendering the critical theory by transforming its cognitive results into social practice? The critical theory answers these questions by stating that truth neither results directly from society, or from the empirically given consciousness of any part thereof, nor does it directly turn into social practice. In his paper »Traditional and Critical Theory«, where the theory is much more involved with the class division of society than in his later writings, Horkheimer stressed the vital difference between critical theory and the scientific description of the social psychology of the classes. »If the essence of the critical theory consisted in formulating at a given moment the prevalent feelings and images of a class, there would be no structural difference between it and particular science; it would boil down to a description of psychical contents, typical for determined social groups, to social psychology.⁵ A systematization of the content of the proletariats' consciousness »could not provide a correct image of its life and interests «.6 The situation of the proletariat in a capitalist society does not guarantee the correctness of its consciousness. Horkheimer also warns against tensions between thinkers, classes and their political organizations, pointing out that »hostility toward theory in general, which is evident today in public life, is in fact levelled against transformatory activities connected with critical thought«, and that »without a continuation of theoretical efforts which for the sake of rational organization of a future society throw a critical light upon what is . . . there is no ground to hope for a substantial improvement of human existence.8 However, while explaining the necessarily relative autonomy of theoretical thinking and the lack of a predetermined harmony between theory and practice, Horkheimer remembers that theory and truth contained in it are ineffectual unless they are related to social aspirations of real historical forces, since »truth progresses because men who posses it fight for it dauntlessly, apply it and enforce it, act in accordance with it, cause it to prevail against all

b u t th e a fo re s a id p r a c tic a l in te n tio n a lity o f th o u g h t is d e e m e d to b e th e m ost e sse n tia l fe a tu re d is tin g u is h in g th e c ritic a l th e o ry fro m a ll o th ers.

⁵ Ibid., p. 268.

[•] Ibid., p. 268.

⁷ Ibid., p. 267. ⁸ Ibid., pp. 269, 283–284.

The ep istemologicalcharacteristics of the critical the o ry w ill b e com e c le a r e r as w e v iew its re la tio n s h ip to so c ia lexperience from some other angles. (1) Thequestion a rise s w h a t th e re la tio n s h ip is b e tw e e n th e c ritic a l th e o ry a n d th e s o c ia l-h is to ric a l conscio u sn ess e x is tin g in v a rio u s sectio n s o f so ciety? I t w o u ld b e n a iv e to th in k t h a t c o n sciousness in a n y sectio n o f so ciety a rise s q u ite s p o n ta n e o u s ly, a n d p a rtic u la rly n o t to re a liz e th a t th e conscio u sn ess of the op ressed classes and strataisce aselessly expo sed to v a rio u s fo rm s o f p re s s u re a n d in flu e n c e b y th e ru lin g so c ia l fo rces, as w e ll as to so c ia l p ressu re s o f tra d itio n s c a rr ie d o v e r fro m th e p a st. B u t, lik e th e c o lle c tiv e m e n ta lity of d iff e re n t section s o f so ciety, it is a f a c t w ith w h ic h th e th e o ry m u st reck o n. (2) Th e n e x t q u e stio n is h o w to re a liz e in so ciety th e in te re s t e n g e n d e rin g th e c ritic a l th e o ry b y tra n s fo r m in g its c o g n itiv e resu lts in to so cial p ra c tic e? The critic altheory an swers these que stions by sta tin g t h a t tru th n e ith e r re s u lts d ire c lty fro m so ciety, o r fro m th e e m p iric a lly g iv e n conscio u sn ess o f a n y p a r t th e re o f, n o r does it d i re c tly t u r n in to so cial p ra c tic e I n h is p a p e r » T r a d itio n a l a n d C ritic a l T h e o ry «, w h e re th e th e o ry is m u ch m o re in v o lv e d w ith th e class d i v isio n o f so ciety t h a n in h is la te r w ritin g s, H o rk h e im e r stre sse d th e v ita l d iffe re n c e b e tw e en c ritic a l th e o ry a n d th e sc ie n tific d e s c rip tio n of the social p sy c h o lo g y o f the classes. » I f the essence of the critical the ory consisted in formulating at a given m o m e n t th e p r e v a le n t f e e lings a n d im ag es o f a class, th erewould benostructural differencebetween it and p a r tic u la r scien ce; it w o u ld b o il d o w n to a d e s c rip tio n o f p s y c h ic a l c o n te n ts, ty p ic a l fo r d e te rm in e d so c ia l g ro u p s, to so cial p sy c h o lo g y .5 A s y s te m a tiz a tio n o f th e c ontentoftheproletariats'

consciousness » could not provide a correctim ageofits life and interests«.6 The situation of the proletariatin acapitalist society does not guaranteethecorrectness of its consciousness.7 Hork heimeralsowarnsagainst tensions betweenthinkers, classes and their political organizations, pointingout that » hostility toward theory in general, which is evident today in public life, is infact levelled against trans-

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- * Ibid., p. 268.
- Ibid., p. 268.
- 7 Ibid., p. 267.
- 8 Ibid., pp. 269, 28 3 -2 8 4.

kind of opposition from outdated, narrow and one-sided standpoints. The process of cognition entails real historical will and action just as

much as acquisition of experience and comprehension«.9

On the basis of what has been said, we can more clearly distinguish the roots of differences between the critical and the other systematic social theories. They arise first of all from the inclusion of a basic practical standpoint into the theory itself. Although it is not and cannot be fixed and static, this basic practical standpoint controls theoretical activity and approach to contemporary social conditions. Theory, as is usually described by Sartre and Marcuse, is conceptual project of practice and not an aggregate of more or less systematized knowledge about existing relationships in reality, which permits to anticipate with some accuracy the effects of various kinds of practical interference, but theoretical knowledge is of an instrumental character on the basis of which one cannot conclude what is to be done. Since the critical theory aspires towards a unity with practice, it includes the »ought to«. It is superfluous to try and explain that instrumentaltechnical knowledge is necessary in discussing any goal, particularly the way of attaining it, but in selecting an aim and a technical proceeding, it is essential to have a basic practical interest built into the critical theory; it directs the further development of technical knowledge. A historical and comprehensive approach to current social issues is indispensable in any theoretical thought aspiring to be an idea behind a more general practical concept rather than an efficient executor of practical undertakings. Any comprehensive conception of practice contains some of the more general and enduring practical interests. Hence the results of particular acts cannot be assessed unless viewed within the framework of general aspirations of the practical conception, all the more so since the available resources are always limited and the results of particular actions are as a rule more comprehensive than what was originally meant to achieve. In the contemporary society, whose various sectors are closely related and where social decision-making is more and more centralized, the diffusion of the effects of acts in one sector into many other fields of social life is becoming more widespread, rapid and important. Viewed in an instrumental-technical sense, and not as the realization of a rational interest in a juster and freer society, the comprehensiveness of the approach to the contemporary society is not peculiar to critical theory. Various contemporary global sociological theories, built up on various assumptions on the nature of society and directly (or more indirectly) related to various general practical interests and standpoints, are also based upon a comprehensive methodological approach. It is necessary to bear this in mind since the critical analysis of the contemporary sociology still only see in it a fragmentary empiricism. Horkheimer and Adorno rightly pointed out in the 'fifties that this empiricism impoverishes the concept of society, that by limiting itself to a technical implementation of various social actions it feels no need to comprehend them in terms of a social totality and becomes a »socio-

^{*} M. Horkheimer, »Zum Problem der Wahrheit«, Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung, Jhrg. IV (1935), H. 3, p. 338.

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Theory, as is usually described by Sartre and Marcuse, is conceptual p ro ject of p ractice a n d n ot a n ag g re g a te of m ore o r less system atized know ledge about ex istin g relatio n sh ip s in reality, which permits to a n ticip a tew ith some accuracy the effects of v arious kinds of p ractical interference, b u t theo retical know ledge is of a n in stru m en tal ch aracter on the basis of w hich one can n o t conclude w h a t is to be done. Since the critical theo ry aspires to w ard s a u n ity w ith practice, it includes the »ought to«. I t is sup erflu o u s to try a n d ex p la in th at instru m en tal-tech nical know ledge is necessary in discussing an y goal, p a rticu la rly the w ay of a tta in in g it, b u t in selecting a n aim a n d a technical p ro ceeding, it is essential to h av e a basic p rac tic a l in terest bu ilt into the critical theory: it directs the further development of technical know ledge. A h isto rical a n d com prehensive ap p ro ach to c u rre n t social issues is in d isp en sab le in an y th eo retical th o ught a spiring to be an id eabehind a moregen eral practical concept ra th e r th a n an efficient e x ecutor o f p rac tic a l u n d e rta k in g s. A n y com prehensive conception of practice co ntains some of the more general andenduring practical interests. H en ce the results of p a rtic u la r acts can n o t be assessed unless v iew ed w ith in the fram ew o rk of g en e ra l a sp iratio n s of the p ractical conception, all the m ore so since the a v a ila b le resources a re alw ays lim ited a n d the results of p a rtic u la ractions a re as a ru le m ore com p reh en siv e th a n w h a t w as o rig in a lly m ean t to achieve. In the contem p o ra ry society, w hose vario u s sectors are closely rela te d a n d w here social d e cisio n -m ak in g is m ore and more centralized, the diffusion of the effects of acts in one sector into m an y o th er fields of social life is becom ing m ore w id esp read, ra p id a n d im p o rtan t.V iew ed in an in stru m e n tal-te chnical sense, and not as the realization of a rational in te rest in a ju ste r a n d fre e r society, the com prehensiveness of the a p p ro a c h to the co n te m p o ra ry society is n o t p ecu liar to c ritical theory.

V ario u s co n te m p o ra ry g lobal sociological theories, bu ilt up on various assum ptions on th e n a tu re of society a n d d irectly (or m ore indirectly) re la te d to v ario u s g e n e ra l p rac tic a l in terests a n d stan d p o in ts, are also b ased up o n a com p reh en siv e m eth o d o lo g ical ap p ro ach . It is necessary to b e a r this in m in d since th e critical analy sis of the co n tem porary sociology still on ly see in it a fra g m e n ta ry em piricism . H o rk h eim er a n d A d o rn o rig h tly p o in ted o ut in the 'fifties th a t this em piricism im poverishes the concept o f society, th a t by lim itin g itself to a tech nical im p le m e n ta tio n of v ario u s social actions it feels no need to com p reh en d th em in term s of a social to ta lity a n d becomes a »socio

• M. Horkheimer, »Zum Pro b le m der T ruth« , Journal for Social Research, vol . IV (1935), H. 3, p. 338

logy without society«.10 Even Mills at the end of the 'fifties failed to perceive that the functionalist theory resolutely attemps to relate itself to empirical investigations.11 This kind of criticism of sociology is today no longer adequate. Although, far from disappearing, still the most numerous are those investigations which because of their concrete aims, subjected to administrative needs, are carried out within a very limited theoretical perspective, this is no longer the most important direction of theoretical and methodological endeavours but is increasingly replaced by different variants of the theory of society

In the critical theory the comprehensive and historical character of the approach to contemporary society has yet another, also very specific function wich is not found in the positivist and statically conservative system theories in general. It is only through such an approach to contemporary society that the theory is capable of determining the social subject of its realization, i. e. the social forces whose objective social situation basically coincides with its interest for a more rational form of society, and of helping to make it politically conscious. The criticism of ideology as a »socially indispensable illusion« (Schein), of false consciousness which is one of the prerequisites for the maintenance of the existing irrational form of society, is one of the vital tasks of the critical theory. Without a penetration behind the ideological façade, which conceals mechanism by means of which the existing society maintains and reproduces itself, it will not be possible to find out the truth about it and make it the quintessence of enlightenment of the theory's possible social subject. The fact that all the radical representatives of critical thought, e. g. the French philosophers of Enlightenment and Marx, have almost permanently been engaged in the criticism of ideology, and the fact that the tradition of this criticism is being revived in the contemporary critical theory, are due not so much to accidental personal inclinations of these thinkers as they are a constitutional moment in this kind of critical thought.¹² We shall see later how it is related to the conception of experience about society and to the principle of scientific objectivity.

Up to here the programme of critical theory runs parallel with the original idea of Marx about the role of theory in the historical process. From a formal point of view, this coincidence goes one step further it determines the character of the critique. The latter is not understood in the spirit of philosophical criticism, i. e. as investigation into transcendental assumptions and limits of rational thought; it is not even a vague idea of rejection of everything existing; it is rather concentrated on bringing to light the essential contradictions of the

¹⁰ Institut für Sozialforschung, Soziologische Exkurse, p. 16. Also see M. Horkheimer, »Soziologie und Philosophie«, in the book by M. Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, Sociologica II, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Soziologie, Bd. 10, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt a. M., 1962, p. 10.

11 C. W. Mills, The Sociological Imagination, Oxford University Press, New York, 1959, 22-24, 74-75, ch. 2 and 3 passim.

12 This is underlined by Kurt Lenk in his article, »Dialektik bei Marx, Erinnerung an den Ursprung der kritischen Gesellschaftstheorie«, Soziale Welt, Jhrg. 19 (1968). H. 3-4.

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In the critical theory the comprehensive and his torica 1 c h a ra c te r o f th e a p p ro a c h to c o n te m p o ra ry so ciety h a s y e t a n o th e r, a lso v e ry s p e c ific fu n c tio n w ic h is n o t fo und in the positivis tands tatically conservative system th e o rie s in g e n e ra l. I t is o n ly th ro u g h su ch a n a p p ro a c h to c o n te m p o ra ry so ciety that the the ory is c a p ab le of d e te r m in in g th e so cial s u b je c t o f its re a liz a tio n, i. e. th e so c ia l fo rces w h ose o b je c tiv e s o cial s itu a tio n b a s ic a lly c o in c id e s w ith its in terest for a morerational form of so ciety, and of helping tomakeitpolitically conscious. The c ritic ism o f id eo lo g y as a » s o c ia lly in d is p e n s a b le illu sio n « (S c h e in), o f false consciou sn ess w h ic h is o n e o f th e p re re q u is ite s fo r th e m a in te n a n c e o f th e e x is tin g i r r a tio n a l fo rm o f so ciety, is o n e o f th e v ita l task s o f th e c ritic a l th e o ry. W ith o u t a p e n e tr a tio n b e h in d th e id e o lo g ica l fag a de, which conceals mechanismby means of whic h th e e x is tin g so ciety m a in ta in s a n d r e p ro d u c e s itse lf, it will notbepossible to findout the truthabout it and ma k e it th e q u in te s s e n c e o f e n lig h te n m e n t o f th e t h e o r y's possible social subject. The fact that all the radica lrepresentatives of critical thought, e.g. the Frenchp h ilo s o p h e rs o f E n lig h te n m e n t a n d M a rx, h a v e a lm o s t p e rm a n e n tly b e e n e n g a g e d in th e c ritic ism o f id e o lo g y, and the factthatthetradition of this criticism is bein g re v iv e d in th e c o n te m p o ra r y c ritic a l th e o ry, a re d u e n o t so m u ch to a c c id e n talpers o n alin c lin a tions of the s e th in k e rs as th e y a re a c o n s titu tio n a l m o m e n t in th is k in d o f c ritic a l th o u g h t.12 W e sh a ll see la te r h o w it is r e la te d to th e c o n c e p tio n o f e x p e rie n c e a b o u t so ciety a n d to the principle of scientific objectivity.

U p to h e re th e p ro g ra m m e o f c ritic a l th e o r y ru n s p a r a lle l w ith th e o rig in a l id e a o f M a rx a b o u t th e ro le o f th e o r y in th e h isto ric a l p ro cess.

F ro m a fo rm a l p o in t o f v iew , th is c o in c id e n ce goes o n e ste p f u r th e r -

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17 C. W . M ills, T h e S o c io lo g ica l Im ag in ation , O xford U niversity Press, New York, 1959, 2 2-24 , 74-7 5 , ch. 2 and 3 passim .

12 This is underlined by Kurt Lenk in his article, »Dialectics in M arx, memory of the origin of critical social theory«, S o zia le W e lt, Thrg. 19

(1968), H. 3-4.

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existing society, that which it purports to refute and which at the same time, being negative to what is, may become a revolutionary force of social transformation. Criticism, therefore, is understood as a moment of objective historical dialectics, in which objective social contradictions promote consciousness about the possibilities of their own progressive practical transcendence. Theoretical differences are reflected either in a less resolute emphasis upon those social contradictions which Marx discovered in capitalism, or, which is more characteristic, in emphasizing that in a developed capitalist society factors other than the socio-economic and class contradictions have become decisive. They amount to an open or tacit refutation of Marx's idea about the proletariat being the fullest negation of capitalism and a potential leading revolutionary force.13 For example, in Marcuse's analysis of a developed »industrial society«, the main contradiction and the principal source of irrationality of the social system consist not in exploitation but in domination sustained by the development of a priori qualities of scientific thought and its technological application. »The world tends to become the stuff of total administration which absorbs even the administrators. The web of domination has become the web of Reason itself, and this society is fatally entangled in it. And the transcending modes of thought seem to transcend Reason itself«.14 A qualitative change, which would consist in easing the struggle for existence, can only be realized if a new technology is developed, based on a reaffirmation of the »art of living«, in time of leisure, of course, the life necessities having been satisfied.¹⁵ Who is interested in this social change, which Marcuse claims is needed by society as a whole and by each of its members?16 No social force in a developed industrial society which is indispensable for its maintenance, reproduction and development towards a total domination, but only those which it had rejected as unnecessary (?!) and disenfranchised for reasons other than economic.17 Perhaps the »third world«?18 At any rate, the negation of a developed industrial society may only come from without. »The power of the negative is engendered outside of this repressive totality from forces and movements which have not yet been swept by the aggresive and repressive productivity of the »affluent society«, or have already cut themselves loose from this development . . . «19 The aim and the scope of this article do not permit

¹⁸ It is on this thesis that Marcuse developed his analysis of the industrially advanced capitalist society in his book, *One-Dimensional Man*, Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society, (1964), Beacon Press, Boston 1968. Pages XII-XV, 19-21, 188-189, 254-257, et passim.

Ibid., p. 169.
 Ibid., pp. 227-246.
 Ibid., p. XIII.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 256-257.

¹⁸ H. Marcuse, »Das Ende der Utopie«, Berlin, 1967, p. 65. (Quoted according to C. Offe, »Technik und Eindimensionalität, Eine Version der Technokratiethese?« in the compendium J. Habermans (Hrsg.), Antworten an Herbert Marcuse, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M., 1968, pp. 80-81.

19 H. Marcuse, »Zum Begriif der Negation« (1966) in the book, H. Marcuse, Ideen zu einer kritischen Theorie der Gesellschaft, p. 190. The suggested possibility of internal negation, which is not contained in One-Dimensional Man, probably arose as an effect of the rising resistance by the student youth.

is understood as a m om ent of o bjective h isto rical dialectics, in w hich objective social con trad ictio n s p rom ote consciousness about the possibilities of their own p rogressive p ractical transcendence. Th eo retical differences are reflected e ith er in a less resolute em phasis u pon those social c o n tradictions w hich M a rx d iscovered in capitalism, or, w hich is m ore ch aracteristic, in em p hasizing th a t in a d eveloped c ap italist society factors o th er th a n th e socioeconom ic a n d class con trad ictio n s have become decisive. T h e y am o u n t to a n o pen o r tac it refu tatio n of M a rx 's id ea about th e p ro le ta ria t b ein g the fu llest n e g atio n of capitalism and a p o ten tial le a d in g re v o lu tio n a ry fo rce.13 Fo r exam ple, in M arcuse's a n alysis of a dev elo p ed » in d u stria l society«, th e m ain con tradiction and the principal source of irrationality of the social system consist not in ex p lo itatio n b u t in d o m in atio n su stain ed by the developm ent of a p riori q u alities of scientific th o u g h t a n d its technological a p p lic a tion. »T h e w o rld ten d s to becom e th e stu ff of to tal a d m in istratio n w hich absorbs even th e a d m in istrato rs. T h e web of do m in atio n has become th e web of R easo n itself, a n d this society is fa ta lly en tan g led in it. A n d th e tra n sc en d in g m odes of th o u g h t seem to tran scen d Reason itself« .14 A q u a lita tiv e change, w hich w o u ld consist in easing the stru g g le fo r existence, can on ly be realized if a new technology is d eveloped, based on a re a ffirm a tio n of the » a rt of living«, in tim e of leisure, of course, the life necessities hav in g been sa tisfie d .15 W h o is in te reste d in th is social change, w hich M arcuse claim s is needed by society as a w hole a n d by each of its m em b ers?10 N o social force in a d evelo p ed in d u srtia l society w hich is indisp en sab le fo r its m ain tenance, rep ro d u c tio n a n d d e v elo p m en t to w ard s a to ta l d o m ination, but on ly those w hich it h a d reje c te d as unnecessary (?!) a n d d ise n fra n c h ised for reasons of the er than economic.17 Perhaps the with ird w o rld «? 18

A t an y rate, the n e g a tio n o f a d ev elo p ed in d u stria l society m ay only come fro m w ith o u t. » T h e p o w er o f th e n e g a tiv e is en g en d ered outside of this rep ressiv e to ta lity fro m forces a n d m ovem ents w hich h ave not yet been sw ept by th e agg resiv e a n d rep ressiv e p ro d u ctiv ity of the

» a fflu en t society«, o r h a v e a lre a d y cut them selves loose from this d e v elo p m en t . . .«19 T h e aim a n d the scope of this a rticle do not p erm it 11 I t is on th is th esis th a t M arcu se d e v elo p ed his an a ly sis o f th e in d u stria lly ad v an ce d ca p ita list society in his book, O n e-D im ensional M an, S tudies in the Id eo logy of A d v an c ed In d u s tria l Society, (1964), B eacon Press, Boston 1968.

Pages X I I - X V, 19-21, 188-189, 254-257, et passim.

14 Id.,

p. 169.

14 Ibid., pp. 227-246.

19 Ib id ., p. X I I I .

17 Ibid., pp. 256-257.

18 H Marcu se, The End of Cr Utopia, Berlin, 1967, p. 65. (Q uoted according to C. Offe, » Technique and Independence, A Version of Technocratic Thesis?«

in the compendium J. H a b erm and (H rsg.), A n two rten and H erbert M arcuse, S u h rkam p, F rank f u rt a. M., 1968, pp. 80-81.

 $18\ H$. M arcuse, »Z um B e g riff d e r N eg a tio n « (1966) in th e book, H . M arcuse,

Ideen zu einer kritischen T h eorie d er G esellschaft, p. 190. T h e suggested possibility o f in te rn a l n eg atio n, w hich is no t co n tain ed in O ne-D im ensional M an, probably arose as an e ffect of the risin g resista n ce by the stu d en t youth.

an exhaustive analysis of the numerous weaknesses in Marcuse's theory in which the contradictions in socio-economic relationships and class contradictions in the industrially developed capitalist societies are substituted by the thesis about an immanently oppressive character of scientific thought and technology.²⁰ We shall see later what consequences on the understanding of the relationship between theory and practice result from the idea of the external negation of this system.

Another attempt in the critical theory to neutralize Marx's concept of fundamental contradictions of capitalism consists in viewing the latter within the framework of relationships between society and the individual which are not mediated by class structure. This standpoint is shared by Horkheimer and Adorno, although the latter developed it farther and made it a central theme of his most important systematic work, Negative Dialectics. In order to avoid a wrong impression about the theoretical views of these thinkers, it must be remembered that they resolutely resist all forms of the highly fashionable and unhistorical philosophical anthropologism,²¹ as well as sociological nominalism connected with traditions of liberal bourgeois thought. Their main idea is that the relationship between society and the individual is always historically determined. »The relationship between the individual and society is subject to social dynamics. It changes historically, and frequently in the same epoch we find in juxtaposition structures which are not simultaneous as to their meaning «. 22 The interaction and tension between society and the individual greatly influence the general dynamics of the whole of society.23 The most important inference drawn from interdependence between the individual and society is that »man as an individual can assert himself only in a just, humane society.«24 A number of passages from various writings by Horkheimer and Adorno could be quoted to demonstrate that they do not vacillate on these basic theoretical assumptions. They are also singleminded in their views on the society-versus-the-individual relationship in contemporary industrially developed societies. The spirit of their critique of the ideological character of the contemporary philosophical anthropologism and sociological nominalism is perhaps best put into relief by the thesis: the fewer individuals the more individualism, since the contemporary society is moving towards totalitaria-

²⁰ This fundamental thesis of Marcuse has been the subject of numerous critiques. See in the compendium J. Habermas (Hrsg.), Antworten an Herbert Marcuse, in addition to C. Offe's article mentioned under footnote 18) and contributions by W. F. Haug, »Das Ganze und das ganz Andere«, and J. Bergmann, »Technologische Rationalität und spätkapitalistische Ükonomie«, and the article by L. Tadić, »H. Marcuse – Izmedu nauke i utopije« (H. Marcuse – Between Science and Utopia), Filozofija, XIII (1969), no. 1.

²¹ Horkheimer criticized this as early as 1935 in his article, »Bemerkungen zur philosophischen Anthropologie«, Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung, Jhrg. IV (1935). As a critique of Heidegger's and Jasper's existentialism, particularly interesting is Adorno's study, Jargon der Eigentlichkeit, as well as the first part of his book, Negative Dialektik, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M., 1966, pp. 65–134.

²² Institut für Sozialforschung, Soziologische Exkurse, p. 64.

²³ Ibid., p. 47.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 48.

in d u s tr ia lly d e v e lo p e d c a p ita lis t so cieties a re s u b s titu te d b y th e th esis a b o u t a n im m a n e n tly o p p ressiv e c h a ra c te r o f sc ie n tific th o u g h t a n d te c h n o lo g y .20 W e s h a ll see l a te r w h a t co n se qu en ces o n th e u n d e rs ta n d in g o f th e re la tio n s h ip b e tw e e n th e o ry a n d p ra c tic e re s u lt fro m th e id e a o f th e e x te r n a l n e g a tio n o f th is system .

A n o th e r a tte m p t in th e c ritic a l th e o ry to n e u tr a liz e M a r x 's con cep t o f f u n d a m e n ta l c o n tra d ic tions o f c a p ita lis m con sists in v ie w in g th e l a tte r w ith in th e frame w o rk o f re la tionsh ip s b e tw e e n so c ie ty a n d th e in d iv id u a l w h ic h a re n o t m e d ia te d b y class s tructure. This s tandpoint is s h a re d b y H o rk h e imerand A d o rno, a lthoughthela tterdeveloped it f a r therand made it a central them e of h is most important system a tic work, Negative D ia lectics. I norder to a void a w rong impressionabout the theoretical views of these thinkers, it must be remembered that they resolutely resistall forms of the highly f a s h ionable and un-

h isto ric a l p h ilo s o p h ic a l a n th ro p o lo g is m, 21 as w e ll as so c io lo g ic a l n o m in a lis m c o n n e cte d w ith tr a d itio n s o f lib e r a l b o u rg eo is th o u g h t. T h e ir m a in id e a is t h a t th e r e la tio n s h ip b e tw e e n s o c ie ty a n d th e in d iv id u a l is a lw a y s h is to ric a lly d e te rm in e d. » T h e re la tio n s h ip b e tw e e n th e in d iv id u a l a n d so ciety is s u b je c t to s o c ia l d y n a m ic s. I t c h a n g es h isto ric a lly, a n d f re q u e n tly in th e sa m e ep o c h w e f in d in j u x ta p o s itio n s tru c tu re s w h ic h a re n otsimultaneous as to theirmeaning«.22 Theinteractio n a n d te n sio n b e tw e e n so ciety a n d th e in d iv id u a l g r e a tly in flu e n c e th e g e n e ra l d y n a m ic s o f th e w h o le o f so c ie ty .23 The most important inferencedrawn from inte r d e p e n d e n c e b e tw e e n th e in d iv id u a l a n d so ciety is th at» manas an in dividual can as serthims elfon ly in a ju st, h u m a n e so c ie ty .« 24 A n u m b e r o f p a ssa g e s fro m v a rio u s w ritin g s b y H o r k h e im e r a n d A d o rn o c o u ld b e q u o te d to d e m o n s tra te th a t th e y d o n o t v a c illa te o n th ese b a sic theore tical assumptions. They are also single-

m in d e d in th e ir view s on th e s o c ie ty -v e r s u s - th e - in d iv id u a l r e la tio n s h ip in c o n te m p o ra ry in d u s r tia lly d e v e lo p e d societies. T h e s p ir it o f th e ir c ritiq u e o f th e id e o lo g ic a l c h a ra c te r o f th e c o n te m p o ra ry p h ilo so p h ic a l a n th ro p o lo g is m a n d so c io lo g ic a l n o m in a lis m is p e rh a p s b est p u t in to re lie f by th e th esis: th e fe w e r in d iv id u a ls th e

m o re i n d iv id u a lis m, sin ce th e c o n te m p o ra ry so c ie ty is m o v in g to w a rd s to ta l it a r i a 20 T h is fu n d a m e n ta l th e sis o f M a rc u s e h a s b e e n th e s u b je c t o f n u m e ro u s c r i t i ques. See in th e c o m p e n d iu m J . H a b e rm a s (H rsg .), A n tw o r te n an H e rb e rt M arcuse,

in addition to C. Offe 's article mentioned under footnote 18) and contributions by W . F. Haug, "Das Ganze and Dasganz Andere", and J.S. B e rg m a n n , "Technology Rationale and Spatial Capitalist Economy", and the article by L T a d ić , »H

M a rc u se - Iz m e đ u n a u k e i u to p ije « (H . M a rc u se - B e tw e e n S cien ce a n d U to p ia),

Philosophy, X I I I (1969), no. 1.

21 Horkheimercritic iz ed this as early as 1935 in his artic le, » Bemerk ungenzurphilosophischen Anthropologie «, Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung, Jhrg. IV (1935).

A s a c ritiq u e o f H e id e g g e r 's a n d J a s p e r 's e x is te n tia lis m, p a r tic u la r ly in te re s tin g is A d o rn o 's stu d y, Ja rg o n d e r E ig e n tlic h k e it, as w ell a s th e f ir s t p a r t o f h is book,

 $N\ e\ g\ a\ tiv\ e\ D$ ia le ktik, $S\ u\ h\ rk\ a\ m\ p$, $F\ r\ a\ n\ k\ f\ u\ r\ t\ a.\ M$., 1966, $p\ p$. 65 -1 3 4 .

22 I n s titu t f u r S o z ia lfo rs c h u n g , S o zio lo g isc h e E xku rse, p . 64.

"Ibid., p. 47.

24 Ibid., p. 48.

nism in which the individual decays.²⁵ A diminished opportunity of differentiation or, to be more precise, of individualization, gives rise to regression, primitivism and barbarianism in culture.²⁶ The antagonism between society and the individual constantly increases, leading to a greater ascendance of society based on domination and oppression. This is clearly evident in Adorno's commentary on his own affirmation that totality was false. "Totality is false not only because the thesis on totality is false, but also because of the highly exaggerated principle of domination (Herrschaft). The idea of positivity, which claims that the superior constraint of spirit which understands will vanquish everything in its way, gives a phantasmal account of experience of superior compulsion which is found in everything that exists as a result of its obsession with domination. This is the truth in Hegel's untruth«.²⁷

This antagonism between the individual and society, which implies society's compulsive and destructive domination, Adorno transformed from a historical-sociological proposition into the central problem of his »negative dialectics«. (A similar view of the individual's position in contemporary society was already in the 'thirties in the focus of epochal experience of virtually the entire first generation of the followers of this school of thought.) Adorno's most generalized objection to the latter-day dialectical thought is that it magnified and extolled the value and importance of that which is general, i. e. of society, at the expense of the particular, i. e. the individual. »The recent history of spirit was Sisyphus's apologetic job to eliminate by way of thought the negative side of that which is general«.28 In fact, however, it is the idea »on the primacy of the general in the dialectics of general and of particular that is index falsi«.29 In the dialectics of identity of the general and particular, the particular should have just as much right as the general.30 In contrast to this historically determined predominance of the general, which the concepts of traditional dialectics reflect and duplicate, Adorno supports the principle of delving into particularity, which is not restricted by any philosophy. Connected with this is his side remark about the correctness of Benjamin's idea that induction should be saved.³¹ In opposing the predominance of society, as the universal which is increasingly becoming total, over the individual, there are hints of a »micrological« approach to »negative dialectics«, as a last refuge of the concrete man before the overwhelming paramountcy of total society.32 Adorno's concept of dialectics merits a very careful analysis. All we wanted to demonstrate here is the notion of basic social contradictions expressed in it, which is at the

nism in w hich the in d iv id u al decays.25 A dim inished op p ortunity of d iffe re n tia tio n or, to be m ore Precise, of in d iv id u alizatio n, gives rise to regression, p rim itiv ism and b a rb a ria n

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 47-48.

to Ibid., pp. 34, 36. Horkheimer previously outlined similar ideas in his book

The Eclipse of Reason.

²⁷ Th. W. Adorno, *Drei Studien zu Hegel*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M., 1963,

²⁸ Th. W. Adorno, Negative Dialektik, p. 319.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 309.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 321.

Ibid., p. 296.
 Ibid., pp. 397-398.

²⁰ PRAXIS

ism in cu ltu re.28 T h e an ta g o nism betw een society an d the in d iv id u al co n stantly increases, leading to a g rea te r ascendance of society based on do m in atio n an d oppression. T h is is clearly ev id en t in A d o rn o 's com m entary on his own a ffirm atio n th a t to ta lity was false. »'T o ta lity is false' not only because the thesis on to ta lity is false, but also because of the high ly exaggera ted principle of domination (Herrschaft). The idea of positivity, which claims that the superior constraint of spirit which understands will van quish everything in its way, gives a phantasmal account of experience of superior compulsion which is found in everything that exists as a result of its obsession with domination. This is the truth in Hegel's untruth «.27

Th is a n tag on ism between the in dividualand society, w hich implies society's com pulsive a n d d estru ctiv e d o m in atio n, A d o rn o tran sfo rm ed from a histo rical-so cio lo g ical pro p o sitio n into the c en tral problem of his »n eg ativ e dialectics«. (A sim ilar view of the in d iv id u a l's position in c o n tem p o rary society was a lre a d y in the 'th irties in the focus of epochal exp erien ce of v irtu a lly the en tire first g en e ra tio n of the follow ers of this school of thought.) A d o rn o 's m ost gen eralized objection to the la tte r-d a y d iale c tic al th o u g h t is th a t it m ag n ified a n d extolled the v alu e a n d im portance of th a t w hich is g en eral, i. e. of society, at th e expense of the p a rtic u la r, i. e. the in d iv id u a l. »T h e recent history of sp irit was S isyphus's ap o logetic jo b to e lim in ate by w ay of thought the negative side of that which is general«.28 In fact, how ever, it is the id ea son the prim a cy of the general in the d ialectics of g en eral and of p a rtic u lar that is in dexfa lsi« .20 In the d ialectics of id en tity of the g en e ra l a n d p a rtic u la r, the p a rtic u la r should h av e ju st as m uch right as th e g e n e ra 1.30 In co n tra st to this h isto ric a lly d eterm in ed p red o m inan ce of the general, which the concepts of traditional dialectics reflect a n d d u p licate, A d o rn o su p p o rts th e p rin c ip le of d elv in g into p a rtic u la rity, w hich is n o t restric te d by an y philosophy. C onnected w ith this is his side rem a rk ab o u t th e correctness of B e n ja m in 's idea th a t in d u ctio n sh ould be sa v ed .31 In o p posing the predom inance of society, as the u n iv ersa l w hich is in creasin g ly becom ing total, over the in d iv id u a l, th ere a re h in ts of a »m icrological« ap p ro a c h to »negative dialectics«, as a last refu g e of th e concrete m an b efore the overw h elm ing p a ra m o u n tc y of to ta l society. 32 A d o rn o 's concept of dialectics m erits a v erv c a re fu l an aly sis. A ll we w a n te d to d em o n strate h ere is the n o tio n o f basic social co n tra d ic tio n s ex pressed in it, w hich is at the

- ** Ibid., pp. 47-48.
- *• Ibid., pp. 3 4, 36. Horkheimer previously outlined similar ideas in his book The Eclipse of Reason.
- $87\ T\ h$. W . A d o rn o , D rei S tu d ie n zu H e g e l, S u h rk am p , F ra n k fu rt a. M ., 1963, p. 104.
- 18 T h W Adorno, Negative Dialectics, p. 319.
- *• An id., p. 309.
- 80 Ibid., p. 321.
- 81 Ibid., p. 296.
- 88 Ibid., pp. 397-398.
- 20 PRAXIS
- 633

same time the socio-historical base of criticism. In the conclusion of his interesting analysis of Adorno's thought, Willms thus interprets the theoretical basis of his dialectics: »It deals with totality, hence its importance. But the aggressiveness of the critical social theory is a rearguard battle. It is perhaps a strategical retreat: thought retreats to its point of departure, subjectivity, in order to make a last stand there. This is the theory of freedom, but only of a negative one«.33

In his well known discussion on the methodology of social sciences, Adorno said that sociology's renunciation of the critical theory of society was a result of resignation. Men no longer dare think of totality because they would despair at their inability to change it.34 Is this not, mutatis mutandis, applicable to the present condition of the critical theory, which is retreating either into the sphere of the allegedly transcendental qualities of science and technology, or into the societyversus-the-individual analysis through the idea of a universal oppression of individuals, without making the necessary efforts to comprehend the development of contemporary science or the society/individual relationship in different types of contemporary societies within the complex of both their internal socio-economical and class relationships and contradictions, and of international conditions, or to reveal by means of a comprehensive concrete-historical institutional analysis the various aspects and means of oppression. There is no doubt that the society/individual relationship is one of the key sociological problems. Its critical examination is in the spirit of the Marxian thought to the effect that society as an abstraction must be prevented from being counterpoised against the individual. The aspect of oppression has always been highly important in the study of this relationship, and is even more so today. But it must never by forgotten that in addition to the oppressed there are also the oppressors, their well-paid, »reputable« servants and lumpen-proletarian tools. The meaning of oppression and the society/individual relationship are altogether different in these various social situations, both for the maintenance and for the overthrow of the existing system. The same theoretical vagueness, in fact a theoretical obfuscation, arises from the abstract application of the imoprtant idea of alienation separated from the fundamental analysis of the social structure resulting from concrete historical conditions. Unfortunately, investigations into contemporary forms of social structure and organization have long been outside the main sphere of interest of the critical theory.35 Harmful consequences have been mul-

³³ B. Willms, "Theorie, Kritik und Dialektik«, in the compendium Über Theodor W. Adorno, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M., 1968, p. 89.

³⁴ »Die Verzicht der Soziologie auf eine kritische Theorie der Gesellschaft is resignativ: man wagt das Ganze nicht mehr zu denken, weil man daran verzweifeln muss, es zu verändern«. (Th. W. Adorno, Zur Logik der Sozialwissenschaften,

pp. 262-263).

35 Very characteristic in this respect is the book, Soziologische Exhurse. Despite Horkheimer's and Adorno's reservations in the foreword, it is nevertheless the most thorough attempt at a comprehensive presentation of the category apparatus of the Frankfurt school. The book, however, has not developed the conceptions of social structure, social organization, classes, bureaucracy. As social forms of mediation between society and individuals, reference is made only to social groups (among which the classes are hardly mentioned at all), the mass, the family and the local

le c tic s: » It d e a ls w ith to ta lity , h e n c e its im p o rta n c e . B u t th e a g g re ssiv e n e ss o f th e c ritic a l so cial th e o ry is a r e a r g u a rd b a ttle . I t is p e rh a p s a s tr a te g ic a l r e tr e a t: th o u g h t r e tr e a ts to its p o in t o f d e p a rtu re , s u b je c tiv ity , in o r d e r to m ak e a la s t s ta n d th e re .

T h is is the the ory of freedom, but only of anegative on e $\ll .33$

In his well knowndiscussion on the methodology of so cial sciences, Adornosaidth atsociology 's renunciation of the critical theory of society was are sult of resignation. Mennolongerdare think of to tality because they would espairat their in a bility to changeit.34 Is this not, mntatis mutandis, applicable to thepresent condition of the critical theory, which is retreatingeither in to the sphere of the alleged ly transcendents of science and technology, or into the society-

v e rs u s - th e - in d iv id u a l a n a ly s is th ro u g h th e id e a o f a universaloppression of individuals, without making th e n e c e s s a ry e ffo rts to c o m p re h e n d th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f c o n te m p o ra ry scien ce o r th e s o c ie ty /in d iv id u a l r e la tio n s h ip in d iff e re n t ty p e s o f c o n te m p o ra ry so cieties with in the complex of both their in ternalsocio-econo m ica l a n d class r e la tio n sh ip s a n d c o n tra d ic tio n s, a n d o f in ternational conditions, or to revealby means of a c o m p re h e n siv e c o n c re te -h isto ric a l in s titu tio n a l a n a ly s is the v a rio u s aspec ts a n d m ea n s o f o p p ressio n. The re is no doubt that the society /in dividualrelationship is one of the key so ciological problems. Its critical exam in a tio n is in the spir it of the Marx ianthought to thee ffe c t th a t so ciety as a n a b s tr a c tio n m u st b e p r e v e n te d fro m b e in g c o u n te rp o is e d a g a in s t th e in d iv id u a l. T h e a s pectofoppression has a lwaysbeenhighly important in the s tu d y o f th is re la tion s h ip, and is e v e n m o re so to d ay. But it must never by forgottenthat in addition to th e opp ressed the re a re also the opp ressors, the ir well-paid, » r e p u ta b le « s e rv a n ts a n d lu m p e n - p ro le ta r ia n tools. T hemeaning of oppression and thesociety /individual r e la tio n s h ip a re a lto g e th e r d iff e re n t in th ese v a rio u s so cial s itu a tio n s, b o th fo r th e m a in te n a n c e a n d fo r th e o v e rth ro w o f th e e x is tin g sy stem. The same the o re tical va g u e n ess, in f a c t a th e o re tic a l o b fu sc a tio n, a rise s fro m theabstractapplicationoftheimoprtantideaofalien a tionseparated from the fundamentalanalysis of the socials tructureresulting from concrete historicalcond itions. Unfortunately, investigations intocontemporary forms of social structureandorganization havelong beenoutside themainsphereofinterest of the critical theory.35 Harmfulconsequenceshavebeenmul33 B. Willms, » Theorie, KritikundDialektik«, in thecompendiumOberTheodorW. Adorno, Suhrkamp, Frankfurta. M., 1968, p. 89.

34 » Die V e rzich t der Sozio lo g y au f e ine c r i t i s h e t h e o r i e d e r Ges ells chaft is resigna tive: m a n w a g t d a s Ganz e n i c h m ehr zu denken , weil mandar a n v e r z w e i-fe ln m uss, it is to v e r a n d e r « (T h . W. Adorno, Zur Logik der Sozia Lewissenschaften, pp. 262-263).

35 V e ry c h a ra c te r is tic in th is re s p e c t is th e bo o k , S o z io lo g is c h e E x k u r s e . D e s p ite H o r k h e im e r's a n d A d o r n o 's r e s e rv a tio n s in th e f o re w o rd , it is n e v e rth e le ss th e m ost th o ro u g h a tte m p t a t a c o m p re h e n siv e p re s e n ta tio n o f th e c a te g o ry a p p a r a tu s o f th e F r a n k f u r t school. T h e b ook, h o w e v er, h a s n o t d e v e lo p e d th e co n ce p tio n s o f social stru c tu re , so cial o r g a n iz a tio n , classes, b u re a u c ra c y . A s so cial fo rm s o f m e d ia tio n b e tw e e n so ciety a n d in d iv id u a ls , re fe re n c e is m a d e o n ly to so cial g ro u p s (am o n g w h ich th e classes a re h a r d ly m e n tio n e d a t a ll), th e m ass, th e f a m ily a n d th e lo cal 634

tifold. Not only do some of its protagonists, especially Marcuse, rush headlong into an uncritical acceptance of the contemporary bourgeois ideology's basic idea about the »affluent society«, to the effect that misery and poverty, in a literal sense, have become quite insignificant in the industrially developed capitalist countries,36 not to mention social inequalities in some spheres, e. g. education, health, and justice, but also no use is made of scientifically reliable data about various forms of a wide-spread and latent, although politically impotent, dissatisfaction. A theory which rightfully believes that pain, suffering and sensitivity to injustice are the main impulses for thought aspiring toward more humane forms of life, should be more considerate to the social conditions where pain, suffering and injustice are most widespread and most serious. Furthermore, we know that social structure and organization are the object of a very lively theoretical and research activity in modern sociology, which is certainly not attributable only to the internal logic of its scientific development, all the more so since in many works need has been stressed for the maintenance of the existing social system. However, the critical theory has not produced any thorough studies of these sociological endeavours. In other words, this theory, although claiming that unity with practice is its supreme principle, makes few efforts to come closer to those into whose consciousness it could eventually take root and emancipate a collective spontaneity, thus influencing practice, so that *the world would not only be interpreted but also changed«. Acquaintance with social conditions in which the negation of the existing system is most evident, even though it might not be effective, would certainly provide numerous impulses to the criticism of its ideology, which some of these thinkers, Adorno in the first place, develop most creatively. Paraphrasing Marx's well-known thought that wit is not sufficient for thought to aspire towards its realization, but reality must aspire towards thought«, it could be claimed in this instance that it is necessary for thought to show more will and determination to obtain a thorough knowledge of the real contradictions in the existing world, if it wishes to implement itself in practice. In the contrary case it will remain an incomplete, sometimes even a wrong »diagnosis of the time«, without sufficiently clear and practically relevant ideas.

REASON: UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

If the representatives of the critical theory have failed to establish a unity with practice, the latter has been almost ceaselessly an object of their thinking. Because the great thought about the unity of theory

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tifo ld. No t only do some of its p rotagonists, especially M arcuse, rush h ead lo n g into an u n critical acceptance of the co ntem porary bourgeois ideology's basic id ea about the » afflu en t society«, to the

community, and thus the category framework for the study of social differentiation resembles more formal sociology than Marx's conception of society. As exceptions, which rather confirm the rule than challenge the correctness of the statement that historical sociological institutional analyses have been neglected, reference is made nistoricai sociologicai institutional analyses have been neglected, reference is made to the studies by J. Habermas, Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit, H. Luchterhand, Neuwied, 1962; H. Pross, Manager und Aktionäre in Deutschland, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Soziologie, Bd. 15, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt a. M., 1965.

36 About the prevalence, forms and partly also the causes of destitution and poverty in the USA, see M. Harrington, Other America, Poverty in the United States, (1962).

effect th at m isery a n d poverty, in a lite ra l sense, hav e become quite insignificant in the in d u strially developed c ap italist countries, 36 not to m ention social in equalities in some spheres, e. g. education, h ealth, and justice, but also no use is m ad e of scien tifically reliab le d a ta about various form s of a w id e -sp re a d a n d late n t, alth o u g h politically im potent, dissatisfaction. A th eo ry w hich rig h tfu lly believes th a t pain, suffering a n d sensitiv ity to in ju stice a re the m ain im pulses for thought aspiring to w a rd m ore h u m an e form s of life, should be m ore considerate to the social conditions where pain, suffering and in justice are most wides p read a n d m ost serious. F u rth erm o re, we know th a t social structure a n d o rg an iz a tio n a re th e object of a v ery lively th eoretical and re search activity in modern sociology, which is ce rta in ly not attrib u ta b le only to the in tern a l logic of its scientific developm ent, all the m ore so since in m an v w orks need has been stressed for the m ain ten an ce of the ex isting social system. How ev er, the critical theo ry has not produced a n y tho ro u g h studies of these sociological endeavours. In oth er words, this theory, alth o u g h claim in g th a t u n ity w ith practice is its suprem e prin cip le, m akes few effo rts to come closer to those into whose consciousness it could ev en tu a lly tak e root a n d em an cip ate a collective sp o n tan eity, thus in flu en cing practice, so that when world would not only be in terp reted but also changed«. A cquain tan cew ith social cond itions in w hich the n e g a tio n of the ex istin g system is m ost evident, even tho u g h it m ig h t n o t be effective, w ould c e rta in ly p ro vide num erous im pulses to the criticism of its ideology, w hich some of these th in k ers, A d o rn o in the first place, d ev elop m ost creatively. P a r a p h rasin g M a rx 's w ell-k n own thought hat wit is not sufficient for thought to aspire to w a rd s its rea liz a tio n, b u t re a lity m ust aspire tow a rd s th o ught«, it could be claimed in this in stance that it is necessary for th o u g h t to show m ore will a n d d e te rm in a tio n to o b tain a thorough k n ow ledge of the real contradictions in the existing w orld, if it wishes to im p lem en t itself in practice. In the c o n tra ry case it will rem ain an incom plete, som etim es even a w ro n g »diagnosis of the tim e«, w ithout su fficie n tly cle a r a n d p rac tic a lly rele v a n t ideas.

REASON: U N ITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

If the rep re sen ta tive softhe critical theory have failed to establish a unity with practice, the latter has been almost ceaselessly an object of their thinking. Because the great thought about the unity of theory community, and thus the category framework for the study of social differentiation resembles

m ore fo rm al sociology th a n M a rx 's conception of society. A s exceptions, w hich ra th e r con firm th e ru le th a n ch allen g e th e correctness of the statem en t th a t histo rical sociological in stitu tio n a l analyses have been neglected, reference is m ade to th e studies by J. H ab erm as. S tru ktu rw an del d er O ffen tlich keit, H . L uchterhand, N euw ied, 1962; H . Pross, M anager und A ktion dre in D eutschland, F ra n k fu rte r Bei-tra g e zu r Soziologie, Bd. 15, E urop aisch e V e rlag san stalt, F ra n k fu rt a. M., 1965.

*• About the prevalence, forms and partly also the causes of destitution and poverty in the USA, see M. Harrington, O ther Am erica, P o verty in the u n ite d

States, (1962).

and practice has become one of the most widespread slogans in the present-day world, where it is being vulagrized in various ways to absurdity, and transformed into an exact opposite of the original idea, and because reason is equally excluded from theory and practice, their thinking merits full attention. Some reference to this was made in the previous chapter, the concept of critical theory being impossible to explan without demonstrating its relationship to practice, so we shall only complement it in our further discussion. Here again it will not be possible to show up all the shades in the standpoints of different thinkers. We can only try to outline the prevalent view in this theoretical current. Their views shall be taken either as an expression of a common standpoint, or as its further elaboration, and in some cases as departure from them.

As a result of the earlier mentioned circumstance that the most influential spokesmen of the critical theory are outside political movements (Marcuse in recent years being an exception), and that they oppose concepts about the role of the theory current in various anticapitalist movements, relationship between theory and practice is generally considered from the theory's viewpoint seeking endorsement for it in philosophical tradition. Opposition to the theory being turned into an instrumental-technical tool of practice, and the criticism of positivist and pragmatist philosophical justifications of this subordination of the theoretical thought are invariably based upon an investigation and interpretation of classical philosophical concepts of reason as the only possible form of a comprehensive rational selfconsciousness and ideative prerequisite for a liberation-bringing-sociohistorical practice. This has been equally true of Horkheimer and Marcuse since the nineteen thirties, and of Habermas in more recent times. Adorno also continued the investigations of philosophical tradition, begun long before the Second World War and for a long time carried out in closest cooperation with Horkheimer.³⁷ On several occasions Marcuse presented clearly and concisely his interpretation of the concept of reason in the bourgeois philosophical tradition and in Marxian thought, which was later also done by Habermas. 38 Horkheimer did the same, 39 but he was mainly interested in how the concept of mind and its role in individual and social life changed in the

³⁷ Adorno is more critical both toward the classical German philosophical idealism and towards the phenomenology and the German existentialism than most of the other representatives of the critical theory. Apart from unanimity in the assessment of the contemporary positivism, an exhaustive study could everywhere establish differences between Adorno's and other interpretations of the philosophical tradition and contemporary philosophy, some of which are not insignificant. It is quite possible that some of Adorno's interpretations also imply tacit criticism of the other members of the family.

³⁸ H. Marcuse, "Philosophy and Critical Theory", originally published in German in Zeischrift für Sozialforschung, Vol. VI (1947) quoted according to its translation, H. Marcuse, Negations, Essays in Critical Theory, Beacon Press, Boston, 1969, pp. 135-141. H. Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory, (1941), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, pp. 252-257. J. Habermas, Theorie und Praxis, Luchterhand, Neuwied, 1963, especially pp. 231-239.

³⁹ M. Horkheimer, The Eclipse of Reason, passim; »Zum Begriff der Vernunft«, in the book M. Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, Sociologica II, pp. 193-204.

d in to a n e x a c t o p p o site o f th e o rig in a l id ea, a n d b e c au se re a s o n is e q u a lly e x c lu d e d fro m th e o ry a n d p ra c tic e, th e ir th in k in g m e rits fu ll a tte n tio n. Som e re fe re n c e to th is w as m a d e in th e p re v io u s c h a p te r, th e c o n c ep t o f c ritic a l th e o ry b e in g im p o ssib le to e x p la n w ith o u t d e m o n s tra tin g its r e la tio n s h ip to p ra c tic e, so w e sh a ll o n ly c o m p le m e n t it in o u r f u rth e r d iscu ssio n. H e r e a g a in it w ill n o t be p o ssib le to sh o w u p a ll th e s h a d es in th e s ta n d p o in ts o f d iff e re n t th in k e rs. W e c a n o n ly tr y to o u tlin e th e p r e v a le n t v iew in th is th e o re tic a l c u rre n t. T h e ir v iew s s h a ll b e ta k e n e ith e r as a n e x p re s s io n o f a c o m m o n s ta n d p o in t, o r as its f u r th e r e la b o ra tio n, a n d in som e cases as d e p a rtu re fro m th em.

As a result of thee a rliermentioned circumstancethat th e m o st in f lu e n tia l sp o k e sm e n o f th e c ritic a l th e o ry a re o u tsid e p o litic a l m o v e m en ts (M a rc u se in re c e n t y e a rs b e in g a n e x c ep tio n), a n d th a t th e y o p p ose co n cep ts a bout the role of the theory current invarious anticap ita lis t m o v em e n ts, r e la tio n s h ip b e tw e e n th e o ry a n d p ra c tic e is g e n e ra lly c o n s id e re d fro m th e t h e o r y 's v ie w pointseek ingendorsement for it inphilosophical tra d itio n. Opposition to the theory being turned in to an ins tr u m e n ta l- te c h n ic a l to o l o f p ra c tic e, a n d th e critic ism ofpositivistandpragmatistphilosophicaljustifica tions of this subord in a tion of the theore tical thoughta re i n v a r ia b ly b a sed u p o n a n in v e s tig a tio n a n d in te r p re ta tio n o f c la ssic a l p h ilo s o p h ic a l c o n cepts of re a s o n as the only possible form of a comprehensiver a tional se lf-conscio u sn ess a n d id e a tiv e p re re q u is ite fo r a lib e ra tio n -b rin g in g -s o c io -

h isto ric a l p ra c tic e . T h is h a s b e e n e q u a lly tru e o f H o r k h e im e r a n d M a rc u se since th e n in e te e n th irtie s , a n d o f H a b e r m a s in m o re re c e n t tim es. A d o rn o also c o n tin u e d th e in v e s tig a tio n s o f p h ilo s o p h ic a l t r a d itio n , b e g u n lo n g b e fo re th e S eco n d W o r l d W a r a n d fo r a lo n g tim e c a rr ie d o u t in clo sest c o o p e ra tio n w ith H o r k h e im e r.37 O n s e v e ra l o cc asion s M a rc u s e p re s e n te d c le a r ly a n d co n c ise ly h is in te r p re ta tio n o f th e c o n c ep t o f re a so n in th e b o u rg eo is p h ilo s o p h ic a l tr a d itio n a n d in M a rx ia n th o u g h t, w h ic h w a s la t e r also d o n e b y H a b e r m a s .38 H o r k h e im e r d id th e sa m e ,39 b u t h e w as m a in ly in te re s te d in h o w th e c o n cep t o f m in d a n d its ro le in in d iv id u a l a n d so cial life c h a n g e d in th e 37 Adorno is more critical both tow

ard the classical G erm an philosophical idealism and towards the phenomenology and the G erm an existentialism than most of the other representatives of the critical theory. A part from unanim ity in the assessment of the contem porary positivism, an exhaustive study could everywhere establish differences between A dorno's and other interpretations of the philosophical trad itio n and contem porary philosophy, some of which are not insignificant. It is quite possible that some of A dorno's interpretations also im ply tacit criticism of the other members of the family.

38 H. M arcuse, »Philosophy and C ritical Theory«, originally published in G erm an in Z e isc h rift fiir Sozia lfo rschung, Vol. VI (1947) quoted according to its tran slation, H. M arcuse, N e g a tio n s, Essays in C ritical Theory, Beacon Press, Boston, 1969, pp. 135-141. H . M arcuse, R eason a n d R evo lu tio n , Hegel and the Rise of S ocial Theory, (1941), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, pp. 25 2 -2 5 7 . J. H a bermas, T h e o rie u n d P raxis, L uchterhand, Neuwied, 1963, especially pp. 231-239.

39 M. Horkheimer, T h e E clip se o f R eason, passim; »On the Concept of Reason«, in the book M. Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, Sociologica II, pp. 193-204.

course of European history, which will be referred to a little later, whereas his notions about what is positive in philosophical tradition are less clear and frequently more problematic. 40 We shall therefore take a look at Marcuse's and Habermas's viewpoints.

Reason, according to Marcuse, has been since the seventeenth century the critical device of the bourgeoisie which was in ascendance against the feudal-absolutist order. It assumed various meanings in the course of time, but it always implied a rational structure of the world which can be known, and the possibility of changing reality to suit human needs through practical action based on knowledge. The relationship to nature and social organization in which reason realizes itself should permit a rational satisfaction of human wants and a free development of human abilities. Through education man can become a rational being in a rational world, so that all the laws of individual and social life may develop from a free and autonomous judgement of individuals, independent from any external authority. The idea of reason infers the principle of universality in a twin sense - epistemological and social. The thinking subject is capable of penetrating through the accidents and secrets of nature to the universal and substantive laws and of expressing them in abstract concepts which are not arbitrary constructions of the imagination, and thus can become the instruments of world changing practice. Universality in a social sence is the conviction that reason is a common feature of all men.41 Consequently the freedom of thought is a part of man's essence; it is a prerequisite of moral and political freedom, since reason is not conceived of contemplatively, but its idea implies that one must act according to its apprehension. However, reason was modelled on natural sciences and technical order based on their application. Here, accord-

⁴⁰ There are some highly controversial passages in the interpretation of the character of the objective reason where Horkheimer identifies it with the comprehensive forms of official ideology which at different historical periods su teeded in imposing themselves upon society and in successfully performing socio-integrative functions, irrespective of its epistemological value. Only thus was it possible to equate the official religion and metaphysics and the objective reason. (»Functions which had previously been performed by the objective reason, official religion or metaphysics have now been taken over by the mechanisms of a nameless economic system which reifies. The Eclipse of Reason [Serbo-Croatian translation], p. 40). In the same book, Horkheimer states that "separation of reason from religion meant a further step towards the weakening of its objective aspect.« (p. 19) having in mind the 16th and 17th century in Western Europe, without at the same time examining the epistemological value of the Roman Catholic and Protestant theologies at the time, and without a historically objective assessment of the significance of the differentiation of philosophy and sciences from the official theology – for this is in fact what is primarily the case – for the development of the European thought.

⁴¹ This idea is very resolutely supported by Descartes in his book, A Discourse on Method, which begins with the words: "Good sense is, of all things among men, the most equally distributed; for every one thinks himself so abundantly provided with is, that those even who are the most difficult to satisfy in everything else, do not usually desire a larger measure of this quality than they already possess. And in this it is not likely that all are mistaken: the conviction is rather to be held as testifying that the power of judging a right and of distinguishing truth from error, which is properly what is called good sense or reason, is by nature equal in all men: ... (R. Descartes, A Discourse on Method, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent and Sons, London 1924, p. 3.)

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C o nsequently the freedom of thou ght is a part of man's essence; it is a p rereq u isite of m o ral a n d p o litical freedom, since reason is not conceived of co n tem p lativ ely, b ut its id ea im plies th a t one m ust act accord in g to its app reh en sion. How ever, reason w as m odelled on n a tu ra l sciences a n d tech n ical o rd e r b ased on th eir a p p lication. Here, ac cord 40 There are some h ig h ly co n tro v e rsia l passages in the in terp re ta tio n of the ch ara c te r of the obje ctiv e reason w here H o rk h e im e r id en tifies it with the comprehensive forms of official ideology which at d iffe re n t histo rical p eriods succeeded in im posing them selves upon society a n d in successfully p e rfo rm in g so cio-integrative functions, irre sp e ctiv e of its ep istem ological value. O nly thus was it possible to eq u ate the o fficial re lig io n a n d m etaphysics an d th e objectiv e reason. (»Functions w hich h a d previo u sly been p e rfo rm e d b y the o b jectiv e reason, official religion or m etaphysics h av e now been tak en o ver b y th e m echanism s of a nam eless economic system w hich reifies«. T h e E clipse o f Reason [S e rb o -C ro atian tra n sla tio n], p. 40).

In the same book, Hork heimer states that » separation of

reason from religion m eant a fu rth e r step to w a rd s the w eakening of its o b jectiv e aspect«, (p. 19) hav in g in m ind the 16th a n d 17th c en tu ry in W e ste rn Europe, w ith o u t a t the sam e tim e e x am ining th e epistem oloincal va lu e of the R om an C ath o lic a n d P ro te sta n t theologies a t th e tim e, a n d w ith o u t a h isto ric a lly o b jectiv e assessm ent of the significance of th e d iffe re n tia tio n of philosophy an d sciences from the offic ial theology - fo r this is in fa ct w h a t is p rim a rily th e case - fo r the d ev elopm ent of the E u ro p ean thought.

41 Th is ide a is very resolutely supported by Descartes in his book, AD iscourse on Method, which begins with the words: »Good sense is, of all things among men, the most equally distributed; for every one thinks him self so abundantly provided with is, that those even who are the most difficult osatisfy in every thingelse, do not usually desire a larger measure of this quality than they already possess. And in this it is not likely that all are mistaken: the conviction is rather to be held as testifying that the power of judgingarightand of distinguishing truth from error, which is properly what is called good sense or reason, is by nature equal in all men; ...« (R. Descartes, AD iscourse on Method, Every man's Library, J. M. Dent and Sons, London 1924, p. 3.)

ing to Marcuse, lies the root of conformist scepticism in modern rationalism which restricts reason to a technical relationship with nature. Typical bourgeois philosophers - Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte - make a compromise between their philosophical rationalism and the obvious irrationality of social relationships, because they make reason and freedom a private matter of the individual which can be reconciled with a contrary social environment. Hegel, in contrast, sees the vindication of reason in social and political institutions, above all in the state.42 Without disputing the bourgeois character of these conceptions of reason, Marcuse explains why they are not just a mere ideology. They express concern for the rights of the individual who protests against the existing reality, because in his thoughts we sees himself free and rational. Demanding that the world should be shaped freely by men who are capable of thought, the classical philosophy aspires toward a social order in which individuals would jointly organize their life, according to their needs. Beside safeguarding the rights and freedom of individuals, they would also care for their happiness and resist the subjection of the individual to apparent collectives.⁴⁸ Hence reason, that basic category of philosophical thought, connotes the idea of a true being which incorporates all the basic contradictions (between subject and object, essence and appearance, thought and being) with the conviction that the existing world is not inherently rational but can be made so.44

In his interpretations of philosophical tradition, where he challenges the positivist limitation of reason to intellectual ability, as evidenced in the search for a technically usable knowledge and its efficient technological application, in other words in a functional rationality which considers only the efficiency of means for the achievement of determined goals, detached from a rational judgement and evaluation, Habermas also emphasizes the integral theoretical and at the same time practical meaning of reason in philosophical tradition. Since positivism does not deny that intellectual abilities and theoretical thinking are characteristics of reason, but on the contrary defines reason as such, in his criticism of positivist conceptions Habermas dicusses the consequences of separating intellect from practical motivations and impulses in which intellect may develop into reason. Reason in philosophical tradition, according to Habermas, is equally inseparably related with the collective endeavour to remove ideative obstacles (prejudices, errors, delusions, dogmatism, ideological illusions and apologetical manipulation with ideas), which hamper progress toward a juster society, and with the craving for a subjective maturity and autonomy of the individual. Reason therefore invariably thrives in social resistance, and boldness is one of its indispensable psychical prerequisites. »Reason subsists from this temerity to be rational, from that sapere aude which Kant put forward as a motto to his answer

⁴² H. Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory, (1941), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, pp. 256-257.

⁴³ H. Marcuse, "Philosophy and Critical Theory" (Negations, Essays in Critical Theory), Beacon Press, Boston 1969, pp. 138-141.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 135-136.

phers-Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte-makeacompromisebetweentheirphilosophicalrationalismandtheobviousirrationality of socialrelationships, becausetheymakereasonandfreedomaprivatematteroftheindividualwhichcanbereconciledwithacontrarysocialenvironment. Hegel, incontrast, seesthevindicationofreason insocialandpoliticalinstitutions, aboveall inthestate.42 Withoutdisputingthebourgeoischaracteroftheseconceptionsofreason, Marcuseexplainswhytheyarenotjustamereideology.

They express concern for the rights of the individual w h o p ro te sts a g a in s t th e e x is tin g re a lity, b e c au se in h is th o u g h ts w e sees h im s e lf fre e a n d r a tio n a l. D e m a n d in g th a t th e w o rld sh o u ld b e s h a p e d fre e ly by m en w h o a re c a p a b le o f th o u g h t, th e c la ssic a l p h ilo s o p h y a sp ire s to w a rd a so cial o r d e r in w h ic h in d iv id u a ls w o u ld j o in tly o rg a n iz e th e ir life, a c c o rd in g to th e ir n e e d s. B esid e s a fe g u a r d in g th e rig h ts a n d fre e d o m o f in d iv id u a ls, th e y w o u ld also c a re f o r th e ir h a p p in e s s a n d resist th e s u b je c tio n o f th e in d iv id u a l to a p p a r e n t c o lle c tiv e s.43 H e n c e rea so n, that b a sic category of philosophical though t, co n n o te s th e id e a of a tru e b e in g w h ic h in c o rp o ra te s all the basic contradictions (betweensubject and obje ct, essence and appearance, thoughtandbeing) with th e c o n v ic tio n th a t th e e x is tin g w o rld is n o t in h e r e n tly rationalbutcanbemadeso.44

In h is in terpretations of philosophical tradition, whe re h e c h a lle n g e s th e p o s itiv is t lim ita tio n o f re a s o n to in te lle c tu a l a b ility, as e v id e n c e d in th e s e a rc h fo r a te c h n ic a lly u sa b le k n o w le d g e a n d its e ffic ie n t te c h n o lo g ic alapplication, in otherwords in afunctional rationa lity w h ic h c o n sid e rs o n ly th e e ffic ie n c y o f m e a n s fo r th e a c h ie v e m e n t o f d e te r m in e d g o a ls, d e ta c h e d fro m a rationaljudgementandevaluation, Habermas also em p h a size s th e in te g r a l th e o re tic a l a n d a t th e sam e tim epractical meaning of reason in philosophical trad itio n. S in ce p o s itiv ism d oes n o t d e n y th a t in te lle c tu a l a b ilitie s a n d th e o re tic a l t h in k in g a re c h a ra c te ristic s o f re a s o n, b u t o n th e c o n tr a ry d e fin e s re a s o n as such, in his c ritic ism o f p o s itiv is t co n c ep tio n s H a b e r m a s dicu sses the consequences of separating in tellect fromprac tic a l m o tiv a tio n s a n d im p u lse s in w h ic h in te lle c t m a y d e v e lo p in to re a so n. R e a so n in p h ilo so p h ic a l tra d itio n,

a c c o rd in g to H a b e rm a s , is e q u a lly in s e p a ra b ly r e la te d w ith th e c o lle c tiv e e n d e a v o u r to rem o v e id e a tiv e o b stacles (p re ju d ic e s , e rro rs , d e lu sio n s, d o g m a tism , id e o lo g ic a l illu sio n s a n d a p o lo -

g e tic a l m a n ip u la tio n w ith id ea s), w h ic h h a m p e r p ro g re ss to w a rd a j u s te r society, a n d w ith th e c ra v in g fo r a s u b je c tiv e m a tu r ity a n d a u to n o m y o f th e in d iv id u a l. R e a so n th e r e fo r e in v a r ia b ly th riv e s in so c ia l re sista n c e, a n d b o ld n ess is o n e o f its in d is p e n s a b le p sy c h ic a l p re re q u is ite s. » R e a so n sub sists fro m th is te m e rity to b e ra tio n a l, fro m t h a t sa p e re a u d e w h ic h K a n t p u t f o rw a rd as a m o tto to h is a n s w e r 4* H . M arc u se, R e a so n a n d R e v o lu tio n, H e g e l a n d th e R ise o f S o c ia l T h e o ry, (1941), R o u tle d g e a n d K e g a n P a u l, L o n d o n, 1963, p p . 2 5 6-257.

4S H . M a rcu se, » P h ilo so p h y a n d C r itic a l T h e o ry « (N e g a tio n s, E ssays in C r itic a l T h e o ry), B ea co n P ress, B o sto n 1969, p p . 138-141.

44 I b id ., p p . 135-136.

to the question what enlightenment is. Critical reason acquires ascendancy over incarnated dogmatism just because it understood the will to reason as it own interest«.45 Just because the craving for autonomy and maturity of the individual occurs in conflict with the existing social situation and the ideology which justifies it, it is inseparable from a new and broader feeling of human solidarity and justice. »Reason is undoubtedly equated with talent for maturity and with ability to feel the evils of this world. It is always passionately interested in justice, well-being and peace; dogmatism is opposed by a resolute reason.«46 This is why, Habermas says, traditional philosophy views reason within the spontaneous experience of the individual, uncovering in him the spontaneity of hope, the holding of an opinion, the evaluation of pertinence or irrelevancy of some contents of experience, sensitivity to injusticye and oppression, affective craving for personal maturity, emancipation and happiness because of discovered identity.⁴⁷ In this interpretation of philosophical tradition, reason is understood as self-conscieousness, a free rational view of life experience in which the theoretical and practical aspects are united, without, at least ideally, either of them being permanently subordinated to the other, for rational thought aspires to realization, and practical interest develops into rational attitude to life. The interpretation also holds the view that this conception of reason is very closely related to the idea of historical progress.

It is not essential to test the validity of the above-mentioned interpretations of reason in the tradition of philosophical and socio-political thought from the standpoint of history of ideas and sociology of knowledge. It is certain that it contains elements of idealization, because the historically changeable content of such general concepts as freedom, justice, solidarity, maturity, etc. is not made sufficiently evident. Two other things appear to be much more important. (1) A determinate approach to the past and cultural tradition, as indispensable bases for contemporary critical thought. The latter, namely, relies upon consciously established progressive social aspirations of the past and their thought, and not upon an abstract past and theoretically vague tradition of class, nation, culture. It is obvious that these concepts, especially those of nation and culture, are replete with highly controversial socio-historical contents, that any reference to a general, historically rather undeterminate tradition is highly questionable, and that such an undifferentiated attitude to the past most frequently encourages conservative and reactionary tendencies at the present time. 48

⁴⁵ J. Habermas, Theorie und Praxis, p. 235.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 235.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 239.

⁴⁸ Thus, for example, the nationalist slogan about respect for one's own people, as a prerequisite for the respect of other nations, in practice turns into its own opposite: an uncritical view of the past of one's own nation — without a rational distinction between what was progressive in one's past and approached the progressive aspirations of other nations at that time, and that which once meant regression and resistance to progress and consequently deserves no respect but only an objective explanation and contempt — creates a very convenient ground for fictions and illusions about the exceptional value of one's own nation, by a fanciful embellishment of its past, by an exaggeration and overestimation of its characte-

e crav in g for autonom y a n d m atu rity of the in d iv id u al occurs in conflict w ith the existing social situ atio n a n d th e ideology w hich justifies it, it is inseparable from a new an d b ro ad e r feeling of h u m an solid arity an d justice.

»Reason is u n d o u b ted ly eq uated w ith tale n t fo r m atu rity an d with ab ility to feel the evils of this world. It is alw ays passionately in terested in justice, well-being and peace; dogmatism is opposed by a resolute reason. «46 T h is is w hy, H a b erm as says, tra d itio n a 1 philosophy view s reason w ith in the spontaneous experience of the in d iv id u al, u n covering in him the sp o n tan eity of hope, the h o ld in g of an opinion, the ev alu a tio n of pertin en ce or irre le v a n c v of some contents of ex perience, sen sitivity to inju sticy e an d oppression, affective crav in g for p ersonal m atu rity, em an cip atio n a n d h appiness because of discovered id en tity .47 In this in te rp re ta tio n of p hilosophical tra d itio n, reason is u n d ersto o d as self-conscieousness, a free ratio n al view of life experience in w hich the th eo retical and p rac tic a l aspects a re united, w ith o u t, at least id eally, eith e r of them b eing p e rm a n e n tly su b o rdinated to the other, for ratio n al th o u g h t aspires to realizatio n, and p ractical in terest develops into ratio n al a ttitu d e to life. T h e in te rp re tatio n also holds the view that this conception of reason is v ery closely related to the id ea of histo rical progress.

It is n o t essential to test the v a lid ity of the abov e-m en tio n ed in te rp reta tio n s of reaso n in the tra d itio n of p hilosophical a n d socio-political tho ug h t from the standpoint of history of ideas an d sociology of know ledge. It is c e rta in th a t it co ntains elem ents of id ealization, because the h isto ric a lly ch an g eab le co n ten t of such g en eral concepts as freedom, ju stice, so lid arity, m atu rity, etc. is not m ade sufficiently evident. Two o ther things a p p e a r to be m uch m ore im p o rtan t. (1) A d e term in a te a p p ro a c h to the p a st a n d c u ltu ral tra d itio n, as indispensable bases for contemporary critical thought. The latter, namely, relies u pon consciously estab lish ed p ro gressive social a sp iratio n s of the past a n d th e ir th o u g h t, an d n o t up o n an a b stra ct p ast a n d theo retically v ague tra d itio n of class, n a tio n, cu ltu re. It is obvious that these concepts, especially those of nation and cu ltu re, a re rep lete w ith highly c o n tro versial so cio -h isto rical contents, that any reference to a general, historically rather un d e te rm in a te tra d itio n is h ig h ly questionable, and th a t such a n u n d iffe re n tia te d a ttitu d e to the p ast m ost freq u en tly en courages conserv ativ e a n d re a c tio n a ry tendencies at the p resent tim e.48

4S J . H ab erm as, T h e o rie u n d P raxis, p. 235.

44 Ibid., p. 235.

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48 Thus, for example, then ationalists loganaboutrespect for one's own people, as a prerequisite for the respect of othernations, in practice turns into its own opposite: an uncritical view of the past of one's own nation-without arational distinction between what was progressive in one's past and approached the progressive aspirations of othernations at that time, and that which once meant regressionand resistance to progress and consequently deserves no respect but only anobjective explanation and contempt-creates avery convenient ground for fictions and illusions about the exceptional value of one's own nation, by a fanciful embellishment of its past, by anexaggeration and overestimation of its characte

Critical thought evolves relying on a progressive tradition, because in regressive aspirations there is also a definite continuity which often gives rise to an emulation of the regressive forms of social life from the past.⁴⁹ (2) Yet tradition is sometimes unduly overrated. Habermas seems to see in it the only encouragement for a further development of the critical theory. »Experiences of our age do not support the conviction that civilization of humanity is its strongest tradition. It seems though that sociology must see in an ironical repetition, although without the metaphysical guarantee provided by the natural order, its of criticism only from the conservation of its own critical tradition«.50 critical tasks as in fact conservative ones because it draws the motives This proposition would seem to reflect a very narrow, almost parochial view of the history of our age. If we contemplate contemporary history from a universal rather than a purist perspective, and if we are not obsessed with the concrete conceptions and expectations of the progressive European thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but rather creatively continue its tradition, there is really no reason to see nothing but unfulfilment of these expectations in this age; there are also historical breakthroughs which are at least partially but not insignificantly in accordance with the earlier progressive expectations and therefore can be very much of an impluse to the development of critical thought. Finally, are not failures also a motive for the search of new opportunities? Belief that reliance on progressive thought from the past is sufficient to develop contemporary critical thought is liable to lead to a special form of traditionalism.

Searching for theoretical support in the conceptions of reason developed in the progressive philosophical thought, the protagonists of the critical theory devoted their attention to inconsistencies in these

ristics, together with a usually irrational view of the history of other peoples with whom one's own had been in a close contact, both of which rendering more difficult the integration in the progressive contemporary historical trends.

⁴⁹ An even stronger emphasis on progressive tradition was made by Werner Hofmann, in stating that nothing that once meant a progressive culture is lost forever. »A cultural achievement (including moral achievements) of a historical process is in fact irreversible. Once constructed, the painfully formed image of man with all his possibilities remains, even in the eclipses of history. It may be denied, but never destroyed.« (W. Hofmann, Universität, Ideologie, Gesellschaft, Beiträge zur Wissenschaftssoziologie, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M., 1968, p. 81.) In the Yugogoslav political thought, the works of Ljubomir Tadić show the value of a conscious reliance upon progressive tradition in the development of a progressive contemporary standpoint (see L. Tadić, Poredak i sloboda (System and Freedom), Kultura, Belgrade 1967, hossim)

tura, Belgrade 1967, passim.)

50 J. Habermas, Theorie und Praxis, p. 230. This is not an accidental passage in Habermas's work; this exaggeration of tradition's role appears frequently, so that the mentioned passage has a documentary value for the assumption that such a view of tradition forms the basic, perhaps even pre-theoretical, premises of his thought. In his polemics with H. Albert, Habermas, for example, states that »imagination is formed only in contact with traditions which must first be adopted...«

(J. Habermas, "Gegen einen positivistisch halbierten Rationalismus«, Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 16, Jhrg. (1964), p. 654.) The exclusiveness of this view appears to deny that liberation from tradition is a prerequisite for imaginative comprehension of reality and creation of original visions. It would seem that the role of tradition has also been overemphasized in Habermas's conception of the manner in which experiential, non-theoretical consciousness of social groups is formed.

th e re g re s s iv e fo rm s o f so cial life fro m th e p a s t.49 (2) Y e t tr a d itio n is so m etim es u n d u ly o v e rra te d . H a b e rm a s seem s to see in it th e o n ly e n c o u ra g e m e n t fo r a f u rth e r d e v e lo p m e n t of th e c ritic a l th e o ry . » E x p e rie n c e s o f o u r a g e d o n o t s u p p o rt th e c o n v ic tio n th a t c iv iliz a tio n o f h u m a n ity is its s tro n g e s t tra d itio n . I t seem s th o u g h th a t so cio lo g y m u st see in a n iro n ic a l re p e titio n , a lth o u g h w ith o u t th e m e ta p h y s ic a l g u a ra n te e p r o v id e d b y th e n a tu r a l o rd e r, its o f c ritic ism o n ly fro m th e c o n s e rv a tio n o f its o w n c ritic a l tra d itio n « .50

critical task s as in fact conservative ones because it dra w s th e m o tiv e s T h is p ro p o sitio n w o u ld seem to r e fle c t a v e ry n a rro w, a lm o st p a ro c h ia l v iew o f th e h isto ry o f o u r ag e. I f w e c o n te m p la te c o n te m p o r a r y h isto ry fro m a u n iv e rs a l r a t h e r th a n a p u r is t p e rs p e c tiv e , a n d if w e a re n o t ob sessed w ith the c o n c re te c o n c ep tio n s a n d e x p e c ta tions of the progress ive Europeanthought of the e ig h te e n th a n d n in e te e n th c e n tu rie s, b u t r a t h e r c re a tiv e ly c o n tin u e its tra d itio n, th e re is r e a lly no re a s o n to see n o th in g b u t u n f u lf ilm e n t o f th ese e x p e c ta tio n s in th is age; the re a re also h isto ric alb re akthroughs which a re at le ast partially but not in significantly in accorda n c e w ith th e e a rlie r p ro g re s s iv e ex p e c ta tio n s a n d th e r e for e c a n be v e ry m u ch o f a n im p lu se to th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f c ritic a l th o u g h t. F in a lly, a re n o t f a ilu re s also a m o tiv e fo r th e se a rc h o f n e w o p p o rtu n itie s? B e lie f th a t re lianceonprogressive thought from the past is sufficien t to d e v e lo p c o n te m p o ra ry c ritic a l th o u g h t is lia b le to le a d to a sp e cia l fo rm o f tra d itio n a lis m.

S e a rc h in g fo r th e o re tic a l s u p p o rt in th e c o n c ep tio n s o f re a s o n d e v e lo p e d in th e p ro g re s s iv e p h ilo s o p h ic a l th o u g h t, th e p ro ta g o n ists of th e c ritic a l th e o ry d e v o te d th e ir a tte n tio n to in co n siste n c ie s in th ese ristics, to g e th e r w ith a u s u a lly irr a tio n a l v ie w o f th e h is to r y o f o th e r p eo p le s w ith w hom o n e 's ow n h a d b e e n in a close c o n ta c t, b o th o f w h ich r e n d e r in g m o re d i f fic u lt th e in te g ra tio n in th e p ro g re ssiv e c o n te m p o ra ry h is to ric a l tre n d s.

49 A n e v e n s tr o n g e r e m p h a s is o n p ro g re s s iv e t r a d i t i o n w as m a d e b y W e r n e r H o fm a n n , in s ta tin g th a t n o th in g t h a t o nce m e a n t a p ro g re ssiv e c u ltu re is lo st f o r ever. »A c u ltu r a l a c h ie v e m e n t (in c lu d in g m o ra l ac h ie v e m e n ts) o f a h is to ric a l p r o cess is in fa c t irre v e rs ib le . O n

c e c o n stru c te d , th e p a in f u lly fo rm e d im a g e o f m a n w ith a ll his p o ssib ilitie s rem ain s, ev en in th e eclip ses o f h isto ry . I t m a y b e d e n ied ,

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g o slav political thought, the works of Ljubomir Tadić show the value of a conscious reliance on progressive tradition in the development of a progressive contemporary standpoint (see L. Tadić, Poredakisloboda (System and Freedom), Kultura, Belgrade 1967, passim.)

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(J. H a b e rm a s, » G e g e n e in e n p o sitiv istisc h h a lb ie rte n R atio n a lism u s« , K o ln e r Z e it-

sch rift fiir S o zio lo g ie u n d S o zia lp sy c h o lo g ie , 16, J h r g . (1964), p. 654.) T h e ex c lu siveness of th is view a p p e a rs to d e n y th a t lib e ra tio n fro m tr a d itio n is a p r e r e q u is ite fo r im a g in a tiv e c o m p re h e n sio n o f re a lity a n d c re a tio n o f o rig in a l visio n s. I t w o u ld seem th a t th e ro le of tra d itio n h a s a lso b e e n o v e re m p h a siz e d in H a b e rm a s 's co n ce p tio n o f th e m a n n e r in w h ich e x p e rie n tia l, n o n -th e o re tic a l co n sciousness o f so cia l g ro u p s is fo rm ed .

conceptions which also helped to move the general evolution of European thought in the opposite direction.⁵¹ These investigations have a constitutive significance for the critical theory, since the theory in its original form - Marcuse's thought - and in its contemporary stage is deemed to be the consequence as well as the overcoming of the crisis of the bourgeois philosophy and science. There are certainly some doubts about sociology and about the legitimacy of philosophy as a relatively autonomous form of expressing the critical theory. During the 1930's, the critical theory was regarded as an antipode of the contemporary bourgeois philosophy and sociology which dialectically transcends their tradition and develops it upon new theoretical positions. 52 The critical theory is therefore not a particular science but a historically new form of rational self-consciousness which is built on the basic theoretical premise that socio-economic relationships make up the social being and dialectically determine other conditions of man's life and his activity. At that time Horkheimer was definitely against the critical theory turning into sociology. 53 Later on sociology and philosophy were accepted as relatively autonomous forms of intellectual creativeness, but an emphasis was laid on the necessity for their closest possible interrelation.⁵⁴ It is far more important that the basic principle about what is the continuation and what the overcoming of the conception of reason in the philosophical tradition should, at least on principle, remain unchanged. While reason continues to be regarded as a comprehensive - theoretical and practical - rational self-consciousness, the theory seeks opportunities for the realization of reason in social life. Out of a number of passages which demonstrate the immutability of this basic standpoint, we shall only adduce two. These passages are all the more important since they were not made in passing but in a discussion on the concept of the critical theory and reason. Marcuse wrote in 1937 as follows: »In a world without reason, reason is only a semblance of rationality; in a state of general unfreedom, freedom is only a semblance of being free«.55 This is how Horkheimer explained in 1951 conditions for overcoming the historical gulf between the objective and subjective reason (substantial and functional rationality): »It is only when relationship between man

⁵² See H. Marcuse, "Philosophie and Critical Theory" in H. Marcuse, Negations, Essays in Critical Theory, Beacon Press, Boston, 1969, pp. 134, 141-142; H. Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory, (1941), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, pp. 252, 257.

55 M. Horkheimer, "Traditionelle und kritische Theorie«, p. 289. This conception of the theory makes the qualification "of society" unnecessary, because it deals not only with the study of society, but with man in general, on the assumption that social relationships are primary. It is no wonder that the majority of its most prominent representatives frequently only call it the critical theory.

In the very strict division of a German university into disciplines, the most eminent representatives of this school of thought (Horkheimer, Adorno, Habermas) are simultaneously professors of philosophy and sociology (Horkheimer was until his retirement and Adorno until his death.)

55 H. Marcuse, "Philosophy and Critical Theory (Negations, Essays in Critical Theory), Beacon Press, Boston, 1969, p. 137.

⁵¹ In addition to the above-mentioned works by Horkheimer, Marcuse, Adorno and Habermas, also worthy of note is the book by M. Horkheimer, Th. W. Adorno, Dialektik der Aufklärung, Querido Verlag, Amsterdam, 1947.

in its o rig in al form - M arcuse's tho u g h t - a n d in its contem porary stage is deem ed to be the consequence as well as the overcom ing of the crisis of the bourgeois philosophy a n d science. The ere are certainly some doubts about sociology a n d about the legitim acy of philosophy as a relative ly autonom ous form of expressing the critical theory.

D u rin g the 1930's, the c ritical theo ry w as reg a rd e d as an antipode of the co n tem p o rary bourgeois philosophy a n d sociology which dialectically tran scen d s th eir tra d itio n an d develops it upon new theoretical positions.52 T h e c ritical th eo ry is th erefo re not a p a rticu la r science but a histo rically new form of ra tio n al self-consciousness w hich is built on the basic theo retical prem ise th at socio-econom ic relationships m ake up the social being a n d d iale c tic ally d eterm in e o th er conditions of m an 's life a n d his activ itv. At that time Hork heimer was definitely against the critical th eo ry tu rn in g into sociology.53 L a ter on sociology a n d philosophy w ere accepted as rela tiv e ly autonom ous form s of in tellectu al creativeness, b u t an em phasis was laid on the necessity for th eir closest possible in te rre latio n .54 It is f a r m ore im p o rta n t th at the basic p rin c ip le ab o u t w h a t is th e c o n tin u atio n and what the overcoming of the conception of reason in the p hilosophical tra d itio n should, a t least on prin cip le, rem a in unch an g ed. W h ile reason continues to be reg a rd e d as a com prehensive - th eo retical and p ractical - ratio n al self-consciousness, the th eo ry seeks op p o rtu n ities for the realization of reason in social life. O u t of a n u m b er of passages w hich d em o n strate the im m u ta b ility of this basic sta n d p o in t, we sh all only ad duce two.

These passages a reall the more important since they were not made in passing but in a discussion on the concept of the critical theory and reason. Marcuse wro tein 1937 as follows: »In a world without reason, reason is only a sem blance of rationality; in a state of general unfreedom, freedom is only a sem blance of being freew. .55 This is how Horkheimerex plained in 1951 conditions for overcoming the historical gulf between the objective and subjective reason (substantial and functional rationality): » It is only when relationship between man 51 In addition to the abovement on the abovement on the works by Horkheimer, Marcuse, Adorno and Habermas, also worthy of note is the book by M. Horkheimer, Th. W. Adorno, Dialektikder Aufklarung, Querido Verlag, Amsterdam, 1947.

52 Sce H . M arcu se, » P h ilo so p h ic a n d C ritic a l T h eo ry « in H

. M arcuse, N egations.

Essays in Critical Theory , Beacon Press , Boston , 1969 , pp . 134, 141-142; H. Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory, (1941), Rout-ledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, pp. 252 , 257 .

M M. H ork h eim er, » T ra d itio n c lle u nd kritische T h eorie«, p. 289. T h is conception of the theory m akes the q u a lific a tio n »of society« unnecessary, because it deals not only w ith th e stu d y of society, bu t w ith m an in gen eral, on the assum ption th at social relatio n sh ip s are p rim ary . I t is no w on d er th a t the m a jo rity of its m ost p ro m inent rep resen tativ es fre q u e n tly only call it the critical theory.

M In the very strict division of a German university into disciplines, the most eminent representatives of this school of thought (Horkheimer, Adorno, Hbermas) are simultaneously professional professors of philosophy. sociology (H orkheimer was until his retirement and Adorn ountil his death.)

** H. M arcuse, » P hilosophy a n d C ritic a l T h eo ry (N e g a tio n s, Essays in C ritical T he ory), Beacon Press, B oston, 1969, p. 137.

and man and consequently between man and nature is differently set up than in the age of domination (Herrschaft) and isolation of individuals (*Vereinzelung*), that the breach between the subjective and the objective reason will disappear in unity. This requires work on society as a whole, a historical activity. The inauguration of a social situation in which a man does not become the tool of another is at the same time the realization of the concept of reason, which is now threatened to disappear in the rift between objective truth and functional thinking.«56 This rift which engenders an extraordinary increase of functional rationality in natural sciences and technology, and in recent decades has widened to social sciences within an irrational social framework of exploitation, domination and oppression, as well as its philosophical justification, were the object of inquiry by many adherents of the critical theory. Some reference to this has already been made in connection with Marcuse's ideas in One-Dimensional Man and Horkheimer's The Eclipse of Reason, revealing certain major weaknesses in their theoretical concepts. No attempt will be made in this article to discuss these concepts at length, which is indispensable in the sociology of knowledge. We shall only state as a general observation that these analyses of the development of thought, and especially of sciences, in the new-age European culture, have succeeded better in perceiving certain basic changes in the internal structure and social functions of thought than in placing this development of ideas, in a historically determined manner, in its appropriate socio-historical context. This context has been very roughly outlined or, as with Marcuse, its role has been almost completely neglected; what is more, the development of sciences in its latter stages has been derived from the transcendental characteristics of scientific thought. In the sociology of knowledge there are many reliable analyses of the concrete influence of social conditions upon the development of sciences, their organization and their links with the educational systems in different European countries and time periods, the results of which cannot be overlooked or simply substituted with Scheler's Husserl's or Heidegger's ideas.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ M. Horkheimer, »Zum Begriff der Vernunft«, in the book by M. Horkheimer, Th. W. Adorno, Sociologica II, p. 204.

found in one of Habermas's latest treatises (see J. Habermas, Technik und Wissenschaft als'Ideologie'«, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1968, pp. 48–103). Here, for exeample, it is claimed that interdependence between science and technology did not exist until just before the end of the 19th century, and that modern science had not until then contributed to the acceleration of technical development (p. 73), as if Merton's and other historical studies of sociology of knowledge had not established an active participation of the most prominent scientists and leading scientific institutions in the solution of the technical side of the economic and military problems in England late in the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th centuries. (See R. K. Merton, "Science and Economy of 17th Century England«, in R. K. Merton's book, Social Theory and Social Structure, 2nd edition, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957.) No less astonishing is the statement that in the industrially developed capitalist countries, science and technology assumed the function of vindicating the system, which had been performed by the pre-bourgeois and classical bourgeois ideologies (pp. 74, 76, 88–93). The fetishization of science and technology is no doubt an important factor in the contemporary techno-bureaucratic and bourgeois ideology, but certainly not the only one. For instance, this fetishization appears indeed as a com-

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h a s w id e n e d to so c ia l sciences w ith in a n i r r a tio n a l so cial fra m e w o rk o f e x p lo ita tio n, d o m in a tio n a n d o p p ressio n, as well as its philosophical justification, we re the ob je c t o f in q u ir y b y m a n y a d h e re n ts o f th e c ritic a l th e o ry. Som e r e fe re n c e to th is h a s a lr e a d y b e e n m a d e in co n n e ctio n w ith M a rc u s e 's id e a s in O n e -D im e n s io n a l M a n a n d H o r k h e im e r 's T h e E c lip se o f R e a so n, r e v e a lin g c e rta in m a jo r w e a k nesses in th e ir th e o re tic a l co n cep ts. No a tte mpt will be made in this article to discuss the sec oncepts at length, which is indispensable in the socio logy of k now ledge. We shall on lystate as ageneral ob s e rv a tio n t h a t th ese a n a ly s e s o f th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f th o u g h t, a n d e s p e c ia lly o f sciences, in th e n e w -a g e E u r opeanculture, havesucceededbetterinperceivingc e rta in b a sic c h a n g es in th e i n te r n a l s tr u c tu r e a n d so cial functions of thought han in placing this developm entofideas, in a h is torically determinedmanner, in its appropriate so c io -h isto ric a l context. This context has b e e n v e ry ro u g h ly o u tlin e d or, as w ith M a r cuse, its ro le h a s b e e n a lm o st c o m p le te ly n e g le c te d; w h a t is m o re, th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f sciences in its la t t e r s ta g e s h a s b e e n d e riv e d fro m th e tra n s c e n d e n ta l c h a ra c te ristic s o f s c ie n tific thought. In the sociology of knowledgethere are m a n y re lia b le a n a ly s e s o f th e c o n c re te in flu e n c e of so cial c o n d itio n s u p o n th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f sciences, th e ir org a n iz a tio n a n d th e ir lin k s w ith th e e d u c a tio n a l sy stem s in d iff e re n t E u ro p e a n c o u n tries a n d tim e p e rio d s, the results of which cannot be overlooked or simply su b s titu te d w ith S c h e le r's H u s s e r l's o r H e id e g g e r 's id ea s.57

 $58\ M$. Hork heimer, » Zum Begriffder Vernunft« , in thebook by M. Hork heimer, Th. W. Adorno, Sociologica II, p. 204.

87 Thesameweaknesses in the approach to some of themajor conclusions can be found in one of Habermas 's latest treatises (see J. Habermas, Technikund Wissen-

sch aft als 'Id e o lo g ie 'w , S u h rk a m p , F r a n k f u r t, 1968, p p . 48-108). H e re , f o r e x eam p le, it is c la im e d t h a t in te rd e p e n d e n c e b e tw e e n scie n ce a n d tec h n o lo g y d id n o t e x ist u n til ju s t b e fo re th e e n d o f th e 19th c e n tu ry , a n d t h a t m o d e r n scien ce h a d n o t u n til th e n c o n tr ib u te d to th e a c c e le ra tio n o f te c h n ic a l d e v e lo p m e n t (p. 73), as if M e rto n 's a n d o th e r h is to ric a l stu d ie s of so cio lo g y of k n o w le d g e h a d n o t e s ta b lis h e d a n a c tiv e p a rtic ip a tio n of th e m o st p ro m in e n t sc ie n tists a n d le a d in g sc ie n tific in stitu tio n s in th e s o lu tio n of th e te c h n ic a l sid e o f th e e co n o m ic a n d m ilita r y p ro b le m s in E n g la n d la te in th e 17th a n d a t th e b e g in n in g o f th e 18th ce n tu rie s. (See R. K. M e rto n ,

»S cience a n d E co n o m y o f 17th C e n tu r y E n g la n d « , in R. K. M e rto n 's book, S ocia l

Theory and Social Structure, 2nd edition, The Free Press, Glencoe, 111., 1957.) No less astonishing is this state ment that in the industrially developed capitalist countries, science and technology assumed the function of vindicating the system, which had been performed by the pre-bourgeois and classical bourgeois ideologies (pp. 74, 76, 88 -9 3). The fetishization of science and technology is no doubt an important factor in the contemporary techno-bureaucratic and bourgeois ideology, but certainly not the only one. For instance, this fetishization appears indeed as a com-

The further discussion is limited to that part of critical opposition to the development of European thought towards an increasingly onesided, although technically more efficient functional rationality, which directly affects the development and defence of the critical theory in social sciences. Fully aware that technization is making inroads into all theoretical social sciences, including psychology, and that it is spreading very rapidly, the followers of this school of thought are attempting to explain the meaning of the changes implicit in this process, to dispute its epistemological justifications in the positivist philosophy, and to subject to criticism the methodological principles of technicism in social sciences.⁵⁸ It is pointed out, first of all, that technicism restricst scrutiny in the study of society to technically usable knowledge which consists in determined regularities between variables, on the basis of which their future condition may be anticipated; forecasts serve as a basis for technical intervention and control. Social regularities are envisioned to be analogous with natural laws, losing sight of the fact that the relationship between the general and the particular in society is always historically concrete. Society, as a concrete contradictory whole, remains outside the range of methodological approach and theory; it is theoretically presented as a system of mutually dependent functions; the notion of society is only an abstract general theoretical framework of individual investigations serving to relate established knowledge about specific regularities, mainly in order to extend the possibilities of technical control. This conceptual representation of society disguises its antagonistic character.50 The reluctance to see the concrete historical social totality as a problem and disregard for its influence upon all the particular relationships and phenomena, which suits a conformistic acceptance of the existing society, has a decisive effect on the conception of the nature of scientific experience about man and society, on the interpretation of scientific objectivity and the relationship between the existing reality and optimal possibilities, which will be referred to in the next

ponent part of the ideology of the *American way of life*, but here many purely traditional ideological elements play a vital role; one of them is the glorification of the time and spirit of the *pioneers*. In functionalism as an ideology, another basic bourgeois thesis – the principle of the equivalence of exchange in capitalism – appears to survive. Can anti-communism, which from time to time acquires hysterical forms but is a permanent essence of almost all the bourgeois ideologies, be reduced down to a technocratical consciousness? Racialism, too, – in the name of the *latest* and *undeniable* scientific results – has been spread by many *professors doctors* in the industrially developed capitalist countries. Has science here, too, in its transcendental sense, as Habermas would say, replaced the traditional forms of the bourgeois ideology? At any rate, a pretty good substitution. (Some interesting critical remarks about Habermas's use of twe word *transcendental* have been made in the article by K. Schrader-Klebert, *Der Begriff des Transzendental* bei Jürgen Habermas*, Soziale Welt, 19, Jhrg., (1968) H. 3-4).

so A description of the outward forms of this process and the explanation of its social background generally agree with Mills' analysis in Sociological Imagination. Mills' criticism of the soical roots of the process is more open and more resolute, but less philosophically founded.

This is particularly stressed by Adorno. See Th. W. Adorno, »Soziologic und empirische Forschung«, in the book by M. Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, Sociologica II, pp. 213-214.

ctio n al ratio n ality, which d irectly affects the d evelopm ent an d defence of the critical theory in social sciences. F u lly aw are th a t tech n izatio n is m aking inroads into a ll th eo retical social sciences, in clu d in g psychology, an d th at it is sp re a d in g v ery rap id ly, the follow ers of this school of thought are a tte m p tin g to ex p lain the m ean in g o f the changes im plicit in this process, to disp u te its epistem ological ju stificatio n s in the positivist philosophy, an d to su b ject to criticism the m ethodological principles of technicism in social sciences.58 It is p o inted out, first of all, th at technicism restricst scru tin y in the stu d y of society to technically usable know ledge w hich consists in d eterm in ed reg u larities betw een v ariab les, on the basis of w hich th eir fu tu re condition m av be a n ticip ated; forecasts serve as a basis for tech n ical in terv en tion and control. Social reg u la ritie s are envisioned to be analogous w ith n a tu ra l law s, losing sight of the fact that the relation ship between the general a n d th e p a rtic u la r in society is alw ays h isto rically concrete. Society, as a concrete c o n tra d ic to ry w hole, rem ain s outside the range of method ological approach and theory; it is theo re tic a lly presented as a system of mutually dependen t fu n ctio n s; th e n o tio n of society is only an abstra c t g e n e ra l th eo retical fram ew o rk of in d iv id u a l investigations serv ing to re la te established know ledge about specific reg u larities, m ainly in order to extend the possibilities of technical control. This conceptu al rep re se n ta tio n of society disguises its an tag o n istic c h aracter.50

The reluctance to see the concrete historical social to tality as a problem and disregard for its influence upon all the particular relation ships and phenomena, which suits a conformistic acceptance of the existing society, has a decisive effect on the conception of the nature of scientific experience about manand society, on the interpretation of scientific objectivity and the relationship between the existing reality and optimal possibilities, which will be referred to in the next ponent part of the ideology of the » American way of life«, but here many purely traditional ideological elements play avital role; one of them is the glorification of the time and spirit of the »pioneers«. In functional ismas an ideology, another basic bourgeois thesis - the principle of the equivalence of exchange in capitalism -

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chapter. However, since technical problems are mostly partial, the subordination of social sciences to technical interests causes their increasing fragmentation, which in turn renders even more difficult a comprehensive view of society as well as a deeper inquiry into and the understanding of specific relationships and phenomena. These arguments demonstrate the need to relate sociology more closely to other social sciences. »The autonomy of social sciences is not something "in itself", but is based on reification . . . For this reason the demarcation between these two sciences (sociology and psychology - V. M.) is just as little absolute as the boundary between sociology and economy, or sociology and history. Insight into society as a whole also implies that all factors operating within this totality, and which can never be reduced upon each other without a remainder, must come within knowledge; this insight must not be allowed to be terrorized by the scientific division of work«.60 Yet, cooperation of sciences is not sufficient for the development of critical theory and creation of a theoretical base necessary for unification with practice, in which theory would not play a subordinated instrumental role. »Relationship with philosophy remains a constitutive one for sociology . . . «61 because » without a concern for the destiny of the totality, which must not be spoken of without an idea in the sense of a great philosophy, sociology as a science is sterile, for which it unjustly denounces philosophy«.62 Sociology cannot be confined to the description, classification and explanation of different phenomena and relationships in existing society, nor to its functioning as a system. Its duty is to show how men should live in common, in fact it must assume and continue the so much abominated and underestimated role of enlightenment.63 Having thus conceived the role of sociology and of other theoretical social sciences in unifying theory and practice, the protagonists of the critical theory have resolutely rejected the idea of the so-called value-free social sciences (Wertfreiheit) as a philosophical justification for transforming these sciences into un-autonomous tools of social practice. Their critique of the principle of ethical neutrality has convincingly shown, through an epistemological analysis and by using concrete historical material, that, if consistently implemented, it fully justifies irrational decisionism of social practice, and that this principle shows a tendency to make the functional rationality's predominance in scientific thought all embracing and absolute.64 There is also agreement on a few basic points in elucidating the particular role of theoretical thought in

60 Th. W. Adorno, »Zur Logik der Sozialwissenschaften«, p. 261.

⁶¹ M. Horkheimer, »Soziologie und Philosophie«, in the book by M. Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, Sociologica II, p. 14.

⁶² Ibid., p. 11.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 12, 16.
⁸⁶ Sce J. Habermas, »Dogmatismus, Vernunft und Entscheidung«, in the book Theorie und Praxis, pp. 231-256; J. Habermas, »Analytische Wissenschaftstheorie und Dialektik«, pp. 299-310; W. Hofmann, »Vom Werturteil in der Gesellschaftslehre«, in the book W. Hofmann, Universität, Ideologie, Gesellschaft, Beiträge zur Wissenschaftssoziologie, pp. 67-81. The most voluminous historical analysis of the problem of value-free social sciences may be found in the study by W. Hofmann, Gesellschaftslehre als Ordnungsmacht, Die Werturteilsfrage – heute, Muncker und Humbolt, Berlin, 1961.

ich inturnrendersevenmored iff icultacomprehen siv e v iew o f so ciety as w e ll as a d e e p e r in q u iry in to a n d th e u n d e rs ta n d in g o f s p e cific r e la tio n s h ip s a n d p h e n o mena. The seargum entsdemonstrate the need to rela te so cio lo g y m o re clo sely to o th e r so cial sciences. » T h e a u to n o m y o f so cial sciences is n o t s o m e th in g " in its e lf ", b u t is b a se d on re if ic a tio n . . . F o r th is re a s o n th e d e m a rc a tio n b e tw e e n th ese tw o sciences (so cio lo g y a n d p s y c h o lo g y - V. M.) is just as little absolute as theboundary be tween so cio lo g y a n d e co n o m y , o r so cio lo g y a n d h isto ry . In s ig h t in to so ciety as a w h o le also im p lie s th a t a ll fa c to rs o p e ra tin g w ith in th is to ta lity, a n d w h ic h c a n n e v e r b e r e d u c e d u p o n ea ch o th e r w ith o u t a re m a in d e r, m u st com e w ith in k n o w led g e; th is in sig h t m u st n o t b e a llo w e d to be terrorized by the scientificd iv is ion of work « .60 Yet, co o p e ra tio n o f sciences is n o t s u ffic ie n t f o r th e d e v e lo p m entofcriticaltheory and creation of a theoretical base n e c essa ry fo r u n ific a tio n w ith p ra c tic e, in w h ic h th e o ry would not play as ub ord in a ted in strumental role.» R e la tion ship with philosophy remainsacon stitutive on e fo r so cio lo g y . . . «61 b e c au se » w ith o u t a c o n c ern fo r th e destinyofthetotality, whichmustnotbespokenofw ith out a n id e a in the sen se of a greatphilosophy, so cio lo g y as a science is ste rile, fo r w h ic h it u n ju s tly d e n o u n c es p h ilo s o p h y « .62 S o cio lo g y c a n n o t be c o n fin e d to th e description, classification andexplanation of differe n t p h e n o m e n a a n d re la tio n s h ip s in e x is tin g society, n o r to its fu n c tio n in g as a sy stem. Its d u ty is to show how men should live in common, in factit must a ssume and con tin u e th e so m u ch a b o m in a te d a n d u n d e re s tim a te d ro le of e n lig h te n m e n t.63 H a v in g th u s co n c eiv e d th e ro le o f so cio lo g y a n d o f o th e r th e o re tic a l so cial sciences in u n ify in g theo ry and practice, the protagon ists of the critic altheoryhaveresolutelyrejectedtheideaoftheso-ca lle d v a lu e - fr e e so cial sciences (W e r tfr e ih e it) as a p h ilo s o phicaljus tification for trans for ming these sciences in to un - a u to n o m o u s to o ls o f so c ia l p ra c tic e. Th e ir c ritiq u e of the principle of e thical neutrality has convincing ly show n, th ro u g h a n e p iste m o lo g ic a l a n a ly s is a n d b y u s in g c o n c re te h isto ric a l m a te ria l, th a t, if c o n s is te n tly im p le m e n te d, it fu lly ju stifie s irr a tio n a l d e c isio n ism o f so cial p ra c tic e, a n d th a t th is p r in c ip le show s a te n d e n c y to mak e th e functionalrationality's predominance in sc ie n tific thoughtallembracingandabsolute.64 Ther e is also a g re e m e n t o n a few basic p o in ts in e lu c id a tin g th e p a r tic u la r ro le o f th e o re tic a l th o u g h t in 80 T h . W . A d o rn o , » Z u r L o g ik d c r S o z ia lw is s e n s c h a fte n « , p. 261.

 $81\ M$. H o rk h e im e r, » S o z io lo g ie u n d P h ilo s o p h ic « , in th e b o o k b y M . H o rk h e im e r, T . W . A d o rn o , S o c io lo g ic a II, p. 14.

82 Ibid., p. 11.

88 I b id ., p. 12, 16.

84 See J . H a b e rm a s, » D o g m atism us, V e rn u n ft u n d E n tsch e id u n g « , in th e book

Theory and Praxis, pp. 10-11. 2 3 1 -2 5 6; J Habermas, » Analysis of Science Theory and Dialectic «, pp. 107-1 299-310; W Hofmann, »V om W e r t u r te i l i n d e r Gesellschaftslehre«, in the book W Hofmann, University, Ideological, Gesellschaft, Beitragezur Wissenschaftssoziology, pp. 6 7 -8 T h e m o st v o l u m i n o u s h i s t o r i c a l a n a l y si s o f t h e p r o b le m o f value-free social sciences may be found in this study by W . H o f m a n n,

Gesellschaftslehreals Ordnungsmacht, Die Werturteils Frage-heute, Munkerund Humboldt, Berlin, 1961.

establishing a rational unity between theory and practice. In the first place this applies to the idea that the critical theory derives from contradiction between what exists and what is possible, in terms of a reasonable optimality. Adorno expresses this viewpoint by stating that theory »must dissolve the rigidity of the here and now hardened object in the tension between what is possible and what is real«.65 Marcuse, describing critical theory as a project of historical practice, 66 also believes that it differs from other projects by its tendency to develop that opportunity in which available social resources may be used »for the optimal development and satisfaction of individual needs and faculties with a minimum of toil and misery«. 67 The word project, which is also used by Sartre, must not be taken as a minutely elaborated technical plan. Horkheimer specifically warns against this.68 Project is a conceptual and theoretical vision of a social order which is the negation of the established order. The explanation of the negation also implies the possibility of a practical overcoming of the established form of society. Itself necessarily dialectical, the notion of project unifies the basic determinants of a future society, while drawing attention to probable contradictions in its implementation, with a frankness which would leave emancipated practice sufficient room for a creative resolution of various concrete problems, and would theoretically make possible various historical concretizations of the basic concept. Thus conceived, theory corresponds to the classical concept of »instruction for action«. The negation of the existing form of society must arise within it and develop as its crisis worsens. We have seen that the theory's role in this historical process consists in emancipating social forces which on account of their objective situation are a negation of the established form of society, and in freeing their creative potentials.

Habermas further develops this classical idea by stressing the fundamental difference between technology and practice, these being essentially different methods of establishing the relationship between subject and object. In the briefest possible outlines, his standpoint consists of the folowing. In technology the relationship between subject and object is entirely an external one. A subject is interested only in that knowledge about the object which he expects will ensure his effective influence upon it – its change or control – in accordance with his own needs, interests and aims. The logic of technical knowledge and its use has developed almost to perfection in modern natural sciences and in technology based upon them. However, as mentioned previously, technical knowledge has spread in recent decades to social sciences as well, thus increasing the possibilities and efficiency of manipulating men and social groups. Practice is only possible among men, and relationship to nature appears in it only after it had been

⁴⁵ Th. W. Adorno, Soziologie und empirische Forschung«, p. 206.
46 H. Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society (1964), Beacon Press, Boston, 1968, pp. XVI, 219-220.
47 Ibid., p. XI.

Ibid., p. XI.
 »Philosophy is neither a tool nor a technical project. It can only suggest the path of progress as determined by logical and real necessities«. (M. Horkheimer, The Eclipse of Reason, [Serbo-Croatian translation] p. 145.)

term s of a reasonable o ptim ality. A d o rn o expresses this view point by statin g th at th eory »m ust dissolve the rig id ity of the h ere an d now hard en ed object in the tension betw een w h at is possible and w h at is real«.65

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P ro je c t is a conceptual a n d th eo retical vision of a social o rd er which is the n e g atio n of the established o rd er. The explan atio n of the n eg ation also im plies the possibility of a p rac tic a l overcom ing of the established form of society. Itse lf necessarily d ialectical, the notion of p ro je c t unifies the basic d e te rm in a n ts of a fu tu re society, w hile d ra w ing a tte n tio n to p ro b ab le c o n trad ictio n s in its im p lem entation, w ith a fran k n ess w hich w ould leave e m an cip ated p ractice sufficient room for a creativ e reso lu tio n of vario u s concrete problem s, an d w ould th eo retic a lly m ake possible vario u s histo rical concretizations of the basic concept. Thus conceived, theory corresponds to the classical concept of »instru ction fo r action«. The neg ation of the existing form of society m ust arise w ith in it a n d d ev elop as its crisis worsens. W e have seen that the theory's role in this historical process consists in e m an cip a tin g social forces w hich on account of th eir objective situ atio n are a n e g a tio n of the established form of society, a n d in freein g th eir creativ e poten tials.

H a b e rm a s fu rth e r develops this classical id ea by stressing the fu n d a m e n ta l d iffe re n c e b etw een technology an d p ractice, these being essen tially d iffe re n t m ethods of estab lish in g the relatio n sh ip betw een sub ject a n d object. In the briefest possible outlines, his stan d p o in t consists of the folow ing. In technology the relatio n sh ip betw een subject t a n d object is e n tirely a n e x te rn a l one. A su bject is in terested only in th a t k n o w ledge about the o bject w hich he expects will ensure his effective influ en ce upon it its chan g e o r co ntrol - in accordance with his ow n needs, in terests

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- •* Th. W. Adomo, So ciology and Empirical Research«, p. 206
- •• H . M arcuse, One D im ensional M an, S tudies in the Ideology of A dvan ced In d u stria l Society (1964), B eacon Press, B oston, 1968, pp. X V I, 219-220.

« Ibid., p. X I.

" » P hilosophy is n e ith e r a tool n o r a technical p ro jec t. It can only suggest the p a th of progress as d e te rm in e d by logical an d real necessities«. (M. H orkheim er.

The Eclipse of Reason, [Serbo-Croatian translation] p. 145.) 645

mediated by social relationships, or more precisely, by the satisfaction of human needs and interests. Practice exists only if there is an established unity between the subject and object, i. e. if individual and collective participants in a mutual relationship and influence are aware of their true significance, if they have comprehended this meaning from the standpoint of their needs and interests, and if they can freely regulate their mutual relationships. Criterion of functional rationality as applied in technology, i. e. an efficient utilization of the means to achieve the subject's ends, is in practice replaced with substantial rationality: the emancipation of the participants, their autonomy, maturity and individuation. These criteria can only be realized by promoting communication in a coercion-free society. Any practical influence must respect the existing practical consciousness of the participants. In social sciences, if they are to contribute to the development of practice, a hermeneutical approach is therefore indispensable in order to comprehend the actual consciousness of individuals and social groups, which developed in their earlier experience and under the influence of tradition. This does not mean, however, that the established consciousness should be viewed passively, because individual and collective spontaneity engender a warped consciousness. Criticism of ideology is, therefore, indispensable, but not as a manipulation or indoctrination; the social medium of enlightenment and emancipation is a free public (Offentlichkeit) where all problems are discussed on which a practical decision is to be made. This is how Habermas evidently wishes to solve Marx's apparently insoluble problem about »educating the educators«, by abolishing in the sphere of social practice »educators« as a social group with a specific authority, and replacing them with a collective self-education by mutual communication in a free public.69 This truly democratic idea is, obviously, feasible in inverse proportion to objective inequalities in a society and contradictions arising from them. A critique of the above idea which would move only in this direction would be, however, one-sided and inadequate for as long as the idea of practice is viewed as the opposition of an ideal to a reality in which various technical procedures of domination over men prevail. In the internal relationships of a revolutionary movement, which truly fights for a community of free men, such a notion about the method of solving all practical issues should become a norm at the risk of the movement degrading itself sooner or later into its own negation. In the light of this concretization of the method of establishing the unity of theory and practice, the controversy about Marcuse's thesis on external negation becomes much clearer. Without a possibility of being related with a spontaneously arisen collective consciousness which it could develop further, while at the same drawing various impulses from the collective spontaneity

⁶⁹ Habermas expressed this view about the relationship between theory and practice in several articles, which were later collected in the book J. Habermas, Technik und Wissenschaft als 'Ideologie', but the basic idea can be found already in his book Theorie und Praxis. We have deliberately omitted here some of the objections that could be made against certain concepts and theoretical propositions which he made in developing his thought.

u b je c t a n d o b jec t, i. e. if in d iv id u a l a n d co llec tiv e p a rtic ip a n ts in a m u tu a l r e la tio n s h ip a n d in flu e n c e a re a w a re of the ir trues ignificance, if they havecomprehend ed th is meaning from the standpoint of their needs an d in te re sts, a n d if th e y c a n fre e ly r e g u la te th e ir m u tu a l r e la tion ships. Criterion of function alration a lity as a p p lie d in tech n o lo g y , i. e. a n e ffic ie n t u tiliz a tio n o f th e m ea n s to a c h ie v e th e s u b je c t's en d s, is in p ra c tic e r e p la c edwith substantialrationality: the emancipation of th e p a rtic ip a n ts, th e ir a u to n o m y, m a t u rity a n d in d iv id u a tio n. The secriteriacanonlyberealized bypromotin g c o m m u n ic a tio n in a c o e rc io n -fre e so ciety. A n y p r a c tic a l i n flu e n c e m u st resp e c t th e e x is tin g p r a c tic a l conscio u sn ess o f th e p a r t i c ip a n ts. I n so cial sciences, if th e y a re to c o n trib u te to th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f p ra c tic e, a h e rm e n e u tic a l a p p ro a c h is th e r e fo r e in d is p e n s a b le in ordertocomprehendtheactualconsciousness of ind iv id u a ls a n d so c ia l g ro u p s, w h ic h d e v e lo p e d in th e ir e a rlie r e x p e rie n c e a n d u n d e r th e in flu e n c e o f tra d itio n . This does not mean, however, that thees tablished conscio u sn ess sh o u ld b e v ie w e d p a ssiv e ly, b e c au se in d iv id u a l a n d co lle c tiv e s p o n ta n e ity e n g e n d e r a w a r p e d conscio u sn ess. C ritic is m o f id eo lo g y is, th e re fo re, in d is p ensable, but not as a manipulationorindoctrination ; the so cial mediumofenlightenmentandemancipa tio n is a f re e p u b lic (Offe n tlic h k e it) w h e re a ll p ro b le m s a re d isc u sse d on w h ic h a p r a c tic a l d e c isio n is to b e m a d e. This is how Habermasevidently wishes to solve Mar x's apparently in so luble problemabout

» e d u c a tin g th e e d u c a to rs«, b y a b o lis h in g in th e s p h e re o f so c ia l p r a c tic e » e d u c ato rs« as a so cial g r o u p w ith a s p e cific a u th o r ity, a n d r e p la c in g th e m w ith a c o lle c tiv e s e lf -e d u c a tio n b y m u tu a l c o m m u n ic a tio n in a f re e p u b lic .69 T h i6 tr u ly d e m o c ra tic id e a is, o b v io u sly, fe a s ib le in in v e rs e p ro p o rtio n to o b je c tiv e in e q u a litie s in a so ciety a n d c o n tra d ic tio n s a ris in g fro m th em. A c ritiq u e o f th e a b o v e id e a w h ic h w o u ld m o v e o n ly in th is d ire c tio n w o u ld be, h o w e v e r, o n e -s id e d a n d in a d e q u a te fo r as lo n g as th e id e a o f p ra c tic e is v iew e d as th e o p p o sitio n of a n id e a l to a r e a lity in w h ic h v a rio u s te c h n ic a l p ro c e d u re s o f d o m in a tio n o v e r m en p re v a il. I n th e in te r n a l re la tio n s h ip s o f a r e v o lu tio n a r y m o v em e n t, w h ic h tru ly fig h ts fo r a c o m m u n ity o f f re e m en, such a n o tio n a b

out the method of solving all practical issues should becom e a n o rm a t th e risk o f th e m o v e m e n t d e g ra d in g its e lf so o n e r o r la te r in to its o w n n e g a tio n . I n th e lig h t o f th is c o n c re tiz a tio n o f th e m eth o d o f e s ta b lis h in g th e u n ity of the ory and practice, the controversy about Ma rc u s e 's th esis o n e x te r n a l n e g a tio n becom es m uch c le a re r. With out a possibility of beingrelated with a spontan e o u s ly a ris e n c o lle c tiv e conscio u sn ess w h ic h it c o u ld d e v e lo p f u rth e r, w h ile a t th e sa m e d r a w in g v a rio u s im p u lse s fro m th e c o lle c tiv e s p o n ta n e ity e# H a b e r m a s e x p re sse d th is v iew a b o u t th e r e la tio n s h ip b e tw e e n th e o r y a n d p ra c tic e in s e v e ra l a rtic le s, w h ic h w e re la te r c o lle c te d in th e b o o k J . H a b e rm a s, 7 e c h n ik u n d W is s e n s c h a ft als 'I d e o lo g ic ', b u t th e b asic id e a c an b e fo u n d a lr e a d y in h is b ook T h e o r ie u n d P ra x is. W e h a v e d e lib e ra te ly o m itte d h e r e so m e o f th e o b je c tio n s th a t c o u ld b e m a d e a g a in s t c e rta in c o n cep ts a n d th e o re tic a l p ro p o sitio n s w h ic h h e m a d e in d e v e lo p in g h is th o u g h t.

of the revolutionary movenmet, the theory could operate only as a tool of external manipulation and would soon transform itself into a specific kind of technocratic and/or bureaucratic consciousness. Unfortunately, Habermas's analyses of internal revolutionary possibilities in industrially developed capitalist societies do not differ much from those of Marcuse.⁷⁰

There is a very widespread thought in the critical theory that support for the unity of theory and practice does not mean wanting to strengthen the activism of practice, especially in developing forces of production and in political life, as almost all other Marxist currents interpret the advantages of this unity. Marcuse, for example, believes that the rate of technological development, which in developed countries is showing a tendency of ever greater acceleration, should be slowed down. This is one of the requirements of his thesis about »pacifying the struggle for existence«, which is fundamental to his »historical project«.71 Horkheimer held somewhat similar viewpoints earlier, but he did express scepticism in regard to political activism.⁷² It is not easy to explain all the factors affecting these standpoints. It is certain that we must take into consideration senseless abuses of technology for destructive, oppressive and manipulative purposes, numerous obvious irrationalities in production and in the social functions of consumer goods. This already contains a measure of awareness of the increasing application of typically manipulative methods in massive political action, especially when it acquires dynamic forms. All this gives rise to a critical attitude toward the technocratic myth about the development of technology as a decisive factor of social progress and prompts thinking about more sensible forms of exploiting the enormous technological possibilities, but it does not justify the conservative idealization of some past forms of social life and relationships existing in them. Furthermore, Marcuse rightly points out that a change in the ratio between the time filled with work necessary for subsistence and the time of leisure in the life of men calls for a reexamination of the criteria of rationality wich have historically arisen under the pressure of the overwhelming necessity for work. Rationality within the framework of compulsion is vitally different from rationality within freedom. It is an old rule that we must not make a virtue of necessity.

EXPERIENCE AND IMAGINATION

The conception of the nature of society and the basic practical interest leading to its study have a very strong effect upon the epistemological definitions of scientific experience about society and scientific objectivity. This view is bound to cause opposition and to be interpreted as a defence of relativism. For this reason we should at-

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⁷⁶ See Habermas, Technik und Wissenschaft als 'Ideologie', pp. 84-103.

⁷¹ H. Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, especially chapters 9 and 10.

n See M. Horkheimer, The Eclipse of Reason, (Serbo-Croatian translation) pp. 159-162.

consciousness. U n fo rtu n ately , H a b e rm a s's analyses of in te rn al rev o lu tio n ary possibilities in in d u stria lly d eveloped c ap italist societies do not d iffe r much from those of M arcuse.70

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»historical p ro je c t« .71 H o rk h eim er h eld som ew hat sim ilar view points ea rlie r, b u t he d id express scepticism in re g a rd to political activism .72

It is not easy to e x p la in a ll the factors a ffe c tin g these standpoints. It is c e rta in th a t we m ust tak e into co n sid eratio n senseless abuses of technology fo r destructive, oppressive a n d m an ip u lativ e purposes, n u m erous obvious irra tio n a litie s in p ro d u ctio n a n d in the social functions of consum er goods. T h is a lre a d y contains a m easure of aw areness of the in creasing a p p lic a tio n of ty p ic a lly m an ip u lativ e m ethods in m assive p olitical action, especially w h en it acquires d y nam ic form s. A ll this gives rise to a critical a ttitu d e to w a rd the tech n o cratic m yth about th e dev elo p m en t of technology as a decisive fac to r of social progress a n d pro m p ts th in k in g ab o u t m ore sensible form s of ex p loiting the enorm ous tech n o lo g ical possibilities, b ut it does n ot ju stify the conse rv a tiv e id ea liz a tio n of some p ast form s of social life a n d rela tio n ships ex istin g in them . F u rth e rm o re, M arcuse rig h tly points out that a change in the ratio between the time filled w ith w ork necessary for subsistence a n d th e tim e of leisure in th e life of m en calls for a re ex a m in a tio n of the c rite ria of ra tio n a lity w ich hav e histo rically arisen u n d e r th e pressu re of the o v erw h elm in g necessity for work. R a tio n a lity w ith in the fram ew o rk o f com pulsion is v ita lly d iffe re n t from r a tio n a lity w ith in freedom. It is a nold rule that we must not make a virtue of necessity.

The conception of the nature of society and the basic practical in terest lead in g to its study have a very strong effect upon the epistem ological definitions of scientific experience about society and scientific objectivity. This view is bound to cause opposition and to be in terpreted as a defence of relativism. For this reason we should at-

[™] See Habermas, Technology and Science as 'Ideologic', pp. 84-103.

71 H . M arcu se, O ne D im en sion al M an, esp ecially ch a p te rs 9 a n d 10.

71 See M Horkheimer, The Eclipse of Reason, (Serbo-Croatian translation) pp.

159-162.

tempt a clearer explanation of its meaning, since in the critical theory it had always been counterposed to relativism. Let us see why we must distinguish epistemological definitions of experience and criteria of objectivity both of empirical data and of theoretical propositions in that scientific school which departs from the assumption that society is based on a spontaneous consensus and approaches it statically and with a conservative practical interest, from the other school of thought which presupposes that society is an antagonistic totality in all of whose relationships there is compulsion, but in its contradictions there are forces of radical transformation, and which believes that the main role of the theory is to make these social forces conscious. To clarify this position, we must define the concept of being static. Being static does not and cannot mean being hostile to all changes. Various highly dynamic social changes must be taken into consideration. It is assumed that they do not lead to a change in the basic social relationships of the existing society. Being reduced to quantitative changes of qualitatively immutable constants of the social system, or to that which in comparison with its essential features is inconsequential and accidental, dynamics turns into statics.78 In the first instance scientific experience consists in a direct reflection of the existing reality and in an indirect examination of some of its structural relationships, which are not immediately evident from empirical experience. As the result of a static conception of society and conservative practical interests which lead cognition, experience duplicates a given social reality. All facts which are in accordance with the established form of society are regarded as normal and are therefore theoretically non-problematic. Phenomena which variously express social contradictions are interpreted as departures from a normal situation, as pathology. Practical interest requires them either to be reintegrated in the normativeinstitutional framework of the system or, failing this, to be removed, by isolation or suppression. It is only indirectly, as they increase efforts by the ruling forces of the system to remove disturbances and friction in the functioning of the system thus restoring its equilibrium, that negative phenomena may be considered to have a positive role. One of the most important prerequisites for a successful functioning and reproduction of the system is to instill its general and particular needs and their ideological justification in the consciousness of individuals through socialization, if possible to that extent that they should become their »second nature», making it impossible for them to realize, on the basis of a more independent personal experience, their position within the system. With this aim in view the ruling forces of the system, using various methods of compulsion and taking advantage of their superiority in having control over the means of wielding influence, are trying to implant in the consciousness of individuals and into the collective conceptions of all social groups their own interpretations of the nature of the social system, of the opportunities

⁷³ This relationship between statics and dynamics in Comte's theory of the bourgeois society has been stressed by Adorno in his article *Uber Statik und Dynamik als soziologischen Kategorien«, in the book M. Horkheimer, Th. W. Adorno, Sociologica II, pp. 223–240.

g ic a l d e fin itio n s o f e x p e rie n c e a n d c rite r ia o f o b je c tiv ity b o th of e m p iric a l d a ta a n d o f th e o re tic a l p ro p o sitio n s in t h a t sc ie n tific school w h ic h d e p a rts fro m th e a s su m p tio n t h a t so ciety is b a se d o n a s p o n ta n e o u s c o n sen su s andapproachesit statically and with a conservative p r a c tic a l in te re s t, fro m th e o th e r school o f th o u g h t w h ic h p resu p p o se s th a t so ciety is a n a n ta g o n is tic to ta lity in a ll o f w h o se r e la tio n s h ip s th e r e is c o m p u lsio n, b u t in its c o n tra d ic tio n s th e re a re fo rces o f r a d ic a l tra n s fo r m a tion, and which be lieves that the main role of the the o ry is to mak e th ese s o c ia l fo rc e s conscious. T o c la r if y th is p o sitio n, w e m u st d e fin e th e c o n c ep t o f b e in g sta tic. B e in g s ta tic d oes n o t a n d c a n n o t m e a n b e in g h o s tile to a ll changes. Various highlydynamic so cial changes must b e ta k e n in to c o n s id e ra tio n . I t is a s su m e d t h a t th ey do n o t le a d to a c h a n g e in th e b a sic s o c ia l r e la tio n s h ip s o f th e e x is tin g so ciety. B e in g re d u c e d to q u a n tita tiv e c h a n g e s o f q u a lita tiv e ly im m u ta b le c o n s ta n ts o f th e so c ia 1 sy ste m, or to that which in comparis on with its es sen tia l fe a tu re s is in c o n s e q u e n tia l a n d a c c id e n ta l, d y n a m ic s tu rn s in to s ta tic s .73 I n th e f ir s t in sta n c e sc ie n tific e x p e rie n c e con sists in a d ire c t r e f le c tio n o f th e e x is tin g r e a lity a n d in a n in d ire c t e x a m in a tio n o f so m e o f its s tr u c tu r a l r e la tio n s h ip s, w h ic h a re n o t im m e d ia te ly e v id ent from empirical experience. As the result of as tatic conceptionofsociety and conservative practical in te re s ts w h ic h le a d c o g n itio n, e x p e rie n c e d u p lic a te s a g iv e n so c ia l r e a lity. A ll fac ts w h ic h a re in a c c o rd a n c e with the established form of society areregarded as nor malandare there for e theore tically non-problematic

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O n e o f th e m o st i m p o r ta n t p re re q u is ite s fo r a su ccessfu l f u n c tio n in g a n d r e p r o d u c tio n o f th e sy ste m is to in s

till its g e n e ra l a n d p a rtic u la r ne e d s a n d th e ir id e o lo g ic a l ju s tif ic a tio n in th e con scio u sn ess o f in d iv id u a ls th ro u g h so c ia liz a tio n, if p o ssib le to that extent that they sho u ld becom e th e ir » seco n d n a tu re », m a k in g it im p o ssib le for the m to realize, on the basis of a more in dependent personalexperience, theirpositionwithinthesystem. W it h th is a im in v iew ther u ling forces of the system, us ing v a rio u s m eth o d s o f co m p u lsio n a n d ta k in g a d v a n ta g e of the ir superiority in having controlover the meanso f w ie ld in g in flu e n c e, a re try in g to im p la n t in th e conscio u sn ess o f in d iv id u a ls a n d in to th e c o lle c tiv e co n c ep tio n s of all social groups their own interpretations of then a tu r e o f th e so cial sy stem, o f th e o p p o rtu n itie s 73 T h is r e la tio n s h ip b e tw e e n s ta tic s a n d d y n a m ic s in C o m te 's th e o r y o f th e b o u r g eois so ciety h a s b ee n stre sse d b y A d o m o in h is a r tic le » O b e r S ta tik u n d D y n a m ik als so z io lo g isc h en K a te g o rie n «, in th e book M. Hork heimer, Th. W. A domo, Sorio-

lo g ica I I, p p. 2 2 3 -240.

offered by it. Many schools of statically conservative thought do not conceal the role of social compulsion in the establishment of social relationships, in the creation of general contents of collective consciousness and in the maintenance of the system; instead they try to explain and justify them by means of different theories: by infering compulsion from the spontaneously established ideative and valuenormative concensus (Durkheim and the spiritualist current in functionalism); by an irremovable and radical difference between capabilities of the ruling minorities and the rest of society (Pareto and related elistic theories); by immanent imperatives of technology (Gehlen, Schelsky and, although with different historical perspectives, Marcuse, and a branch of vulgar Marxism). In the concept of experience which arises in methodological transformations of statically conservative theories, general, esesntial and constitutive in a social phenomenon is that which is engendered by social compulsion; this concept, however, overlooks the dialectically contradictory relationship between the general and the particular, society and the individual, which is mediated by the relationship between society and those of its sections to which the individual belongs, and by the individual's position within particular social groups. The concept of experience, »purified« by theoretical assumptions and research procedures from different concrete social contradictions and tensions, suits conservative practical interest. At the end of the last century Durkheim very consistently developed this methodological view about the character of experience of society upon which sociology as a positive science should be built. A social phenomenon is sociologically relevant (»social fact«) only inasmuch as it contains social compulsion: as vis major it stands above individuals, it is independent of them and acts with the inexorability of a natural force. 74 The statical conservative theory of experience is only interested in what is general in phenomena, in other words in that which reveals the most important prerequisites of the functioning and conservation of the social system. In its own concept of experience, it seeks to separate the general elements in phenomena from the concrete manner in which they are expressed. This is particularly evident in a pronounced contempt for individualized forms of manifesting social phenomena. The social is mechanically separated from the individual and the latter is regarded as purely accidental and subjective, hence unsuitable for scientific empirical evidence. Durkheim's conception of scientific experience is in this respet very

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o ffered by it. M any schools of static ally conservative thought do not conceal the role of social compulsion in the establishment of social relation ships, in the creation of general contents of

¹⁴ »A social fact is to be recognized by the power of external coercion which it exercises or is capable of exercising over individuals, and the presence of this power may be recognized in its turn either by the existence of some specific sanction or by the resistance offered against every individual effort that tends to violate it. One can, however, define it also by its diffusion within the group, provided that in conformity with our previous remarks, one takes care to add a second and essential characteristic that its own existence is independent of the individual forms it assumes in its diffusion... Generality combined with externality may, then, be easier to establish«. (E. Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, quoted according to the book by M. Brodbeck (ed.), Readings in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences, Macmillan, New York, 1968, p. 250.)

collective consciousness a n d in th e m ain ten an ce of th e system; in stead they try to ex p lain a n d ju stify them by m eans of d iffe re n t theories: by infering com pulsion from the sp o n taneously established id eative an d value-n o rm ativ e concensus (D urkheim a n d the sp iritu a list cu rren t in fu nction alism); by a n irrem o v ab le a n d rad ic a l differen ce betw een cap ab ilities o f th e ru lin g m in orities a n d the rest of society (P areto a n d related elistic theories); by im m an en t im perativ es of technology (Gehlen, Schelsky an d, alth o u g h w ith d iffe re n t h isto rical perspectives, M a rcuse, a n d a b ran c h of v u lg a r M arxism). In the concept of experience w hich arises in m eth o d o lo g ical tra n sfo rm atio n s of statically conserv a tiv e theories, g en eral, esesntial a n d co n stitu tiv e in a social p h enom enon is that w hich is engendered by social com pulsion; this concept, how ever, overlooks the diale ctic ally c o n tra d ic to ry relatio n sh ip betw een th e g en e ra l a n d th e p a rtic u la r. society a n d the in d ividual, w hich is m ed ia te d by th e rela tio n sh ip b etw een society andd those of its sections to w hich the in d iv id u a l belongs, a n d by th e in d iv id u a l's p o sitio n w ith in p a rtic u la r social groups. The concept of experience,

»p u rified « by th eo re tic a l assum ptions a n d research procedures from d iffe re n t concrete social co n trad ictio n s a n d tensions, suits conservative p rac tic a l in terest. A t th e end of the last cen tu ry D u rk h eim v ery consisten tly dev elo p ed this m eth o d o lo g ical view about the c h aracter of exp erience of society u p o n w hich sociology as a positive science should be built. A social p h en o m en o n is sociologically rele v a n t (»social fact«) only inasm uch as it co n tain s social com pulsion: as v is m a jo r it stands above in d iv id u als, it is in dependent of them and acts with the inexora bility of a n a tu ra l fo rce.74 T h e s ta tic a l co n servative th eory of ex perien ce is on ly in te reste d in w h a t is g e n e ra l in phenom ena, in other w ords in th a t w h ich reveals th e m ost im p o rta n t p rerequisites of the function in gand conservation of the social system. In its own concept of exp erience, it seeks to sep ara te the g e n e ra l elem ents in phenom ena fro m th e co n crete m an n e r in w hich th ey a re expressed. Th is is particularly evidentina p ro n o u n ced co n tem p t fo r in d iv id u a lize d form s of m an ifestin g social p h e n o m en a. T h e social is m ech an ically sep arated fro m th e in d iv id u a l a n d th e la tte r is re g a rd e d as p u rely accidental a n d su b jectiv e, hen ce u n su ita b le fo r scien tific em p irical evidence.

D u rk h e im 's con ception of scientific ex p erien ce is in this respet very 74 »A social fact is to be re cogn ized by the power of external coercion which it e.-crciscs or is capable of exercising

over in d iv id u als, a n d th e presence of this pow er m ay be re cognized in its tu rn e ith e r by the existence of some specific sanctio n o r by the resistance o ffe re d ag a in st every in d iv id u a l effo rt th a t tends to viola te it. O ne can. h o w ever, d efin e it also by its d iffu sio n w ith in the group, p rovided th a t in con fo rm ity w ith o u r prev io u s rem arks, one takes care to a d d a second and essential c h ara c te ristic th a t ils ow n existence is in d e p e n d e n t of th e in d iv id u al form s u assum es in its d if f u s io n . . . G e n e ra lity com bined w ith ex te rn a lity m ay, then, be easier to establish«. (E. D urk h eim , T h e Rules of Sociological M ethod, quoted acco rd in g to th e book b y M . B rodbcck (ed.), R eadings in th e P hilosophy of the Social

Sciences, McMillan, New York, 1968, p. 250.) 21 PRAXIS

clearly defined.75 It is therefore understandable why Adorno on several occasions illustrated his critique of the statical conservative conception of scientific experience and objectivity by using Durkheim's methodological ideas.76

There is another variant of the statical conservative approach to society and to the conception of scientific experience. It relies upon nominalist tradition and tries to compose society from common characteristics of individuals, overlooking the decisive influence of the social totality and its various mediations in the creation and preservation of the common features of the inidvidual. The conservative character of this school of thought, which is prevalent in the contemporary sociological empiricism, consists in a primary interest for that which in the behaviour and consciusness of individuals suits the normative requirements of the existing society, and particularly the needs for the functioning of its various institutions. At the same time effective procedures are being sought by means of which it would be possible to bring back within the limits of thus outlined requirements that which departs from them in individual behaviour. Objective conditions of the life of men and they themselves as human beings are taken into consideration in investigations only to the extent desirable for ensuring the technical efficiency of the intended intervention. The limits within technical efficiency is expected to move are a priori determined by tolerance for departures in different areas of structure and organization of the established society. In investigations which are directly subordinated to administrative needs, these limits are usually outlined by the terms of reference, so the investigator does not have to examine them theoretically. We must not take this schematically and overlook cases in which, following the results of earlier investigations, often commonsense notions about the limits of tolerance are changed, which means that the role of investigation does not always consist in finding out more effective methods and forms of action within a fully static structural-organizational framework. New and more efficient methods of action invariably demand at least a partial change in the conditions of their implementation. This partial, technical or descriptive form of sociological empiricism is content with a substantially narrow, and in terms of time restricted experience about

⁷⁵ »It remains for sociology to make the same advance, to pass from the subjective stage, which it has still scarcely outgrown, to the objective. Fortunately, this transformation is less difficult to effect here than in psychology. Indeed, psychological facts are naturally given as conscious states of the individual, from whom they do not seem to be even separable. Internal by definition, it seems that they they do not seem to be even separable. Internal by definition, it seems that they can be treated as external only by doing violence to their nature... Social facts, on the contrary, qualify far more naturally and immediately as things... By their very nature they tend toward an independent existence outside the individual consciousnesses, which they dominate«. (E. Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, quoted according to M. Brodbeck, op. cit. p. 253-4.). The following methodological principle is therefore a logical conclusion: »We may lay down the principle that principle is therefore a logical conclusion: "whe may lay down the principle that social facts are all the better suited to be objectively represented as they are completely freed of the individual facts which manifest them«. (E. Durkheim. Les règles de la méthode sociologique, 7. édition, F. Alcan, Paris, 1919, p. 55.)

78 See Th. W. Adorno, "Zur Logik der Sozialwissenschaften«, p. 261; "Notiz über Sozialwissenschaftliche Objektivität«, Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 17. Jhrg. (1965), H. 3; Negative Dialektik, p. 342.

e rie n c e a n d o b je c tiv ity b y u s in g D u rk h e im 's m e th o d o lo g ic a l id e a s .76

There is a nother variant of the statical conservative approach to so ciety and to the conception of scientifice x p e rie n ce. I t relies u p o n n o m in a lis t tra d itio n a n d trie s to compose so ciety from commonch aracteristic sofind iv id u a ls, o v e rlo o k in g th e d e c isiv e in flu e n c e o f th e so c ia l to ta lity a n d its v a rio u s m e d ia tio n s in th e c re a tio n a n dpreservation of the commonfeatures of the inid vidu al. Theconservativecharacterofthis school of though t, which is prevalent in the contemporary sociologica lempiricism, con sists in aprimary in terest for that which in the behaviourand consciusness of individuals suits th e n o rm a tiv e r e q u ire m e n ts o f th e e x is tin g so ciety, a n d p articularly theneeds for the function ingofits various in stitu tio n s. A t th e sa m e tim e e ffe c tiv e p r o c e d u re s a re b e in g so u g h t b y m ea n s o f w h ic h it w o u ld b e p o ssib le to bringbackwith in the limits of thus outlined requireme n ts t h a t w h ich d e p a rts fro m th e m in in d iv id u a l b e h a v io u r. O b je c tiv e co n d itio n s o f th e life o f m en a n d th e y th em se lv e s as h u m a n b e in g s a re ta k e n in to c o n s id e ra tio n in in v e s tig a tio n s o n ly to th e e x te n t d e s ira b le fo r e n s u rin g th e te c h n ic a l e ffic ie n c y o f th e in te n d e d in te rv e n tio n. The limits with intechnicalefficiency is expected to m o v e a re a p rio ri d e te r m in e d b y to le ra n c e fo r d e p a rtu re s in d iff e re n t a re a s o f s tr u c tu r e a n d o r g a n iz a tio n o f th e e s ta b lis h e d so ciety. I n in v e s tig a tio n s w h ich a re d i re c tly s u b o rd in a te d to a d m in is tr a tiv e n e ed s, th ese lim its a re u su a lly o u tlin e d b y th e te rm s o f re fe re n c e, so th e in v e s tig a to r does n o t h a v e to e x a m in e th e m th e o re tic a lly. We must not take this schematic ally and overlo ok cases in which, following the results of earlier in ves tig a tio n s, o fte n co m m o n se n se n o tio n s a b o u t th e lim its of to le rance a rechanged, which meansthat the role o f in v e s tig a tio n does n o t a lw a y s co n sist in fin d in g o u t m o re e ffe c tiv e m eth o d s a n d fo rm s o f a c tio n w ith in a f u lly s ta tic s tr u c tu r a l- o r g a n iz a tio n a l fra m e w o rk. N e w a n d m o re e ffic ie n t m eth o d s o f a c tio n in v a r ia b ly d e m a n d at least apartial change in the conditions of the ir imp le m e n ta tio n. Th is p a rtial, te ch n ic alordes criptive fo rm o f so c io lo g ic a l e m p iric ism is c o n te n t w ith a s u b s ta n tia lly n a rro w, a n d in te rm s o f tim e r e s tric te d e x p e rie n c e a b o u t 75 » I t r e m a in s f o r so c io lo g y to m a k e th e sa m e

a d v a n c e, to p a ss fro m th e s u b je c tiv e sta g e, w h ic h it h a s s till sc a rc e ly o u tg ro w n, to th e o b je c tiv e. F o rtu n a te ly, th is trans form a tion is less d if fic u lt to e ffe c t h e r e th a n in p sy chology. Indeed, p s y chological facts a renaturally g iv e n as conscious s ta te s of the individual, from w hom they donot seem to be even separable. Internal by definition, it seems that they can be treated as external only by doingviolence to their nature... Social facts, on the contrary, qualify farmorenaturally and immediately as things... By their very nature they tend to ward an independent entertains a long to make the individual consciousnesses, which they dominate «. (E. Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method,

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les of the socio logical method, 7. Edition, F. Alcan, Paris, 1919, p. 55.) 78 See Th . W Adorno, » On the Logic of Social Wisdom, p. 2 6 1; » N o tiziiber Sozia lwissen sch a ftlic h e Objectivity«, K o lner Z e itsschrift fiir Sozio logy und

Social psychology, 17. J h r g (1965), H 3; Negative Dialectics, p. 342.

the object of investigation. In technical empiricism it is especially the life conditions of surveyed individuals and social groups that are examined superficially and fragmentarily. This kind of empiricism most frequently analyses the effects of various practical interventions only from the standpoint of their direct aims. In technical empiricism man as a human being and society as a whole are »placed within parentheses«. Adorno's critique of this methodological orientation is mostly justified.⁷⁷ More difficult are generalizations about descriptive empiricism. There prevails a scientifically and practically insignificant factography, of a chronological or statistical type. However, there are also works which give very full and correct images of different spheres of social life, often precisely those where social contradictions are strongly pronounced. Broader theoretical interpretations and explanations of the results of such investigations are possible and useful.

The ideas held by the adherents of the critical theory concerning the characteristics of scientific experience about society are almost always confrontated with the above-mentioned variants of static conservative positivism, but there are no methodological treatises where they have been systematically developed, so as to concrete general methodological principles by the elaboration of special investigational approaches and numerous proceedings which appear and must be coordinated in any approach. Furthermore, in the critiques of different schools of thought in contemporary sociology, particular failings of those which are being criticized are often unreasonably generalized, and sometimes in polemical passion insufficiently corroborated objections are made, and it remains unclear whether it is the wrong utilization of a method, e. g. quantification, that is being criticized, or if the procedure itself is being disputed.⁷⁸ However, the critical theory contains a number of very important passages about scientific experience on society and man. In critiques against restrictive approach to social reality in empiricism it has been pointed out that atomic empirical data are no basic facts but have been socially mediated. They express some general social relationships in a more or less mediated manner, so the data are scientifically almost useless unless the mediations are methodically determined. Up to here the critique of limited empiricism agrees with the concepts of global conservative theories. Essential differences between the critical and the latter theories emerge from an antagonistic conception of social totality. The biggest objection to systematic conservative theories is that their conception of experience is subordinated to attempts to facilitate superficial generalizations about social regularities which conceal various social contradictions and antagonisms. What is in these theories an uncontroversial expression of society's general characteristics, in Adorno's interpretation becomes the most important problem of the critical theory. » What we need is an explanation of homogeneity itself, inasmuch as human behaviour is subject to the laws of large numbers, rather than its ab-

⁷⁷ See especially Th. W. Adorno, »Soziologie und empirische Forschung«, passim, and Soziologische Exkurse, chapters I, II, III.

⁷⁸ Many examples of this kind may be found in Horkheimer's book, The Eclipse of Reason.

empiricism m ost freq uen tly analyses the effects of various practical interventions only from the stand point of their directaims. In technical empiricism man as a human being and society as a whole are »placed within parentheses«. Adorno's critique of this methodological orientation is mostly justified. 77 More difficult are generalizations about descriptive empiricism. The reprevails a scientifically and practically in significant factography, of a chronological or statistical type. However, there are also works which give very full and correct images of different spheres of social life, often precisely those where social contradictions are strongly pronounced. Broader theoretical interpretations and explanations of the results of such in vestigations are possible and useful.

The ideas held by the adherents of the critical theory concerning the characteristics of scientific experience about society are alm ost ai-w ays c o n fro n tate d w ith the abov e-m en tio n ed v a ria n ts of static conserv ativ e positivism, b ut th ere a re no m ethodological treatises where they have been sy stem atically developed, so as to concrete g eneral m ethodological prin cip les by the ela b o ra tio n of special investigational app ro ach es a n d num erous proceedings w hich a p p e ar a n d m ust be coo rd in a ted in an v a p p ro ach. F u rth erm o re, in the critiques of differen t schools of tho ught incontemporary sociology, particular failings of those w hich are b ein g criticized a re o ften u n reaso n ab ly generalized, a n d som etim es in polem ical passion insu fficien tly corro b o rated o bjections a re m ade, a n d it rem ains u n c le a r w h eth er it is the w rong u tiliz a tio n of a m ethod, e. g. q u a n tific a tio n, th a t is b eing criticized, or if the pro ced u re itself is b eing d isp u te d .78 H ow ever, the critical theo ry contain s a n u m b er of v ery im p o rta n t passages about scientific experience on society a n d m an. In critiques ag ain st restrictiv e a p p ro ach to social rea lity in em piricism it has been p o in ted out th at atom ic em pirical d a ta a re no basic facts b u t h av e been socially m ed iated . T h e y express some g e n e ra l social relatio n sh ip s in a m ore or less m ed iated m anner, so the d a ta a re scien tifically alm ost useless unless the m ediations are m eth o dically d eterm in ed . U p to h e re th e critiq u e of lim ited em piricism agrees with the concepts of global con servative theories. E ssen tial differences b etw een the c ritical and th e la tte r theories em erge from a n an ta g o n istic conception of social to ta lity. The biggest objection to system atic conservative th eories is that the ir conception of experience is subord in a te d to a ttem p ts to fac ilitate su p erficial g e n e ra lizations ab o u t social re g u la ritie s w hich conceal vario u s social c o n tra dictions a n d an tagonism s. W h a t is in these th eories a n uncontroversial e

x pression of society's g e n e ra l characteristics, in A d o rn o 's in te rp re ta tion becomes the m ost im p o rta n t p ro blem o f th e critical theory. » W h a t w e need is a n e x p la n a tio n o f h o m ogeneity itself, inasm uch as hu m an b eh av io u r is su b ject to th e law s of larg e num bers, ra th e r th a n its a b 77 Sec e sp ecially T h . W . A d o m o , »S oziologie u n d em p irisch e Forschung«, passim , a n d Soziologische E xkurse, ch ap ters I, II, III.

78 Many examples of this kind may be found in Horkheimer's book, The E clipse of Reason.

sence. The applicability of this law runs counter to the principle of individuation; that which despite everything cannot be just glossed over, namely that men are not just ordinary specimens of their kind. «79 Adorno, like Durkheim, believes that whatever is general and common in social behaviour is a sequel to social pressure.⁸⁰ He, however, does not regard the situation as a natural one but as a condition of a bonded society whose antagonistic relationships hinder the individualization of men and reproduce in individuals its own irrationality.81 We have seen earlier that Adorno believed that in contemporary society, which is moving toward totalitarianism, dominance of society over the individual is increasing. This however, does not occur smoothly, without opposition and without tragic consequences. In sociological generalizations about various regularities, which overlook the antagonistic character of society as a whole, and the manifestation of which is separated from the context of the life of individuals in a biographical sense, actual social contradictions and antagonisms remain very largely hidden.82 Therefore, what Durkheim put forward as a principle, which would ensure greater objectivity of scientific experience, is being criticized here, on the basis of a dialectical conception of relationships between what is general and particular in an antagonistic social totality, as a distortion of reality and regarded as a major index of the inobjectivity of research proceedings. The possibility of avoiding this distortion lies in a complex structural and genetic investigation of the conditions of life of individuals and groups whose concrete behaviour or consciousness are under scrutiny, without ever losing sight of relationships with social totality.

Another domain in which partial agreements and differences between critical and static conservative theories of experience are also evident is the interpretation of social consciousness. Durkheim, like all sociologists who have accepted Mannheim's thesis on total ideology, could fully endorse Horkheimer's explanations about the double social determination of experience, because of (1) socio-historical formation of objects under scrutiny which had arisen in social practice, and (2) historical development of man's cognitive apparatus and technical means serving to widen the field and increase the accuracy of experience.83 Differences arise in trying to explain the role of various forms of consciousness in social life, their relationship to the existing social condition, and their role as a source of information about society. Into the discussion of these problems of scientific experience, the critical theory introduced the ideas of the criticism of ideology. Whereas according to Durkheim and the spiritualist faction in functionalism, the ruling ideas about society are a spontaneous and adequate expression of the social being, the followers of the critical theory believe that in an antagonistic society they are mostly ideo-

⁷⁸ Th. W. Adorno, »Soziologie und empirische Forschung«, p. 214.

^{80 »}Die Gemeinsamkeit des sozialen Reagierens ist wesentlich die des sozialen Drucks« (Ibid., p. 214).

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 214-215.

⁸² Ibid., p. 213.

⁸³ M. Horkheimer, »Traditionelle und kritische Theorie«, pp. 255-257.

ustordinary specimens of theirkind.«79 Adorno, like Durkheim, be lievesthatwhatever is general and co m m o n in so c ia l b e h a v io u r is a se q u el to so c ia l p re s s u re .80 He, however, does notregard the situation as a natu ralonebutas a conditionofabonded so ciety who se a n ta g o n is tic re la tio n s h ip s h i n d e r th e i n d iv id u a liz a tio n ofmenandreproduceinindividualsitsownirrationa lity .81 Wehavese en earlierthatAdornobelievedthat in c o n te m p o r a r y so ciety, w h ic h is m o v in g to w a rd to ta litarianism, dominance of so ciety over the individual is in c re a sin g. This however, does not occurs moothly , with out opposition and with out tragic consequences. I n so c io lo g ica l g e n e ra liz a tio n s a b o u t v a rio u s re g u la ritie s, w h ic h o v e rlo o k th e a n ta g o n is tic c h a ra c te r o f so c ie ty as a w h o le, a n d th e m a n ife s ta tio n o f w h ic h is s e p aratedfromthecontextofthelifeofindividualsinab io g ra p h ic a l sense, a c tu a l s o c ia l c o n tra d ic tio n s a n d a n ta g o n is m s r e m a in v e ry la r g e ly h id d e n .82 T h e r e f o r e , whatDurkheimputforwardasaprinciple, whichwo uld en suregreater objectivity of scientificexperience, is b e in g c ritic iz e d h e re, o n th e b a sis o f a d ia le c tic a l c o n c ep tio n o f re la tio n s h ip s b e tw e e n w h a t is g e n e ra l a n d p a r tic u la r in a n a n ta g o n is tic so cial to ta lity, as a d is to rtio n o freality andregarded as a majorindex of the in o b je c tiv ity o f re s e a rc h p ro c e e d in g s. T h e p o s s ib ility o f a v o id in g th is d is to r tio n lies in a complexs tructural and g e n e tic in v e s tig a tio n o f th e co n ditions- o f lif e o f in d iv id u a ls a n d g ro u p s w h o se c o n c re te b e h a v io u r o r con scio u sn ess a re u n d e r s c ru tin y, w ith o u t e v e r lo sin g s ig h t o f re la tio n s h ip s w ith s o c ia l to ta lity.

A n o th e r d o m a in in w h ic h p a r t i a l a g re e m e n ts a n d d iffe re n c e s b e tw e e n c ritic a l a n d s ta tic c o n s e rv a tiv e th e o rie s o f e x p e rie n c e a re also e v id e n t is th e in te r p re ta tio n o f so c ia l con scio u sn ess. D u rk h e im , lik e a ll socio lo g ists w h o h a v e a c c e p te d M a n n h e im 's th esis o n to ta l id eo lo g y , c o u ld fu lly e n d o rs e H o r k h e im e r 's e x p la n a tio n s a b o u t th e d o u b le social d e te r m in a tio n o f e x p e rie n c e , b e c au se o f (1) s o c io -h is to ric a l f o rm a tio n o f o b jec ts u n d e r s c ru tin y w h ic h h a d a ris e n in so c ia l p ra c tic e , a n d (2) h isto ric a l d e v e lo p m e n t o f m a n 's c o g n itiv e a p p a ra tu s a n d te c h n ic a l m ea n s s e rv in g to w id e n th e fie ld a n d in c re a se th e a c c u ra c y o f e x p e rie n c e .83 D iffe re n c e s a ris e in t r y in g to e x p la in th e ro le o f v a rio u s fo rm s o f conscio u

sn ess in so c ia l life, the ir relationsh ip to the existing so c ia l c ond ition, and the ir role as a source of information about so ciety. Into the d iscussion of these problems of sc ientificexperience, the critical theory introduced the ide as of the criticism of ideology.

 $W\ h\ e\ re\ a\ s\ a\ c\ c\ o\ rd\ in\ g\ to\ D\ u\ rk\ h\ e\ im\ a\ n\ d\ th\ e\ s\ p\ ir\ itu\ a\ lis\ t\ fa$ $c\ tio\ n\ in\ f\ u\ n\ c\ tio\ n\ a\ lis\ m\ ,\ th\ e\ r\ u\ lin\ g\ id\ e\ a\ s\ a\ b\ o\ u\ t\ so\ ciety\ a$ $re\ a\ s\ p\ o\ n\ ta\ n\ e\ o\ u\ s\ a\ n\ d\ a\ d\ e\ q\ u\ a\ te\ e\ x\ p\ re\ s\ s\ io\ n\ o\ f\ th\ e\ so\ c$ $ia\ l\ b\ e\ in\ g\ ,\ th\ e\ fo\ llo\ w\ e\ rs\ o\ f\ th\ e\ c\ ritic\ a\ l\ th\ e\ o\ ry\ b\ e\ lie\ v\ e\ th$ $a\ t\ in\ a\ n\ a\ n\ ta\ g\ o\ n\ is\ tic\ so\ c\ ie\ ty\ th\ e\ y\ a\ re\ m\ o\ stly\ id\ eo\ -$

7* Th W Adomo, Sociology and Empirical Research, p. 214.

00 »D ie G e m e in a m k e it des sozia len Reagiere n sist was tlich die des sozia len Druck s« (Ibid ., p. 214).

97 I b id ., pp . 2 1 4 -2 1 5 .

8i Ibid., p. 213.

M M. Hork he imer, » Traditionelle undkritische Theorie«, pp. 255-257.

logy, socially indispensable illusion, an external façade concealing real social relationships and obscuring the possibilities of progress. A critical exposure of ideology is an essential prerequisite for objective scientific experience, whereas the restriction of science to its neutral description is tantamount to maintaining an illusion. It is subsequently concretized in the criticisms of descriptive surveys of public opinion and of the effect of the media of mass communication, which at best provide data on subjective conceptions and effects of the mentioned media, but failing to show the extent to which certain objective contents of social life are inadequately and falsely expressed within subjective notions and attitudes and what was responsible for these deformations. In studying the effects of the media of mass communication, the objectivity of information is very rarely examined, and so is the artistic or scientific value of the content of culture which they transmit. Adorno's criticism of the sociology of arts being restricted to a study of how works of art are accepted and experienced, excluding the examination of the internal structure of works of art, their social content and artistic quality, demonstrates the extent to which the desire to increase the efficiency of different institutions in the established society (in this case the media of mass communication) restricts the framework of those sociological disciplines where this would be least expected.83a This restrictive approach also implies a diminished objectivity of experience, since for the sake of practical interest the examination of many essential features of the phenomena under scrutiny is simply withheld. Objectivity, namely, is not dependent merely on formal and technical research proceedings, but is likewise influenced by the nature of the cognitive interest contained in the aims of the investigation.

In recent times Habermas has trying to complement this basic ideological-critical approach in creating scientific experience about society with a hermeneutical approach, i. e. by examining subjective and objective meanings contained in individual and collective behaviour and interpretation of reality.⁸⁴

An ideological-critical approach in creating scientific experience about society in order to penetrate behind its ideological façade is certainly a prerequisite for an objective theoretical explanation of the existing social conditions. As we have seen earlier, this does not exhaust the scope of the critical theory. It is directed toward a future which is different from the present. Theory in the existing society is designed to reveal the possibilities of its radical change. For this reason the critical theory, whether it is regarded as a project of prac-

⁸³2 Th. W. Adorno, Ohne Leitbild - Parva Aesthetica, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M., 1967, pp. 94-103.

Already in his article. "Analytische Wissenschaftstheorie und Dialektik«, Habermas strongly emphasized the importance of a hermeneutical procedure in the creation of a scientific experience about society. In his later books, Zur Logik der Sozialwissenschaften, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1967, and Erkenntnis und Interesse, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M., 1968, the study of hermeneutics in the contemporary methodology of social sciences and in the past, especially with Dilthey and Freud, was given a very prominent place.

A c ritical exposure of ideology is a n essential p rerequisite for objective scientific experience, w hereas the restriction of science to its n e u tra l descrip tio n is ta n ta m o u n t to m ain tain in g an illusion. It is subsequently concretized in the criticism s o f descriptive surveys of public opinion andd of the effect of the media of mass com m unication, which a t best p ro v id e d a ta on su b jective conceptions and effects of the mentioned media, but failing to show the ex ten t to w hich c ertain objective contents o f social life a re in ad e q u a tely an d falsely expressed w ithin su bjective notions a n d attitu d e s a n d w h at was responsible for these deform ations. In stu d y in g the effects of the m edia of mass com m un ication, the o b jec tiv ity of in form a tio n is very rare ly exam ined, and so is th e a rtistic o r scientific v alu e of the co ntent of cu ltu re which they tran sm it. A d o rn o 's criticism o f the sociology of arts being restricted to a stu d y of how w orks of a rt a re accepted a n d experienced, excluding the ex am in a tio n of the in tern al stru c tu re of w orks of art, th eir social co ntent a n d a rtistic qu ality, dem o n strates the ex tent to which the desire to increase the efficiency of d iffe re n t in stitu tio n s in the established society (in this case th e m ed ia of m ass com m unication) restricts the fram ew o rk o f those sociological disciplines where this would be least expected.83* Th is restrictive app ro ach also implies a diminished objectivity of experience, since for the sake of practical interest the examina tio n of m an y essential fea tu re s of the phen o m en a u n d e r scrutiny is sim ply w ith h eld. O b jectiv ity, n am ely, is n o t d e p en d en t m erely on fo rm al a n d tech n ical research proceedings, b u t is likewise influenced by th e n a tu re o f th e cognitive in te rest co n tain ed in the aim s of the in v estig atio n.

In recent times H a be rm a shas try in g to complement this basic ideological-critical approach in creating scientific experience about society with a hermeneutical approach, i. e. by examining subjective and objective meanings contained in in dividual and collective behaviour and in terpretation of reality.84

A n id eo lo g ical-critical a p p ro a c h in c re a tin g scientific experience about society in o rd e r to p e n e tra te b eh in d its ideological fa£ade is certain ly a p rereq u isite fo r a n ob jectiv e th eo retical e x p la n a tio n of the ex istin g social conditions. A s we h a v e seen e a rlie r, this does not exh a u st the scope of the critical th eory. It is d irected to w ard a fu tu re w hich is d iffe re n t from the presen t. T h e o ry in the ex isting society is desig ned to rev eal th e possibilities of its rad ic a l change. For thi§

reason the c ritical th eo ry , w h e th e r it is reg a rd e d as a p ro ject of p rac $\,$

" » Th W Adomo, Ohne Leitbild - Parva Aesthetics, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt.

M., 1967, pp. 94-103.

84 A lre a d y in h is a rtic le . » A n aly tisch e W issen sc h a ftsth e o rie u n d D ialcktik«, H a b e rm as stro n g ly em phasized th e im p o rtan ce of a h erm eneutical p rocedure in the cre a tio n of a scien tific exp e rien c e a b o u t society. In his la te r books, Z u r L o g ik der S o zia lw u se m c h a fte n , J . C. B. M o h r (P au l Siebcck), T u b in g en , 1967, an d E rken n tnis u n d Interesse, S u hrkam p, F ra n k fu rt a. M ., 1968, the stu d y of herm eneutics in th e co n tem p o ra ry m ethodology of social sciences a n d in the past, especially w ith D ilth ey a n d F re u d , w as giv en a very D rom inent place.

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tice, implying option for one of several possibilities, or more restrictively, as a critical maieutic of revolutionary practice, needs a vision of the future which does not consist in a formalistic extrapolation of some established or just implied development tendencies. In the critical theory creative construction is just as important as the explanation of experientially recorded facts. For this reason, in its emergence and development imagination has a far greater role than in that theoretical thought which moves within the framework of realiable and methodically created empirical evidence. It would be altogether unreasonable to deny the indispensable function of imagination in theoretical thinking, just as in any creativeness in general. In fact, with the exception of Marcuse who in Eros and Civilization attributed to imagination, capable of building a practicable vision of a different society, only an aesthetical character in opposition to reason,85 no other protagonist of the critical theory supported his or a similar conception of imagination. Even Marcuse himself in his One-Dimensional Man, which has preserved visible traces of an earlier aestheticism, believes that the correctness of historical projects must be tested by means of rational criteria. However, there is no disagreement about the exceptional role of imagination in the emergence of the critical theory. Sartre and Mills share this opinion. This opinion, too, is opposed to the view prevailing in the conservative shades of positivism. Comte, for example, believed that to control imagination by subjecting i to observation is one of the essential features of a positive spirit. But if we wish to preserve the rationality of the theory, its constructions must fulfil certain conditions which justify confidence in their feasibility and meet the expectations which are contained in the construction. It is self-evident that the testing of theoretical constructions about a fundamentally altered society must be left to the future and historical practice. Yet, rational expectations, where the image of the future is related to the available experience, are peculiar to any practice wishing to safeguard itself from illusionism. The critical theory has not dealt much with the problem of justifying theoretical constructions about the future. Marcuse has outlined general criteria for the examination of the reasonableness of historical projects. According to his opinion a project implying a radical change of the existing form of society must be in accordance with the attained level of material and intellectual culture, it must prove its advantages over the existing society in improving and developing production, in having a good knowledge of the basic structur-

^{85 »}The aesthetic dimension obivously cannot legitimize the principle of reality. Just as imagination, which is its constitutive mental faculty, the field of aesthetics is essentially 'unrealistic'. Before the tribunal of the theoretical and practical reason, which has shaped the world according to the performance principle, aesthetic existence stands accused«. (H. Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, according to Serbo-Croatian translation. Naprijed, Zagreb, 1965, p. 141). And yet, Marcuse underlined the epistemological value of imagination which he opposed to reason. «The truth value of imagination applies not only to the past but also to the future: the forms of freedom and happiness which it evokes seek to become historical reality». (Ibid., p. 121.)

tively, as a critical maieuticofrevolutionary practice, n e e d s a v isio n o f th e fu tu r e w h ic h d oes n o t co n sist in a f o rm a lis tic e x tr a p o la tio n of som e e s ta b lis h e d o r ju st im p lie d d e v e lo p m e n t ten d e n c ies. In th e c ritic a l th e o ry c re a tiv e c o n s tru c tio n is j u s t as im p o r ta n t as th e e x p la n a tio n o f e x p e rie n tia lly r e c o rd e d fac ts. F o r th is re a so n, in its e m e rg e n ce a n d d e v e lo p m e n t im a g in a tio n h a s a f a r g r e a te r ro le t h a n in th a t th e o re tic a l th o u g h t w h ic h m oves w ith in the fra me work of realiable and methodica lly c re a te d e m p iric a l ev id e n c e . I t w o u ld be a lto g e th e r unreasonable to denythe in dispensable function of im a g in a tio n in the o re tic a l th in k in g, j u s t as in a n y c re a tiv e n e s s in g e n e ra l. I n fac t, w ith th e e x c e p tio n o f M a rc u s e w h o in E ro s a n d C iv iliz a tio n a ttr ib u te d to im a g in a tion, capable of build in gapracticable vision of a diffe re n t so ciety, o n ly a n a e sth e tic a l c h a ra c te r in o p p o s itio n to re a s o n,85 no o therprotagon is t of the critical theo ry s u p p o rte d h is o r a sim ila r c o n c ep tio n o f im a g in a tio n . E v e n M a rc u s e h im s e lf in h is O n e -

D im e n s io n a l M a n, w h ic h h a s p re s e rv e d v isib le tra c e s of an earlier a esthetic ism, be lieves that the correctne ss o f h isto ric a l p ro je c ts m u st be te s te d b y m ea n s o f r a tio n a l c riter ia. H o w e v e r, th e r e is n o d is a g r e e m e n t a b o ut the exceptional role of im agination in the emergen ce of the critical theory. Sartreand Millsshare this opin io n. This opinion, too, is opposed to the viewprevailin g in the conservative shades of positivism. Comte, for e x a m p le, b e lie v e d t h a t to c o n tro l im a g in a tio n b y s u b je c tin g i to o b s e rv a tio n is on e o f th e e s se n tia l fe a tu re s o f a p o sitiv e s p irit. B u t if w e w ish to p re s e rv e th e r a tio n a lity of the theory, its constructions must fulfil certainco n d itio n s w h ic h j u s tif y c o n fid e n c e in th e ir fe a s ib ility a n d m ee t th e e x p e c ta tio n s w h ic h a re c o n ta in e d in th e c on s tru c tion. It is self-evident that the testing of the o re tic a l c o n s tru c tio n s a b o u t a fu n d a m e n ta lly a lte re d so ciety m u st be le ft to the f u tu r e a n d h isto ric a l p ra c tic e. Y e t, r a tio n a l e x p e cta tio n s, w h e re th e im a g e o f th e f u tu r e is r e la te d to th e a v a ila b le ex p e rie n ce, a re p e c u lia r to a n y p ra c tic e w is h in g to s a fe g u a r d its e lf fro m illu sio n

ism. The critical theory, has not dealt much with the problem of justify in gtheoretical constructions about the future. Marcusehas outlined general criteria for thee

x a m in a tio n o f th e rea s o n a b le n e s s o f h isto ric a l p ro je c ts. A c c o rd in g to h is o p in io n a p r o je c t im p ly in g a r a d ic a l c h a n g e o f th e e x is tin g fo rm o f so ciety m u st b e in a c c o rd a n c e w ith th e a tta in e d lev e l o f m a te ria l a n d in te lle c tu a l c u ltu re, it m u st p ro v e its a d v a n ta g e s o v e r th e e x is tin g so ciety in im p ro v in g a n d d e v e lo p in g p r o d u c tio n, in h a v in g a g o o d k n o w le d g e o f th e b a sic s tr u c tu r 8S » T h e a e s th e tic d im e n sio n o b iv o u sly c a n n o t le g itim iz e th e p rin c ip le o f re a lity.

Just as imagination, which is its constitutive faculty, the field of aesthetics is essentially 'unrealistic'. Before the tribunal of the theoretical and practical reason, which has shaped the world according to the performance principle, aesthetic ex iste n c e s stands accused « . (H. Marcuse, Erosion and Civilization, according to Serbo-Croatian translation. Naprijed, Zagreb, 1965, p. 141). And yet, Marcuse underlined the epistemological value of imagination which he opposed to reason.

» The truth value of im agination applies notonly to the pastbutalso to the future: the forms of freedomandhappiness which it evokes seek to become historical reality «. (Ib id., p. 121.)

es and development tendencies of the established society, and finally its implementation should offer better prospects for the pacification of the struggle for existence and a free development of human needs and faculties.⁸⁶

In Marcuse's and Adorno's works we frequently come across passages where they equate the critical theory with utopia and see in this its advantage.87 Since this view has been fairly widely publicized, it will not be amiss to outline at the end of this article some essential differences between utopia and the revolutionary theory. This does not denote contempt for the cultural-historical significance of utopian thought which has often foreshadowed the progressive social movements that developed much later. It is also not accepted that utopian thought has lost its former function. But this thought must not be assessed in a general and non-historical manner, since there is a vast difference between the cultural-historical value and the socio-political significance of different utopian works. It would be difficult to accept the statement that wthe utopian element has long been the only progressive element in philosophy«,88 if »utopian element« is taken to mean comprehensive utopian works, and not (as in Mannheim's description of utopia) contents in what may be regarded as non-utopian philosophical thought in which it transcends the existing situation, and subsequent experience confirms these anticipations. In this manner, however, the meaning of utopia is wrongfully altered, because a confusion is created without any gain for the history of ideas. Here a revolutionary theory is compared with a thought which builds in a utopian manner comprehensive ideas of society basically different from the existing one. But let us come to the comparison. (1) When utopian thought is considered historically, it becomes immediately apparent that the realization of the idea is very frequently not discussed at all, or is only explained as an accident. 89 In other utopian works, and sometimes even in practical activity, the protagonist of a projected social change is understood in a purely »utopian« manner (Saint Simon) or attempts are made to carry out the transformation by means of an activity which is easily localized and has no pronounced social consequences (numerous colonies of Fourier's and Cabet's followers in the USA in the last century). A revolutionary theory must contain a historically realistic answer to the question about a revolutionary subject. An answer can only be provided by a fundamental analysis

⁸⁶ H. Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society, (1964), Beacon Press, Boston 1968, p. 220.

⁶⁷ Haug tells that in one of his lectures delivered in Berlin in 1967, Marcuse said that socialism should return from science back to utopia. (See W. F. Haug, Das Ganze und das ganz Andere. Zur Kritik der reinen revolutionären Transzendenz, in the book by J. Habermas (Hrsg.), Antworten an Herbert Marcuse. p. 52).

denz, in the book by J. Habermas (Hrsg.), Antworten an Herbert Marcuse, p. 52).

88 H. Marcuse, *Philosophy and Critical Theory«, in H. Marcuse, Negation, Essays in Critical Theory, Beacon Press, Boston, 1969, p. 143.

⁸⁰ As an echo from far away, this thought was hinted at in One Dimensional Man. In his dilemma whether a revolutionary change was possible in the developed industrial capitalist societies, Marcuse concluded that the stabilizing forces in this society were predominant and added: *Perhaps an accident may alter the situan... (H. Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, (1964), Beacon Press, Boston, 1968, p. XV.)

In M arcuse's an d A d o rn o 's works we freq u en tly come across passages where they equate the critical theory with uto pia and see in this its a d v a n ta g e .87 Since this view has been fairly w idely publicized, it will not be amiss to o u tline at the end of this article some essential differences betw een u to p ia a n d th e rev o lu tio n ary theory. This does not denote contempt for the cultural-h isto ric al significance of utopian th o u g h t w hich has o ften fo reshadow ed the progressive social m ovem ents th a t developed m uch later. It is also not accepted that utopian tho ught has lost its fo rm er function. But this thou ght must not be assessed in a gen eral a n d n o n -h isto rical m an n er, since th ere is a vast differen ce betw een the c u ltu ral-h isto ric al v alu e a n d the socio-political significance of d iffe re n t u to p ia n works. It w ould be d ifficu lt to accept the statem en t th a t »the u to p ia n elem ent has long been the only p ro gressive elem ent in p hilosophy«,88 if » u topian elem ent« is tak en to m ean com prehensive u to p ia n works, a n d not (as in M an n h eim 's descrip tio n of utopia) contents in w h at m ay be reg a rd e d as non -u to p ian p h ilosophical th o u g h t in w hich it tran scen d s the ex isting situation, a n d subsequent exp erien ce confirm s these an ticip atio n s. In this m an ner, how ever, the m ean in g of u to p ia is w ro n g fu lly a ltered, because a confusion is c re a ted w ith o u t a n y g a in for the h istory of ideas. H ere a rev o lu tio n a ry th eo ry is com p ared w ith a th o u g h t w hich builds in a u to p ia n m an n e r co m prehensive ideas of society b asically d ifferen t from the ex istin g one. But let us come to the com parison. (1) Wh en u to p ia n tho u ght is con sidered historically, it becomes im m ediately a p p a re n t th a t the rea liz a tio n of the id ea is v e ry fre q u e n tly not discussed at all, o r is on ly ex p la in e d as an a ccid en t.89 In o th er uto p ian works, a n d som etim es even in p rac tic a l activ ity, the p ro tag o n ist of a p ro je c ted social ch ange is u n d e rsto o d in a p u rely »utopian« m an n e r (Saint Simon) or a ttem p ts a re m ad e to c a rry out the tra n sfo rm atio n by m eans of an a c tiv ity w hich is easily localized a n d has no pronounced social consequences (num erous colonies of F o u rie r's a n d C a b e t's follow ers in the U S A in the last century). A rev o lu tio n a ry theo ry m ust co ntain a histo ric a lly realistic an sw er to the question about a rev o lu tio n ary subject. A n an sw er can only be p ro v id ed by a fu n d am e n ta l analysis 94 H. M arcuse, O n e D im e n sio n a l M a n, S tu d ies in th e Id eo lo g y of A d v an ced I n d u stria l Society, (1964), Beacon Press, B oston 1968, p. 220.

97 Haug tells us that in one of his lectures delivered in Berlin in 1967, Marcuse said that socialism should be turned from science back to

utopia. (See W . F. Haug, Das Ganze u n das ganz Andere, Z u r Critik der rein en revolu tio n aren T ranszen -

denz, in the book by J. H a b e rm as (H rsg.), A n tw o rte n an H erbert M arcuse, p. 52).

 $99\ H$. M arcu se, » P h ilo so p h y a n d C ritic a l T h e o ry « , in H . M arcuse, N eg a tio n , Essays in C ritic a l T h eo ry , Beacon Press, Boston, 1969, p. 143.

of social contradictions in the contemporary world and their concrete constellation in individual countries. (2) Precisely because of neglecting the manner of its realization, a utopian thought may take an indifferent attitude to the tasks connected with the development of consciousness and political organization of revolutionary subject at the time of struggle for winning power, and perhaps even more in the course of the construction of a new society. A number of major practical problems are theoretically very poorly clarified. For example, the actual social position and political influence of the working class, especially of its less qualified strata in different socialist societies; the position in the new society of the one time principal »ally« in the revolution, especially the poor peasant; the relationship between the intelligentsia and bureaucracy; the relationship between the political party and the working class, etc. Is a utopian approach to these and many other problems of revolutionary theory justified after the experiences of the socialist revolutions in our age? (3) Substantial differences can be established also in the internal structure of the utopian thought and revolutionary theory. The latter is concentrated on the study of contradictions in the existing society. Its imagination is designed to discover real possibilities of social transformation. As we have said earlier, about a new society only a theoretically clear but dialectically open concept is being created, which permits the theory as the critical consciousness of the revolutionary movement to take into consideration its new, positive and negative experiences. In contrast to this, utopian thought invariably creates a static image of the projected society, frequently full of petty details. Therefore it appears that the revolutionary theory rather than utopia - in its traditional or in its modern »futurological« aspect – suits the nature of a consistent critical theory.

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o f so cial c o n tra d ic tio n s in th e c o n te m p o ra ry w o rld a n d th e ir c o n crete c o n s te lla tio n in in d iv id u a l c o u n tries. (2) P re c is e ly b e c au se o f n e g le c tin g th e m a n n e r o f its r e a

liz a tio n, a u to p ia n th o u g h t m a y ta k e a n in d if f e r e n t a ttitu d e to th e task s c o n n e cte d w ith th e d e v e lo p m e n t o f c o n sciousness a n d p o litic a l o rg a n iz a tio n o f r e v o lu tio n a r y s u b je c t a t th e tim e o f s tru g g le fo r w in n in g p o w e r, a n d p e rh a p s e v e n m o re in th e co u rse o f th e c o n s tru c tio n o fanew so ciety. Anum berofmajorpractical problems a re th e o r e tic a lly v e ry p o o rly c la rifie d . F o r e x a m p le , th e a c tu a l so c ia l p o s itio n a n d p o litic a l in flu e n c e o f th e w ork in g class, especially of its less qualifieds tratain diffe re n t so c ia list so cieties; the p o sitio n in the new so c ie ty of th e o n e tim e p r in c ip a l » a lly « in th e re v o lu tio n, e s p e c ia lly thepoorpeasant; there lationshipbetweentheinte llig en ts ia and bureaucracy; there la tionship be twee n the politic alparty and the work in g class, etc. Is a u to pia n a p p ro a c h to th ese a n d m a n y o th e r p ro b le m s o f re v o lu tio n a r y th e o ry ju s tif ie d a f t e r th e e x p e rie n c e s o f th e so c ia list r e v o lu tio n s in o u r a g e ? (3) S u b s ta n tia l d i f fere n c e s c a n b e e s ta b lis h e d also in th e i n te r n a l s tr u c tu r e of the u to p ian thoughtandrevolutionarytheory. Th elatter is concentrated on the study of contradiction s in thee x is ting so ciety. Its im ag in a tion is designed to d isc o v e r r e a l p o ssib ilitie s o f so c ia l tra n s fo r m a tio n . A s wehavesaidearlier, aboutanewsocietyonlyatheor e tic a lly c le a r b u t d ia le c tic a lly o p e n c o n c ep t is b e in g c re a te d, w h ic h p e rm its th e th e o rv as th e c ritic a l con scio u sn ess of the revolutionarymovement to take in to cons id e ra tio n its n e w, p o s itiv e a n d n e g a tiv e e x p e rie n ce s. I n c o n tr a s t to th is, u to p ia n th o u g h t i n v a r ia b ly c re a te s a s ta tic im a g e o f th e p r o je c te d so ciety, f re q u e n tly fu ll o f p e tty d e ta ils. Therefore it appears that there volutio n a r y th e o ry r a t h e r th a n u to p ia - in its tra d itio n a l o r in its m o d e rn » fu tu ro lo g ic a l« a sp ec t - su its th e n a tu r e o f a c o n sisten t c ritic a l th e o ry.

CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTEMPORARY YUGOSLAV SOCIETY

In this point in development of the contemporary Yugoslav society, when any discussion about culture elicits strong opinions among the public and therefore even though couched in scientific terms, may have significant ideological and political implications, the discussion among Yugoslav sociologists on the theme, Culture and Development of the Contemporary Yugoslav Society¹ is bound to arouse a special interest. Is there a specific culture pertaining to a self-governing society? If there is, what are its basic characteristics and trends of development? Already these two questions are of an exceptional importance. It now remains to be seen how far sociologists have been able to provide answers to them and how much, by speaking about culture, they have said something about themselves.

When four years ago, in February 1966, at the second professional meeting of the Yugoslav sociologists at Split, dedicated to the theme Changes in the Class Structure of the Yugoslav Society, there arose a conflict between, generally speaking, the critical and the positivist-functionalist oriented school of thought, the whole thing was put to rest by calling it a public incident. Unity in ignorance carried victory over actual differences. However, only four years later differentiation in Yugoslav sociology became obvious even to a layman. In February 1970, it was the dialogue, again very loosely speaking, between the representatives of the critical and positivist-functionalist orientations² that distinguished this gathering of Yugoslav sociologists. The former standpoint was most clearly presented in the papers read by Ivan Kuvačić and Zaga Pešić-Golubović, and the latter in the papers read by Josip Zupanov and Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin.³

¹⁾ This article gives an account of the Fourth meeting of the Yugoslav Association for Sociology d in Split from February 12 to 14, 1970, on the theme Culture and Development of the Contemheld in Split from Februa porary Yugoslav Society.

²⁾ The terms -critical- and -positivist-functionalists are inadequate and are only used for want of the first size to the fact that fundamental positions have not yet become sufficiently crystallized. Critical remarks and suggestions for more precise defitinous would be very helpful.

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3) Papers were submitted by: Esad Cimit — One Prerequisite of Sell-Management in the Field of Culture. Ivan Kuvsdit — Culture and Politics, Pavle Novosel (not present) — Sell-Management and Political Culture, Josip Zupanov — Egalitarianism and Industrialism. Zaga Pešit-Golubovit — Two Forms of Allienation in Culture within Socialism and Their Relation to Each Other (theses), Dunja Rihtman-Augustin — Traditional Culture and Contemporary Ualues, Taras Kermanner (not present) — Mass Gulture as the Natural but Unacknowledged Child of Taditional Culture, Ivan Siber — Education and Political Culture, Misolav Vujevit — A Rift in Culture, Milol Nemanjit — The Mediation of Art Associations, Nikola Milolevit — The Problem of Coherence in Artistic Creations, Vladimir Milanovit — Schools between the Old and the New, Duro Sulnijt — Science and Public Institutions Vladimir Milit — An Approach to Investigating the Relationship between the Structure and the Culture of a Self-Managing Society, Mihailo Popovit — The System of Ualues and the Cultural Policy (theses), Miroslav Ahik — Leisure Time of the Rural Youth in Serbia. Miro Mihovilovit — Leisure Time as a Cultural Factor for City Dwellers in Yugoslavia, Triva Indie and Danica Mogin — Cultural Activities of Young Workers in Their Leisur Time, Vojislav Durit — Study of the Social Motivations and Mobility of the Rural Youth of Uojvodina, and Bob Julié — The Cultural Heritage and the Functionalness of Education. Quotation. Quotations from the paper will be marked by their page numbers in Culture and Development of the Contemporary Yugoslav Society, Yugoslav Association for Sociology, Split, February 1970.

REPORTS AND NOTES

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C U L T U R E A N D D E V E L O P M E N T O F T H E C O N T E M P O R A R Y

YUGOSLAVSOCIETY

In this p o in t in d evelopm ent of th e contem p o rary Y ugoslav society, w hen any discussion about cu ltu re elicits stro n g opinions am ong th e public an d therefore, even th ough couched in scientific term s, m ay have sig n ifican t ideological and political im plications, the discussion am ong Y ugoslav sociologists on the them e, C ulture and D evelop m ent of the C ontem porary Y u g o slav S o c ie ty 1 is b o und to arouse a special interest. Is there a specific culture pertain in g to a self-g o vern in g society? If there is, w hat are its basic characteristics and trends of development? A lready these two questions are of an exceptional importance. It now remains to be seen how far sociologists have been able to provide answers to them and how much, by speaking about culture, they have said som ething about them selves.

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1) T hii article giver an account of the Fourth meeting of the Yugoslav Association for Sociology held in Split from February 12 to 14, 1970, on the theme Culture and Development of the Contemporary Yugoslav

Society.

- 2) The terms »critical« and »positivist-functionalist« are inadequate and are only used for want of better ones. This is due to the fact that fundamental positions have not yet become sufficiently crystallized. Critical remarks and suggestions for more precise defitinions would be very helpful.
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Two Forms of Allienation in Culture within Socialism and Their Relation to Each Other (theses).

D unja Rihtm an-AuguJtin — Traditional Culture and Contemporary Values, Taras Kermauner (not present) — Mass Culture as the Natural but Unacknowledged Child of Taditional Culture, Ivan siber — Education and Political Culture, Miroslav Vujević — A R ift in Culture, Miloi Nemanjic —

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There is no doubt that the highest interest and the most lively discussions were aroused by Josip Zupanov's paper. Egalitarianism and Industrialism. Basing himself on the opinions of some authors (Edward F. Dennison) that lagging of the developed Western European countries behind the United States is due not so much to the economical but rather to the so-called "residual" factors, meaning cultural factors which are not knowledge and education as such but rather a system of values and cultural norms governing the degree of knowledge utilization, Zupanov believes that the dominant values in Yugoslav society are living standard and consumption ("enrichment") on the indivduail level, the "heroic complex" on the national level, and egalitarianism on the societal level.

How is egalitarianism as a dominant social value reflected upon the economic development and economic life of Yugoslav society? According to Zupanov, experience so far strongly suggests the hypothesis that egalitarian distribution inhibits the growth of economic aspirations (page 4). He points out that criticism is already being levelled against egalitarianism, which is being blamed for various difficulties and problems in Yugoslav economy and society (p. 5). Why should it be so? It is only because egalitarianism can have different meanings, as held by Zupanov, or possibly also because different segments of the social structure take a different

view of it?

The problem of egalitarianism and its effect on the economical sphere are seen by Županov in (a) distribution of status positions in relation to the economic, professional, and political structure, and (b) in social rewards (premiums) which include property and sources of revenue, social power and social prestige. Having analysed this problem, Zupanov concluded that egalitarianism as an implicit value is equality in the distribution of all social rewards – it simply means an outright leveling – while at the explicit level there are two conceptions. According to one, the distribution of income, social power and prestige should be egalitarian, whereas according to the other, there should be an egalitarian distribution of public jobs (all should have equal chances of competing for public posts, but all shall not be equally successful), whereas the distribution of income should be according to work done. However, in practice, "distribution according to work« is constantly being substituted by wage-levelling because *to equalize the conditions of productions means to equalize the results of production. This is how Županov defines this situation: "distribution according to work« rationalizes the wage-levelling, and the *wheory of equal conditions of productions actionalizes the *theory of equal stomachs« (p. 8). It follows, then that egalitarianism in the Yugoslav society means egalitarian distribution of *social rowards* regardless of any other circumstances, including ability and the distribution of positions in the economic, social and political spheres.

Another important problem is whether or not egalitarianism is functional in an industrial society. Zupanov believes that egalitarianism is functionally related to global productivity. The functional character of this connection is clearly seen if we analyse the components of the so-called egalitarian syndrome. These components, according to Zupanov, are as follows: (1) the prospect of "limited goods" as a cognitive component, (2) »redistributive ethics«, (3) the norms of egalitarian distribution, (4) »obsession about the private entrepeneur« which is seen in (a) enrichment-phobia or a natural aversion to anything that causes enrichment, (b) »state-ownership« complex, or the »ideological obsession«, (c) anti-entrepeneur mentality, (5) anti-professionalism (curbing the experts' functional authority, pressure on the expert to act against the norms of professional ethics, abolition of the private practice of »free professions«, abolition of professional titles, lowering criteria for entering a profession, lowering the value of professional work, negative attitude to a professional organization), (6) »anti-intellectual wage-levelling«, (7) anti-intellectualism. Having thus determined the components of the »egalitarian syndrome«, Zupanov summarizes the antinomy between egalitarianism and industrialism. In contrast to egalitarianism, industrialism opens up productivist prospects in social production, develops the ethics of manufacturing and income earning, and encourages upward aspirations as the main motive force of the economic system (introduces a different motivational structure). In contrast to the »private entrepreneur obsession« which freezes the economic structure, and in contrast to antiintellectualism and wanti-intellectual wage-levelling« as marks of egalitarianism, industrialism encourages the development of tertiary activities where personal work and initiative play an essential role; it leads to greater professionalization and regards creative potentials as the most productive sources. Finally, whereas egalise lf on th e o p in io n s o f som e a u th o rs (E d w a rd F. D e n n iso n) th a t la g g in g of th e d e v e lo p e d W e s te rn E u ro p e a n c o u n trie s b e h in d th e U n ite d S ta te s is d u e n o t so m u ch to th e ec o n o m ical b u t r a th e r to th e s o -c a lle d » re sid u a l « fa c to rs, m e a n in g c u ltu ra l fa c to rs w h ich a re n o t k n o w le d g e a n d e d u c a tio n as such b u t r a th e r a sy stem o f v a lu e s a n d c u ltu ra l n o rm s g o v e rn in g th e d e g re e o f k n o w le d g e u tiliz a tio n , Ž u p a n o v b e liev e s t h a t th e d o m in a n t v a lu e s in Y u g o sla v so ciety a re liv in g s ta n d a r d a n d c o n su m p tio n (» e n ric h m e n t «) on th e in d iv d u a il lev el, th e » h e ro ic co m p lex « on th e n a tio n a l lev el, a n d e g a lita ria n is m on th e so c ie ta l level.

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A n o th e r im p o rta n t p ro b le m is w h e th e r o r n o t e g a lita ria n is m is f u n c tio n a l in a n in d u s tria l so cie ty . Ž u p a n o v b e lie v e s th a t e g a lita ria n is m is f u n c tio n a lly r e la te d to g lo b a l p ro d u c tiv ity . T h e fu n c tio n a l c h a r a c te r o f th is c o n n e c tio n is c le a rly seen if w e a n a ly s e th e co m p o n e n ts o f th e s o -c a lle d e g a lita ria n s y n d r o m e . T h e s e c o m p o n e n ts, a c c o rd in g to Ž u p a n o v , a re as fo llo w s: (1) th e p ro sp e c t o f » lim ite d goods« as a co g n itiv e co m p o n e n t, (2) » r e d is trib u tiv e eth ics«, (3) th e n o rm s o f e g a lita r ia n d istrib u tio n , (4) » o bsession a b o u t th e p r iv a te e n tre p e n e u r« w h ich is seen in (a) e n ric h m e n t-p h o b ia o r a n a tu r a l a v e rs io n to a n y th in g t h a t causes e n ric h m e n t, (b)

» state-ownership « complex, or the » ideological obsession «, (c) antientrepreneurmentality, (5) anti-profession lism (curbing the experts' functional authority, pressing on the expert to act again within the norms of professional ethics, abolition of the private practice c tic e of » free pro fessions«, an abolition of professional titles, lowering criteria for entering a profession, lowering the value of professionals rk, negative attitude towards a professional organization), (6) » antiintellectual wage-leveling «, (7) anti-intellectual a lism Having thus determined the components of the »egalitarian syndrome«, Županov summarizes the anthonymy between egalitarianism and industrialism. In contrast to egalitarianism, industrialism suppresses productivist prospects in social production, developing the ethics of manufacture in gaining income earning, and encouraging upward aspirations as the main motivational force of the economic system (introducing a different motivational structure). In contrast to the »private entrepreneurial obsession« which freezes the economic structure, and in contrast to anti-intellectualism a n d » an anti-intellectual wageleveling « as marks of egalitarianism, industrialism encourages the development of tertiary activ ities w h ere p e r s o n a l w o r k a n d initiative play an essential role; it leads to greater professionalization and regards creative potentialities as the most productive sources. F in a lly, where a sega li

tarian anti-intellectualism puts an emphasis on physical labour, industrialism emphasizes the creative, organizational, supervisory and documentary-informative work. On the basis of this Zupanov concludes that there is absolutely no doubt about the ineffectualness of the egalitarian syndrome, which is capable of seriouly hampering further development. Believing that the egalitarianism vs. élitism dilemma of each communist movement was resolved in Yugoslavia after 1948 by a return to *partisan ethics*, i. e. to egalitarianism, Zupanov says: »A return to 'partisan ethics' was first of all a return to an ideal but not at the same time to such a beethics was first of an a return to an ideal out not at the same time to such a behaviour that would be in full conformity with the ideal, as had been the case during the national liberation struggle. The gap between sein and sollen became the permanent source of tension and social dynamics: the letter of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists of 1958, Tito's 1962 speech at Split, the student demonstrations of June 1968 - all these events constitute a kind of social *electric storms* resulting from the 'potential differences' between 'sein' and 'sollen* Basic demands have always been along the same lines: abolish privilegess and inequalities in society, coordinate the actual social-economic situation with the central values of the social system. Obviously, this task of altering the state of affairs' could only be given to the political structure of social stratification. However, they were not prepared - just as any other social group would not be prepared - to renounce privileged treatment, and thus they attempted to channel dissatisfaction in the direction of the economic and socio-professional structure: thus in 1962, the socio-professional as well as the economic substructure were the villains, whereas after the student demonstrations it was the economic substructure that was made the scapegoat. These, however, were appeasement campaigns which only went as far as it was necessary to maintain the system, but for which, from the development point of view, a price was nevertheless paid. A tightening is always followed by a certain relaxation. Thus social dynamics in which egalitarianism ('sollen') and socio-economic differentiation ('sein') are the poles is in the shape of circular pulsation in which tensions are resolved, the central value is reaffirmed and the extent of differentiation is maintained (and perhaps even somewhat increased), In other words, we have a closed system of behaviour: dynamics does not mean a change«, (pp. 27 and 28). Hence Zupanov calls for a reappraisal of the etatistically conceived egalitarianism as the dominant social value, not with the aim of abolishing it but as a plea for its dynamization.

This viewpoint is also developed in Dunja Rihtman-Augustin's paper, Traditional Culture and Contemporary Ualues. The author defines tradition as those elements of culture which are handed down from one generation to the next. Not-withstanding the various racial types encountered in this country (Alpine, Panno-nian, Dinaric, Moravian, Macedonian and Adriatic), the peasant and pastoral ways of life adopted by the majority of our population are characterized by a trend toward slimited goods as being the dominant value. In order not to overstep the norm of *limited goods*, no one wants to stand out, because man works not in order to enrich himself but in order to enrich himself but in order to keep himself and his family alive. In accumulation of capital in a rural community threatens equilibrium, expressed by folk wisdom as »One man's downfall is another man's windfall. Having thus analyzed the values of traditional culture, Dunja Rihtman-Augustin asks the following question: "To what extent are traditional values a limiting factor to self-management, and how far have they been responsible for some humanist traits, some elements which propel social development?« (p. 5). In answer to this question the author believes that the economic content of self-management, and especially the system of income distribution, have practically no precedent in Yugoslav cultural history. Ethnological literature suggests that the traditional criterion of distribution was the number of hungry mouths rather than an accurately measured amount of work done, that instead of accurate criteria (as if hungry mouths were not a very accurate criterion! - B. I.) there were arbitrary criteria, and that above everything there was the idea of equality which did not permit anyone to get out of the groove. The author concludes from this that the values contained in the peasant and pastoral ways of life do not function accordance. ing to the programmed model of a self-managing society or a self-managing economic organization. Regarded from another angle, traditional values may serve as a critical correction, to introduce into the system »care for man«, humanization of labour and disalienation (!).

Having established how value orientation of traditional culture is related to the value orientation of the revolutionary movement on the one hand, and to the value

concludes th at there is absolutely no doubt about the ineffectualness of the e g a lita ria n syndrom e, which is capable of seriouly h am pering fu rth e r developm ent. B elieving th at the egalitarian ism vs. elitism dilem m a of each com m unist m ovem ent was resolved in Y ugoslavia a fte r 1948 by a return to »partisa n ethics«, i. e. to egalitarian ism , Županov says: »A re tu rn to 'p artisan ethics' was first of a ll a re tu rn to an ideal but not at the sam e tim e to such a beh av io u r th a t w ould be in full co nform ity w ith the ideal, as h ad been the case d u rin g the n atio n al lib e ratio n struggle. T h e gap betw een 'sein' and 'sollen' became the p e rm anent source of tension a n d social dynam ics: the lette r of the C entral C om m ittee of the League of Y ugoslav Com m unists of 1958, T ito 's 1962 speech at Split, th e stu d en t d em onstrations of J u n e 1968 - all these events constitute a kind of social »electric storm s« re su ltin g from the 'p o ten tial differences' betw een 'sein'

an d'sollen«. Basic d em ands have alw ays been alo n g the sam e lines: abolish privilegess an d inequalities in society, coord in ate the actu al social-econom ic situation w ith the cen tral values of the social system. Obviously, this task of a lterin g the

'state of a ffa irs' could only be given to the political structure of social stratification.

H ow ever, they w ere not p re p a re d - ju s t as any oth er social g roup w ould not be p re p a re d - to renounce priv ile g ed treatm en t, and thus they attempted to channel dissatisfaction in the directio n of the econom ic a n d socio-professional structure: thus in 1962, the socio-professional as w ell as the econom ic substructure were the v illains, w hereas a f te r the stu d en t d em onstrations it was the economic substructure th a t was m ade the scapegoat. T hese, how ever, w ere appeasem ent cam paigns which only w ent as fa r as it w as necessary to m a in ta in the system, but for which, from the d evelopm ent p oint of view, a price w as n evertheless paid. A tigh ten in g is alw ays follow ed by a c ertain relax atio n. Thus social dynam ics in which eg a lita rianism ('sollen ') an d socio-econom ic d iffe re n tia tio n ('se in ') a re the poles is in the shape of c irc u la r p u lsatio n in w hich tensions are resolved, the central value is r e a ffirm e d an d the e x ten t of d iffe re n tia tio n is m ain ta in e d (and perhaps even som ew hat increased), In o the r w ords, we have a closed system of behaviour: d ynam ics does not m ean a change«, (pp. 27 and 28). Hence Ž upanov calls for a re appraisal of the etatistic a lly conceived e g a lita ria n ism as the d o m in an t social value, not w ith the aim of a b o lish in e it but as a p lea for its d y nam ization.

Th is view point is also developed in DunjaRih tman-Auguštin 's paper, T ra d itio n a l C ulture an d C ontem p o ra ry V alues. T h e a u th o r defines tra d itio n as those elem ents of cu ltu re w hich a re h a n d e d dow n from one g en eratio n to the next. N o tw ith sta n d in g the various ra cial types enco u n tered in this country (A lpine, Panno-n ian, D in aric, M ora v ian, M ac ed o n ian a n d A d ria tic), the p easant a n d pastoral ways of life ad o p te d by th e m a jo rity of our p o p u latio n are characterized by a trend to w ard » lim ited goods« as being the dom in an t value. In order not to overstep the norm of »lim ited goods«, no one w ants to sta n d out, because m an works not in o rd e r to enrich him self bu t in o rd e r to enrich him self bu t in o rd er to keep him self an d his fam ilv alive. In accu m u latio n of c a p ital in a ru ral com m unity threatens equilibrium, ex p ressed by folk w isdom as »O ne m an 's dow nfall is an o th er m an's w indfall«. H a v in g thus an aly ze d the values of tra d itio n a l culture, D u n ja R ihtm an-A u g u ltin asks the follow ing question: »To w h at ex te n t are tra d itio n a l values a lim itin g fa c to r to self- m anagem ent, and how far h ave they been responsible for som e hum a n ist tra its, some elem ents w hich p ropel social developm ent?« (p. 5). In an sw er to this question the a u th o r believes th a t the econom ic content of se lfm a nagem ent, a n d especially the system of incom e distrib u tio n, have p ractically no preced en t in Y ugoslav c u ltu ra l h istory. E thnological lite ra tu re suggests th at the tra d itio n a l c riterio n of d istrib u tio n w as the num b er of hu n g ry m ouths ra th e r than a n a c cu rately m easured am ount of w ork done, that instead of accurate criteria (as if hungry mouths w e re no t a v e ry accurate criterion! - B. J.) there w ere a rb itra ry c rite ria, and that above every thing the rewas the idea of equ ality w hich d id not p erm it anyone to g et ou t of the groove. T h e a u th o r concludes from this th a t the values co n tain ed in the p e asa n t a n d p a sto ra l w ays of life do not function according to the p ro g ra m m e d m odel of a self-m an ag in g society or a self-m an ag in g econom ic org an izatio n. R e g ard ed from a n o th e r angle, tra d itio n a l values m ay serve as a critic al co rrection, to in tro d u ce into the system »care fo r m an«, h um anization ot la b o u r a n d d isa lie n a tio n (!).

H a v in g esta blished how valu e o rie n ta tio n of tra d itio n a l cultu re is re la ted to the valu e o rie n ta tio n of th e rev o lu tio n ary m ovem ent on the one h and, an d to the value 659

orientation of the industrialized society on the other - in other words having established the confrontation of different value orientations on our heterogeneous soil -Dunja Rihtman-Augustin is somewhat more cautions than Zupanov in stating that it is now, and perhaps even in a foreseeable future, wilfficult to talk about any common values in this country, unless we affirm that it is self-management as an ideological projects (n. 11). The author sees the dilemma of our society as the Yugoslav man's dilemma between traditional culture and present-days values. It is possible to agree with the author that such a dilemma can be resolved by society only if it has made an assessment of its own traditional culture at a given moment, as well as of the innovation which is being offered, but there undoubtedly remains the question, what happens if the values of traditional culture have already been forgotten, in some environments even rejected, before any new values have been adopted? What is to be done if the contemporary Yugoslav is at the moment on the horns of a dilemma, if he has launched himself away from the rocky shores of traditional culture, and has not yet arrived at the »promised land« of new values?

It seems that this question leaves broad possibilities for a critical approach to

the entire problem. An attempt in this direction was made by Ivan Kuvačić in his paper Culture and Politics. His view was that is only in the sphere of social dynamics that there is a possibility for an intercourse between culture and politics. The author emphasizes that "if no policy is prepared to renounce manipulation, it does not follow that every policy must be identified with it (p. 1). At some determined revolutionary moment in the history of nation, when cultural creativeness becomes a part of the struggle for freedom, as was the case in Yugoslavia, Algeria, Cuba and today in Vietnam, culture and politics go hand in hand. It is then that cultural creativeness becomes an authentic national consciousness growing out of the struggle for social progress. When this consciousness turns into nationalism, it is the most reliable sign of the crisis and downfall of a revolution.

On the other hand, culture and politics part ways when politics turns into separate ruling sphere which degrades culture, because it turns its institutions into a state apparatus. The so-called »mass culture« is the most powerful instrument of manipulation of the masses in contemporary society, because it is operated in the name of the masses and against insular elites. Thus the results of cultural creativeness become consumer goods. On the other hand, authentic cultural values and highest works of art are removed from the key points of a modern industrial society (where the products of »mass culture« reign sovereign) and repressed into the intimate spheres of man's life. Their inimitable and permanent values escape the rigid rules of standard bureaucratic procedures. Kuvačić concludes from this that »the policies of the most powerful established systems are in conflict with authentic cultural creativeness. On the one hand they encounter increasing opposition from cultures of smaller nations, which in the struggle against the hegemony of large centres strengthen the elements of national self-consciousness, and, on the other hand, at home they face the challenge from avant-gardist, non-conformist groups from the ranks of intellectuals and youth. In order to overcome this opposition, politics even today do not shrink from applying raw physical violence« (pp. 3 and 4).

Out of the three forms of manipulation - fascist, Stalinist and that of the market - Kuvačić believes the last-mentioned to be the most efficient one: »In place of refreshing expressions of imagination and sensitiveness serving as a basis for criticism and revolt, the market introduces pornography and light literature, saturated with aggressiveness and violence, designed not only to bring profits but also to protect the existing system of distribution of power, because it thus creates and maintains among the population a condition of psychological and moral repression-

(p. 5).
With reference to the question whether the market mechanism can find an adequate place in the socialist value orientation. Kuvačić states: »Notwithstanding many other circumstances, it is sufficient to point out that in the conditions of a free market, unemployment and poverty of a part of the population are a normal phenomenon. The market favours the cunning and the successful, and failure is a personal matter for each individual. When we bear this in mind, it is obvious that it is contrary to the Marxian egalitarian ideology of protection for the poor and the oppressed. Hence it is being openly said in this country that a value orientation such as this constitutes the main obstacle to a faster industrial progress, which obstacle is impossible to eliminate without at the same time challenging the entire system of self-management« (p. 7). In place of manipulation by the market, Kuvačić advances self-management, which is based on the initiative and creativeness of

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or ien ta tion of the industrialized society on the otherin o ther wordshavingestablishedtheconfrontationo f d if f e r e n t v a lu e o rie n ta tio n s o n o u r h e te ro g e n e o u s D u n ja R ih tm a n -A u g u š tin is so m e w h a t m o re ca u tio n s th a n Ž u p a n o v in s ta tin g th a t it is now, a n d p e r h a p s ev en in a fo re se e a b le fu tu re, » d iffic u lt to ta lk a b o u t a n y co m m on v a lu e s in th is c o u n try, u n less w e a f f ir m t h a t it is self-managementasanideologicalproject« In. 11). T h e a u th o r sees th e d ile m m a o f o u r so ciety a s th e Y u g o sla v m a n 's d ile m m a b e tw e e n tr a d itio n a l c u ltu re a n d p re s ent-days values. It is possible to agreewith the authorth a t su c h a d ile m m a c a n b e re so lv e d b y so ciety o n ly if it h a s m a d e a n assessm en t of its o w n tr a d itio n a l c u ltu re a t a g iv e n m o m en t, as w e ll as o f th e in n o v a tio n w h ic h is b e in g o ffe re d, b u t th e r e u n d o u b te d ly re m a in s th e q u e stio n, whathappensifthevaluesoftraditionalcultureh a v e a lr e a d y b een fo rg o tte n, in som e e n v iro n m e n ts e v e n re je c te d, b e fo re a n y n e w v a lu e s h a v e b e e n a d o p te d ? What is to be done if the contemporary Yugoslav is at themomentonthehornsofadilemma, if hehas launc h e d h im s e lf a w a y fro m th e ro c k y sh o res of tr a d itio n a l c u ltu re, a n d h a s n o t y e t a r r iv e d a t th e » p ro m ise d la n d « of new values?

I t seem s th a t th is q u e stio n le a v e s b r o a d p o ssib ilitie s f o r a c ritic a l a p p ro a c h to th e e n tire p ro b le m . A n a tte m p t in th is d ire c tio n w a s m a d e b y I v a n K u v ačić in h is p a p e r C u ltu re a n d P o litic s. H is v ie w w a s t h a t is o n ly in th e s p h e re o f so cial d y n am ics th a t th e re is a p o ssib ility f o r a n in te rc o u r s e b e tw e e n c u ltu r e a n d p o litics.

The authoremphasizes that wifnopolicy is prepared to renouncemanipulation, it does not follow that every policymust be identified with it« (p. 1). At somedeterm in edrevolutionarymoment in the his tory of nation, whencultural creativeness becomes apart of the struggle for freedom, as was the case in Yugoslavia, Algeria, Cubaand today in Vietnam, cultural creativeness gohand in hand. It is then that cultural creativeness growingout of the struggle for social progress. When this conscious ness turns in tonationalism, it is the most reliable signofthe crisis and downfall of arevolution.

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d e s c u ltu re, b e c a u se it tu r n s its in s titu tio n s in to a s ta te apparatus. The so-called »m ass culture « is the most po werfulins trument of manipulation of the masses in con te m p o ra r y so ciety, b e c a u se it is o p e r a te d in th e n a m e o f th e m asses a n d a g a in s t in s u la r e lite s. T h u s th e r e su lts of cultural creative ness become consumer goods. On the o therhand, a u thentic cultural values and highest w ork s of art are removed from the keypoints of amodem in d u s tr ia l so c ie ty (w h ere th e p ro d u c ts of »m ass c u ltu re « reignsovereign) and repressed in to the in tima tesph e re s o f m a n 's life. T h e i r in im ita b le a n d p e rm a n e n t v a lu e s e scap e th e rig id ru le s o f s ta n d a r d b u re a u c r a tic p ro c e d u re s. K u v a čić c o n clu d es f ro m th is t h a t » th e p o licies of the most powerfules tablished systems are inconflic t w ith a u th e n tic c u ltu ra l cre a tiv e n e ss. O n th e o n e h a n d th e y e n c o u n te r in c re a s in g o p p o sitio n fro m c u ltu re s o f s m a lle r n a tio n s, w h ic h in the struggle again st the heg e m o n y o f la r g e ce n tre s s tr e n g th e n th e ele m e n ts o f n a tio n a l self-c o n sc io u sn e ss, a n d, o n th e o th e r h a n d, a t h om e th e y fa c e th e c h a lle n g e fro m a v a n t- g a r d is t, n o n c o n f o rm is t g ro u p s fro m th e ra n k s o f in te lle c tu a ls a n d y o u th . I n o r d e r to o v e rc o m e th is o p p o sitio n, p o litic s e v en to day do not sh rin k from apply in grawphy sical v io le n c e « (pp. 3 a n d 4).

Out of the three forms of manipulation - fascist, Stalinist and that of the market

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broad masses, rejecting technocratic-managerial orientation towards profits and an absolute market logic in the sphere of culture. He believes that the profit principle cannot be the motive force in the spheres of culture and education. However, this does not mean that he denies the influence of the market upon culture: "There is no doubt at all that the market is really necessary today, but it does not follow from this that the principle of profit-making is the basic yardstick which must be applied always, in all sectors. even at the price of a general degradation of personality and of the undermining of national cultures (p. 8).

Two Forms of Alienation in Culture within Socialism and Their Relation to Each Other by Zaga Pešić-Golubović appears to be a logical continuation of Kuvatic's discussion on the position of culture in the conditions of manipulation. Zaga Pesic-Golubović discusses the ideologization of culture and mass culture as two types of alienation in culture. What she means by ideologization of culture is the loss of autonomy in culture or the tendency to decide on cultural matters from a centre which is well apart from the spheres where cultural works are created. This is when men creating culture are told just how much freedom they may have and are expected to express their loyalty and support for official policies in their works. In other words, it is a demand for the endorsement of a political system. However, ideologization of culture which the author defines as follows: "This is a message which the creator passes on (by various media) to other members of society, through which culture effects a kind of ideological guidance. When culture directs men to develop and act in the spirit of socialism, i. e. of a human community, there is no need to impose upon it ideological restrictions which will also restrict this basic ideological guidance; otherwise culture becomes alienated« (p. 1). Having identified the ideological and humanistic functions of culture, the author states that the ideological function of culture and freedom of creativeness are not opposed to one another. Culture is not ideologically indifferent, but in order to be able to effect its humanistic function, it must be free from any ideological restriction. Hence freedom is a conditio sine qua non of any cultural creativeness.. The only limits to creative freedom are one's own humanistic criteria. The ideologization of culture produces an alienated culture (1) by reducting culture to only one, permitted form of expression; (2) by denying freedom as a condition of cultural creativeness and by accepting simposes freedom«; (3) by asking for all forms of cultural creativeness to be subservient to politics, which alone can prescribe what is ideologically correct; (4) by turning ideological guidance, which is implicitly contained in any act of creativeness, into an ideological canon; (5) by developing conformism and lack of criticism; (6) by prohibiting doubt as a basic method of creativeness and proclaiming instead the faith in authority; (7) by accepting a partial personality and a model of "homo duplex" as a desirable type of man, in contrast to the essential function of culture of fostering the development of a total per-

sonality.

Mass culture, on the other hand, fills the void created by ideologized culture. It deals with the world of crime and with the seamy side of life – which are never referred to by the official culture – in easily digested amounts, as *entertainment* which does not give rise to indignation or concern but rather produces a false relief and a false relaxations (p. 8). Mass culture, therefore, offers entertainment rather than serious life determination in order to replace the absence of this determination. It therefore is a useful tool of ideological propaganda by diverting attention from society's true problems and by lending support to a commercial approach as the basic unit of evaluating culture, thus tending to make the sphere of culture

just another sphere of consumption.

Zaga Pešić-Golubović seems to see a way out in the observance of two basic requirements: a) of an autonomy of culture and freedom of creativeness, and b) of a consistent application of the principle of self-management as reflected in the right of direct producers to decide themselves on their work and the products of their work, and society's right to control both activities and products of activities in all fields of social work. In this case, of course, the problem of public control becomes exceptionally important. The author refers to public control in its non-institutionalized (public opinion) and its institutionalized forms, and calls for public control over the media of public communications. A solution would be to elect on the principles of self-management (rather than have them appointed by the state authorities) such members of councils in the sphere of culture who would be professionally capable of judging the quality of work in a corresponding social activity. Thus, in the sphere of public control the policy is to nominate competent

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critics and to develop criticism as an indispensable approach to creative work: For this reason criticism, both of creators and those who pass a judgement of their works, must not interfere with freedom and the right to individuality: it must not be based on particular interests of specific social groups, but rather upon universal, humanist principles, and on the basis of specific criteria in specific fields of culture.« (p. 6).

A review of all the papers, however useful, would nevertheless be superfluous. This will mean injustice to some papers - e. g. those by Nikola Milošević, Đuro Sušnjić. Taras Kermauner, and Pavle Novosel - whereas it will be a service to some others. However, it would not be amiss to take a look at two more papers. In his paper entitled One Prerequisite of Self-Management in the Field of Culture, Esad Cimić asks the following questions: "Can self-management develop in any sphere of public life if it is not developed (neither as an idea, nor as a system, nor as a practice) at the global social level? Can we reasonably refer to the development of self-management in one sphere while there is stagnation or a complete absence of development in another. Does self-management as a concrete practice mean the elimination of hired labour if its subjects work on poor material prerequisites which are supposed to engander this 'freer' social relationship? Can there be talk at all about self-management in those spheres which, at least for the time being, are incapable of providing material prerequisites for their activities? Is it self-management at all if it is 'introduced', 'installed' rather than organically grown out of man's and society's internal needs?« (p. 1). Unfortunately, Cimić did not attempt to answer these questions, which appear to be exceptionally significant. (It is good that they have at least been asked.) He views culture as a collective responsibility toward development and calls for an integral self-management in culture. Cimić discusses three forms of establishing material prerequisites for cultural activities: the market, financing through public funds and financing by means of system of autonomous agreement, but at this moment he does not favour any of the advanced forms, but rather suggests a mixed model of financing: »It would not be very hard to show (and prove) that discussions about the material position of culture tend more to reveal its difficult situation than to conceal its failures, It is in the interest of culture that we should readily opt for a mixed model of financing. In a combined model – depending on the level of economic and cultural development – these sources of financing should be evaluated differently. This seems to be almost the only way to attain a rational as well as humanist organization of cultural life« (p. 6).

Recalling that 72 per cent of this country's population still belong to rural culture, Vojislav Durić revealed the outrageous treatment of the peasantry in Yugoslav society as seen in their low incomes, low social prestige and power. There is a tendency to deny a rural background. Is it not an insult to tell someone that he is a peasant, asks Durić. In the process of interaction between rural and urban cultures, he stresses the following important points: (1) the spreading of village-to-city migration: (2) the spreading of the media of mass communications; (3) the spreading of technical innovations; and (4) the spreading of a uniform general education. Durić analyzed the effects of this interaction, referring to urban outskirts as an extension hand of the village« and to the housing and financial hardships of the

peasant coming to the city.

The debate virtually centred on Josip Zupanov's paper. In a lively and interesting polemics. Zupanov's paper was criticized from opposite positions, critical-humanist and positivist. The discussion was opened by Vojin Milić, who pointed out that Zupanov failed to show the basic social relationships in which culture is engender-

ed. Milic's objections can be summarized as follows:

(1) In Yugoslav society there have already been attempts to identify egalitarianism with Cominformism, and we all know how wrong this is. Any talk of egalitarianism must bear in mind the social circumstances in which it is taking place. How incorrect the above-mentioned comparison is is shown by the fact that we had a desire for independence, and opposition arose as a criticism of bureaucracy. Measures were taken to abolish bureaucratic privileges. Milić himself was resolutely in favour of the principles of egalitarianism.

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(2) Zupanov on the one hand impoverished the concept of egalitarianism, while on the other he wrongly attributed to egalitarianism certain properties which it cannot claim. The greatest bourgeois revolution had at its base liberty, fraternity

critics and to develop criticism as an indispensable approach to creative work: »For this reason criticism, both of creators and those who pass a judgement of their works, must not interfere with freedom

⁴⁾ This primarily refers to papers on some rather modest empirical investigations.

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A review of all the papers, however useful, would never be less than superfluous.

This will meanin justice to somepapers - e. g. tho seby Nikola Milošević, ĐuroŠušnjić, Taras Kermauner, and Pavle Novosel - where as it will be a service to some others.4 However, it would not be amiss to take a look at two morepapers.

In his paper entitled One Prerequisite of Self-Management in the Field of Culture, EsadiĆimić asks the following questions: » Selfmanagement cannot be developed in any sphere of public life if it is not developed (neither an idea, nor a system, nor a practice) at the global so cial and v e l? We can reasonably refer to the development of self-management in one sphere while there is a stagnation or a comple te ab sence of development in another. Does self-management as a concrete practice mean the elimination of hired labor if its subjects work with poor material prerequisites supposed to engage in this 'freeer' social relationship? Can there be talk all about selfmanagement in those spheres which, at least for the time being, are incapable of providing me te rial pre requisites for the ir a ctiv ities? Is it self-management at all if it is 'introduced', 'installed' rather than organically growing out of man's and society's internal needs? "(p. 1). Unfortunately, Ć im ić did not attempt to answer these questions, which appears to be exceptionally significant. (It is good that they have at least been asked.) He views culture as a collective responsibility toward development and calls for integral selfmanagement c u ltu re Ć im ić discusses three forms of establishing material prerequisites for cultural activities: the market, financing through public fu n d s a n d financing by means of system of autonomous agreement, but at this moment it does not favor any of the advanced forms, but others suggest a mixed model of FI n a n c i n g: » It wouldn't be very hard to show (andprove) that discussions about the material position of culture tend more to reveal its difficult situation than to conceal its failures, I t is in the in terest of culture that we should readily opt for a mixed model of financing. In a combined model - depending on the level of economic and cultural development - these sources of financing should be evaluated differently. Thi is seems to be almost the only way to attach reasonable as well as human organization of cultural life«.

(p. 6).

Recalling that 72 percent of this country's populations till be long to rural culture, Vojis lav Đurić revealed the outrageous treatment of the peasantry in Yugoslav so ciety as seen in the ir low incomes, low so cial prestige and power. There is a tendency to denyarural background. Is it not an insult to tell someone that he is a peasant, asks Đurić. In the process of interaction be tweenrural and urbancultures, he stresses the following important points: (1) the spreading of the media of mass communications; (2) the spreading of the media of mass communications; (3) the spreading of a uniform general education.

Du rić a n a ly z e d th e effe c ts o f th is in te ra c tio n , r e f e r r in g to u r b a n o u ts k irts a s a n

» e x ten sio n h a n d o f th e v illa g e « a n d to th e h o u sin g a n d fin a n c ia l h a rd s h ip s o f th e p e a s a n t co m in g to th e city.

The debate virtually centred on Josip Županov's paper. In a lively and interesting polemics, Županov's paper was criticized from opposite positions, critical-humanist and positivist. The discussion was opened by Vojin Milić, who pointed out that Županov failed to show the basic social relationships in which culture is engendered. Milić's objections can be summarized as follows: (1) In Y u g o sla v so c iety the re h a v e a lr e a d y b e e n a tte m p ts to id e n tif y e g a lita r ia n ism w ith C o m in fo rm ism , a n d w e a ll kn o w h o w w ro n g th is is. A n y ta lk o f e g a lita ria n is m m u st b e a r in m in d th e so cia l circ u m sta n c e s in w h ic h it is ta k in g p lace.

How in correct the above-mentioned comparison is is shown by the fact that we had ade sire for in dependence, and

opposition a rose as a critic ism of bure aucracy.

Measures were taken to abolish bureaucratic privileges. M ilić himself was resolutely in favor of the principles of egalitarianism.

(2) Županov on the one hand impoverished the concept of egalitarianism, while on the other he wrongly attributed to egalitarianism certain properties which it cannot claim. The greatest bourgeois revolution had at its base liberty, fraternity 4) This prim arily refers to papers on some rathe r modest em pirical investigations.

and equality. Bourgeois egalitarianism cannot be separated from demands for equality before law. The revolutionary proletarian movement wants to implement the principle of equality in all spheres of life. One gains the impression that for Zupanov no egalitarianism is possible without bureaucracy, which is unacceptable.

(3) Through re-evaluation physical work is placed in a more favourable position

(3) Through re-evaluation physical work is placed in a more favourable position than white-collar work. However, the bureaucracv and army were excepted. Nor was the principle of equality applied in the distribution of apartments. Only a

strong proletarian movement can achieve equality.

(4) Milić received the impression that Zupanov referred only to individual remuneration, whereas no advanced society can function without a growing share of public spending (public health services, education, the judiciary) in addition to individual remuneration. If these institutions are equally accessible to all citizens, then the differences in personal incomes are less important. And the availability of schools to children from different strata is outrageous.

(5) Zupanov accuses egalitarianism of having an aversion to private entrepreneurs, which is to beg the question. No one is against individual work, but what we are against is exploiting others by virtue of owning the means of production.

(6) Zupanov explains poor professionalization by the lack of trained managers.

(6) Zupanov explains poor professionalization by the lack of trained managers. If this society wants to be a self-managing one, then, according to Milić, it cannot support managers. This is quasi-professionalization. Milić counters the idea of a managerial class with the idea of a collegiate form of work, as in universities, with periodical exercise of functions as would suit the self-managing concept of an organization.

(7) In order to disprove the thesis of anti-intellectualism as one of the components of the *egalitarian syndrome*. Milić stated that there was no feeling of anti-intellectualism among workers and that some of the symbols of Yugoslav revolution were intellectuals (Dr. Mladen Stojanović, Slaviša Vajner-Čiča, etc.). In Milić's opinion there is a conflict between the bureaucratic apparatus and certain groups of intellectuals, which aer not the same groups in all cases. What is more, he sees no reason for relating this problem to egalitarianism, particularly since various groups of intellectuals were not all in favour of egalitarianism.

(8) In conclusion, Milić pointed out that egalitarianism was not a basic social value in Yugoslav society, and not even a verbal stand. Some sectors of the population accept egalitarianism, and some do not, to mention those who use egalitarianism as afront. How was it, for instance, that in the survey on problems of income distribution some deputies expresed ideas that were different from those they

had voted for in the Assembly?

In contrast to Milić, Josip Obradović criticized Županov's paper from a strictly positivist position and made the following points:

(1) Zupanov's mistake was that he forgot he was using a set of hypotheses on the basis of which he stated what ought to be done. In fact, his conclusions did not

stand up, because they were not based on firm foundations.

(2) Zupanov referred to egalitarianism as though it were a dominant value in Yugoslav society. Yet the facts that he adduced indicated differently. Egalitarianism could be said to be a dominant value of certain social groups, but that was not true of Yugoslavia as a whole, since there were those who were not in favour of equality.

(3) According to Zupanov, there was a negative correlation between egalitarianism and industrialism. This hypothesis, however, was not tenable, because there were highly developed countries in which egalitarianism was the dominant social value. Therefore, could not be claimed that there was an incongruity between ega-

litarianism and industrialism.

(4) Zupanov spoke of an "egalitarian syndrome" and cited anti-intellectualism and anti-professionalism. However, there was no proof at all for this. Furthermore, Obradović felt that self-management was the most radical form of anti-professionalism.

lism. Did this mean that self-management was dissonant with industrialization?

In other respect Obradović gave Josip Zupanov's paper a high praise, as did many other participants in the discussion. Silvano Bolčić, for instance, thought that Zupanov's work was valuable for relating the problems of culture with those of economic development. It was significant that attention was given to the development of technology in an egalitarian system of values. Within these terms of reference, Bolčić wondered whether there were any home-grown ethics that could promote productivity of labour. Humanist criticsm must apply itself to investigate how to realize humanist ideals in conditions of economic underdevelopment.

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(7) In o rd er to disprove the thesis of a n ti-in tellectu alism as one of the com pon ents of the » e g a litarian syndrom e«, M ilić stated th a t there was no feeling of a n ti-intellectualism am ong w orkers a n d th a t some of the symbols of Y ugoslav revolution w ere intellectu als (Dr. M lad en S tojanović, S laviša V a jn e r-č ič a , etc.). In M ilić's opinion there is a conflict betw een the b u reau cratic a p p aratu s an d certain groups o f intelle ctu a ls, w hich a c r not the sam e groups in all cases. W h a t is more, he secs no reason for re la tin g this problem to eg alitarian ism , p a rtic u la rly since various groups of

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- (2) \check{Z} u panov re fe rre d to e g a litarian ism as though it w ere a d om inant v alue in Y ugoslav society. Y et the facts th a t he add u ced in d ic ated differently. E g a litaria nism could be said to be a d o m in an t v alue of c ertain social groups, but that t was not true of Y ugo slav ia as a w hole, since the re w ere those w ho w ere not in favour of equality.
- (3) A ccording to \check{Z} upanov, there was a negative correlation between e g a litarian ism and indu strialism. This hypothesis, how ever, was not tenable, because there were highly developed countries in which e g a litarian ism was the dominant social value. There fore, could not be claimed that there was an incongruity between e galitarian ism and industrialism.
- (4) \check{Z} up an o v spoke of an » e g a lita ria n syndrom e« an d cited anti-in tellectu alism an d anti-p ro fessio n a lism . H ow ever, th ere w as no p ro o f a t all fo r this. Furtherm ore, O b radović felt th a t self-m an ag e m en t w as th e m ost rad ical form of an ti-p ro fessio n alism. D id this m ean th a t self-m an ag em en t was d issonant w ith industrializatio n ?

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Whereas Zupanov accepted the remarks made by Josip Obradović, with some reservations and explanations, he reacted strongly against those by Vojin Milić, declaring that Milić had read more into the text than was written there. Zupanov defended his view that the scientific and technological revolution could not be identified with industrialism, just as culture could not be confined within the framework of the scientific and technological revolution.

Zupanov pointed out that equality and inequality could be viewed from various angles. The problem was whether or not to accept an egalitarian distribution of income, and this problem was nowhere in the paper identified with the problem of the distribution of personal income. With reference to the criticism of the aversion to private entrepreneurs, Zupanov cited the fact that Yugoslavia passed a law stating that certain fixed assets should be used at 50 per cent capacity (lorries owned by private haulers), stating that no comment was necessary. In reply to the criticism on managers, Zupanov said that he was against political managers but in favour of professionalization and managerial responsibility. In reference to the criticism in respect to anti-intellectualism, Zupanov stated that he never asserted that there was a causal link between egalitarianism and anti-intelectualism but rather a functional one. Anti-intellectualism in egalitarian societies was indisputable. Zupanov felt that it was important to ask how to achieve a faster development and an industrialism that is different from that in the West. Zupanov strongly rejected any suggestion of there being any political views in his paper, emphasizing that he was motivated exclusively by scientific concerns and certainly not by any conservative ideas.

There seem to be substantial reasons for establishing a critical distance from both these fundamental points of view. I have in mind here primarily the positivist-functionalist orientation. Zupanov's paper clearly demonstrates that this position is very open to criticism, both from within and from without. There is no doubt that the thesis on egalitarianism as a dominant value in Yugoslav society is highly doubtful. It would be a strange dominant value that was under attack by a number of eminent political leaders and writers! What kind of dominant social value is it when young people advocate equality are derogatorily called *our Chinese«? And Zupanov quotes from this pamphlet in extenso. On the other hand, Zupanov pins on the norms of equality characteristics that they do not have. Thus, for example, in footnote 53 talks about the pressure exerted on doctors not to examine a patient who has no medical insurance or the money to pay for this examination. If egalitarianism were a dominant value, such a patient would certainly be examined, because medical institutions would be equally accessible to all.

It is convenient to present just one more remark here. No matter how hard a positivist-functionalistically oriented sociology tries to appear neutral in its value-judgements and ideologically unbiased, it is impossible to avoid the impression that is an excellent instrument for all forces seeking to retain the social status quo. It is comparatively easy to show that this orientation essentially indicates a conservative (and prospective) ideology. Zupanov prefaces his paper with the words of Andrej Hlavek: "The demand for the right to work or the demand for remuneration according to needs reflect not so much the need and desire for a job and work as a desire for concealed unemployment and income without works. Is this really true? Must we denounce the unemployed in this country for wanting *something for nothing«? It would not be a bad idea to ask the hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav workers who have gone abroad, most often compelled by economic necessity, to become highly productive labour in the advanced industrial countries, what they thought about unemployment.

On the other hand, a critical aloofness would be called for, and is even imperative, from the critical-humanist orientation as well. The principles of humanism can have a wide variety of interpretations, so that it would be good to show what they really mean. If, for example, we look at what Zaga Pešić-Golubović means by social control, then we see that it is the same thing, only a little different. It could not be asserted that the situation in this country's cultural life would become radically better if professionals became members of the cultural councils. It is far more important to know what they would do, and what they could accomplish in certain social mileu and conditions. The humanist-critical principles to guide such people would have to be defined more closely. The sociologists of this orientation should give greater attention to critical analysis of concrete social events and to efforts to clarify and give meaning to social facts. A critical survey of the social system as a system would be indispensable, but it seems that for the most part they are not prepared for such an undertaking.

Božidar JAKŠIĆ

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than was written there. Županov defended his view that the scientific and technological revolution could not be identified with industrialism, just as culture could not be confined within the framework of the scientific and technological revolution.

Županovpo in tedout that equality and in equality cou ld b e v ie w e d fro m v a rio u s an g le s. T h e p ro b le m w as w h e therornot to a c cept a negalitariand is tribution of incom e, a n d th is p ro b le m w as n o w h e re in th e p a p e r id e n tif ie d w ith the p ro b le m o f the d is trib u tio n o f p e rso n a l incom e. W ith reference to the critic ism of the aversion to p r iv a te e n tre p re n e u rs, Ž u p a n o v c ite d th e fa c t t h a t Y u g o s la v ia p a sse d a la w s t a t in g th a t c e rta in f ix e d assets sh o u ld b e u se d a t 50 p e r c e n t c a p a c ity (lo rrie s o w n ed b y p r iv a te h a u le rs), s ta tin g th a t n o c o m m e n t w a s n e c e ssa ry. I n re p ly to the c r iticism on m a n a g e rs, Ž u p a n o v s a id thathewasagainstpoliticalmanagersbutinfavour of professionalizationandmanagerial responsibility . I n re fe r e n c e to th e c ritic ism in re sp e c t to a n ti-in te lle c tu a lis m, Županov s ta te d that henever as serted that he re w as a ca u sa l lin k b e tw e e n e g a lita ria n is m a n d a n ti- in te le c tu a lis m b u t r a th e r a fu n c tio n a l one. A n ti-in te lle c tu a lis m in e g a lita r ia n so cieties w as in d is p u ta b le. Ž u p a n o v f e lt th a t it w as im p o rta n t to ask h o w to a c h ie v e a f a s terdevelopmentandanindustrialismthatisdifferen t from t h a t in the West. Županov stronglyrejected any su g g e stio n o f th e r e b e in g a n y p o litic a l v iew s in h is p a p er, emphasiz ing that he was motivated exclusively by s c ie n tific c o n c ern s a n d c e rta in ly n o t b y a n y c o n se rv a tiv e id eas.

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a ra c te ris tic s t h a t th e y do n o t h a v e . T h u s, fo r e x a m p le , in fo o tn o te 53 ta lk s a b o u t th e p re s s u re e x e rte d o n d o c to rs n o t to e x a m in e a p a tie n t w ho h a s n o m e d ic a l in s u ra n c e o r th e m o n e y to p a y f o r th is e x a m in a tio n . I f e g a lita ria n is m w e r e a d o m in a n t v a lu e , su c h a p a tie n t w o u ld c e rta in ly be e x a m in e d , b e c a u se m e d ic a l in s titu tio n s w o u ld b e e q u a lly a cc essib le to a ll.

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n d to e ff o rts to c la rify a n d g iv e m e a n in g to so cial facts. A c ritic a l su rv e y o f th e so cial sy stem as a s y s te m w o u ld b e in d isp e n sa b le, b u t it seem s t h a t f o r th e m o st p a r t th e y a r e n o t p r e p a r e d f o r such a n u n d e rta k in g.

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Herausgegeben von RUDI SUPEK und BRANKO BOSNJAK Ins Deutsch übertragen von Eleonore von Steiner

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